

GREEK CONSTITUTIONS

of

Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions
and Papyri

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Inscriptions and Papyri

JAMES H. OLIVER

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FOREWORD

When J. H. Oliver died in 1981, his manuscript was virtually complete. He had actually brought it to a conclusion six years earlier, but in the meantime he made many changes, mostly minor, but some major, and he added some documents. At the time of his death, the manuscript reflected at least two different systems of numbering. Most of my effort has been directed toward producing consistency in the numbering of the documents.

The history of the publication of the manuscript will explain the origin of the two systems. In February 1975 Professor Oliver sent the manuscript to the Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, which in May of that year accepted it for publication. However, the Kommission requested that the documents be rearranged to reflect strict chronological order. In several cases Professor Oliver had deviated from chronological order out of a desire to keep together documents that were found published together on papyrus or on one or more blocks of stone. Professor Oliver complied with the Kommission's request, as best he could, though he did not break up all the dossiers; even so, he was never happy with the new numbering.

In September 1981 Mrs. Oliver regretfully had to ask the Kommission to return the manuscript so that she could have it published elsewhere, since she had learned from Dr. M. Wörrle, Director of the Kommission, that because of its heavy workload, the Kommission could not schedule a definite date for publication.

Since not even the new system of numbering had been carried through the entire manuscript, I was faced with the task of renumbering the documents. I decided to number them as Professor Oliver originally preferred: in this system chronological order is observed as far as possible, but documents that were published as a group on papyrus or stone are kept together, even though these dossiers sometimes consist of documents that are more than a century apart. To compensate for these deviations from chronological order I have added in the "List of Documents" cross-references in the proper chronological order to documents that would not otherwise appear chronologically because of their inclusion in dossiers.

Each document has been assigned a number; a letter following a number indicates that it is an ancient copy. Thus no. 277A–D indicates that four copies of this document have been found and are included here.

At the request of the Kommission Professor Oliver added documents that are not on papyrus or stone. These are included in the “Appendix of Documents from Josephus and the *Corpus Juris*,” and are cross-referenced chronologically in the “List of Documents.”

The manuscript that I have organized is Professor Oliver’s original manuscript completed in 1975, as modified and expanded by him over the years 1975–80. The Kommission retyped a large part of this manuscript, incorporating many modifications of their own, which Professor Oliver agreed to but in many cases only with reluctance. However, this typescript was not available to me (Professor Oliver’s copy could not be found when I began my work), except for nine pages kindly sent to me by Dr. Wörrle, who had been in charge of a committee at the Kommission that was responsible for editing the manuscript. In any case, Dr. Wörrle suggested that I proceed with my task without benefit of this typescript, so that we would not have to be encumbered by his proprietary rights and that I could more easily develop a plan for bringing the task to completion. Mrs. Oliver and I have gone through the correspondence of Professor Oliver and Dr. Wörrle, and have tried to incorporate all the suggestions of which Professor Oliver wholeheartedly approved.

Some items to which he refers in the correspondence but which we have not found among his own papers are mentioned in this work within square brackets. One such item is document No. **74 bis**. It evidently was originally overlooked by Professor Oliver but pointed out to him by Dr. Wörrle. There was no edition by Professor Oliver among his papers, but I was able to ascertain that it was indeed in the typescript edited by Dr. Wörrle. In June 1983, when I was in Baltimore to review the manuscript with Mrs. Oliver for a final time, she informed me that she had recently found the typescript, and so I had the opportunity to check to confirm that this document was in it and that the bibliography there cited corresponded to my own; this was the only use that I made of the typescript.

It is clear from the correspondence that, despite many disagreements, Professor Oliver owed a great debt of gratitude to

Dr. Wörrle and his team for their editorial work. It seems to me that in many cases, even when he did not agree with their suggestions, they had caused him to do further research and to alter or enrich his conclusions.

In early June 1983, I was able to consult Joyce Reynolds's *Aphrodisias and Rome* (JRS Monographs No. 1, London, 1982). Several years ago Miss Reynolds had kindly given Professor Oliver a copy of the texts of the imperial letters found at Aphrodisias, and he included them in his manuscript. However, some of the texts finally published in *Aphrodisias and Rome* show that Miss Reynolds made significant improvements in the intervening period. I have substituted the new texts for the out-of-date ones of documents Nos. **211, 218, 219, 278, and 281**. In the case of Nos. **211, 218, and 219** the reader should be aware that the author's translations of restorations in some of the lacunas do not reflect the restorations that Miss Reynolds has made in her new texts (as reproduced here), but rather his own ideas about what the restorations should be. It will be noticed that Professor Oliver's comments on the inscriptions from Aphrodisias are relatively brief, no doubt because he expected that Miss Reynolds would provide full and excellent commentaries, as indeed she has done.

My aim throughout has been to organize the manuscript so that it is as consistent as possible with Professor Oliver's final wishes. Thus my main task was to achieve consistency within the manuscript, especially where Professor Oliver's later revisions of part of one document affected other parts and other documents. I have deliberately refrained from substituting or adding within square brackets my own opinions where they differed from his. The brackets that do appear usually indicate bibliographical notes or changes that are clearly in accord with his final plans. Thus the reader is assured that the present work is entirely J. H. Oliver's.

Kevin Clinton
5 July 1983

POSTSCRIPT

Janet C. Oliver passed away shortly after she gave the corrected manuscript to the American Philosophical Society in August, 1983. In the preparation of the manuscript for publication in 1982–1983 she gave me considerable help, and the final typescript owed much to her devotion to the task and her careful attention to detail.

In correcting the page proof in the winter of 1987–88 I was very fortunate to have the help of three of Professor Oliver's former students, D. J. Geagan, R. K. Sherk, and A. D. Macro, so that each of us checked approximately one quarter of the proof and did a corresponding share in the preparation of the Concordance (for which we also used a draft prepared by Professor Oliver). Professor Oliver's Index of Emperors and their Relatives, with the out-of-date numbering, was available to me only in a faded photocopy, and had to be almost entirely redone; but the copy served to indicate his method, which I followed. We decided not to undertake an index on the *Sermo Graecus*, since it would have caused an additional long delay in publication.

We did not attempt a systematic up-dating of the bibliography, but I did add information which I happened to notice or which was brought to my attention by others. The final editing was done at the Institute for Advanced Study, and I am grateful to the Institute and its staff for an excellent working environment.

The reader should note that in the critical apparatus to the documents Professor Oliver usually did not repeat subscript dots that were already indicated in the text. In the Index of Emperors and their Relatives I have followed his practice (for the most part) of not indicating subscript dots. In the bibliographies of the documents two slightly different methods of organization are used. Sometimes reproductions of the text which do not represent independent editions are collected in a separate paragraph; sometimes they are listed together with primary editions in chronological order but within brackets.

The different typeface in some of the Greek texts has no editorial significance.

Kevin Clinton
February 1988

PREFACE

The editor has tried to collect here epistles, edicts, subscripts, instructions, in fact any documents or speeches (but not court proceedings) preserved in inscriptions and papyri in the Greek language and emanating from early Roman emperors (27 B.C. to A.D. 285) or their immediate family, i.e., relatives in an official position. The documents are those published or communicated through 1980. Wherever possible, he has sought to establish the present whereabouts of the pertinent inscription or papyrus, often a very difficult and time-consuming task, and he has tried to check the readings and general format of the text with attention to arrangement and vacant areas.

To do this he has traveled extensively and has had the great advantage of a year's fellowship (1973–74) from the National Endowment for the Humanities of the U.S. Government. He has used many libraries, but he has worked mainly in those of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and the Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli at Florence.

The chief impulse to the collection came from his work as staff epigraphist in the American excavations of the Ancient Athenian Agora between 1932 and 1940, but his interest went back to a documentary seminar at Yale in 1930–31 with M. I. Rostovtzeff, and the focus was sharpened in 1936–37 when the editor was a guest at A. Arthur Schiller's course in Roman Law at Columbia University.

The editor wishes to thank Director Wolfgang Müller and Dr. Günter Poethke of the Ägyptisches Museum in East Berlin for allowing him to consult various papyri (*BGU*) and Frau Dr. Heres of the Vorderasiatisches Museum for help in locating and examining inscriptions from Pergamum and Miletus, likewise D. E. L. Haynes at the British Museum for permission to study the inscriptions from Ephesus, Director Henri Riad and curator Sayed Omar for permission to examine papyri in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo; Professor Robert E. A. Palmer of the University of Pennsylvania, and the curator David B. O'Connor as well as Lanny Bell and the registrar Dr. Ellen L. Kohler at the University Museum in Philadelphia for assistance in consulting No. 275; the late Vittorio Bartoletti and Professor Manfredo Manfredi of the

Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli at Florence for great hospitality and aid in many ways; Dr. G. Geraci for help in locating a papyrus in the library in Bologna; Professor Eric Turner at London and Dr. R. A. Coles at Oxford for facilitating negotiations with the Egypt Exploration Society; Dr. Dieter Knibbe for sending him squeezes from Vienna or in consulting them for him, and together with Director Hermann Vetters for receiving him kindly in the Austrian excavations at Ephesus and aiding him to the utmost; Dr. Alexander Minchev for finding inscriptions and allowing him to photograph in the Archaeological Museum of Varna; Dr. John Touratsoglou at the Museum of Verria (Beroea), Dr. Makaronas at Thessalonica, Miss Khara at Thasos, and Dr. C. Dumas for help both at Rhodes and at Cos.

At Athens he thanks his friends at the American School and its excavations, notably Eugene Vanderpool, Homer Thompson, John Travlos, James R. McCredie, Richard Stillwell, Robert Pounder, Charles Williams, Daniel Geagan, Kevin Clinton; at the French School P. Amandry and G. Daux; at the Epigraphical Museum Directrix D. Peppa-Delmouzou and Miss Kharappa; on the Acropolis Dr. George Dondas; in fact, the Greek Archaeological Service and most of all its Director in 1974, Professor Nikolaos Kontoleon, who in his letter of June 10th of that year gave permission to publish Nos. **108–118**.

He owes a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Joyce M. Reynolds of Newnham College, Cambridge, who with remarkable generosity communicated the texts of inscriptions, still unpublished, from the Archive Wall at Aphrodisias (compare *Vestigia* 17 [1973] 115–122) and helped him with information about new fragments of the Hadrianic-Antonine stele at Cyrene containing Nos. **120–124**. Also to Professor Donald White, director of the American excavations at Cyrene, who had photographs of the stele prepared and sent, and to Mr. Woodard Openo of his staff, who supplied many details, he is most grateful. On various points he has profitably consulted Professors Jean Pouilloux and Paul Roesch of Lyons and John M. Fossey of McGill University in Montreal, and Jaroslav Šašel at Ljubljana.

To Janet C. Oliver, who has accompanied him on uncomfortable voyages, taken photographs for him, collaborated at every stage of the project and helped him with corrections, index, and proof, he expresses quite inadequate thanks.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AAA—'Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
 Abbot and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*—F. F. Abbot and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1926)
 AbhMainz—*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mainz*
 AbhBayAk—*Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
 AbhBerlin—*Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
 AbhLeipzig—*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leipzig*
 AEM—*Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich*
 AHR—*American Historical Review*
 AJA—*American Journal of Archaeology*
 AJP—*American Journal of Philology*
 AltPerg—*Altertümer von Pergamon*
 Année ép.—*Année épigraphique*
 ANSMN—*American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*
 Ant. Iud.—Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudicae*
 Ant. Rom.—Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*
 AnzWien—*Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*
 ArchEph—'Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
 ArchP—*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
 ArchZeitung—*Archäologische Zeitung*
 ARS—A. C. Johnson, P. R. Coleman-Norton, and F. C. Bourne, *Ancient Roman Statutes* (1961)
 Athen.—Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*
 AthMitt—*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
 BAC—*Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et archéologiques*
 BASP—*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
 BCH—*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
 BGU—*Berliner griechische Urkunden* (Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin)
 BIAB—*Bulletin de l'institute archéologique Bulgare*
 BIDR—*Bollettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano*
 BMC—*British Museum Catalogue*
 BMusInsc—*The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* (Oxford, 1874–1916)
 Bourget, *De rebus delphicis*—E. Bourget, *De rebus delphicis* (Montpellier, 1905)
 BullComm—*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*
 Bruns⁷—C. G. Bruns, *Fontes iuris romani antiqui* (7th ed., Tübingen, 1909)
 Bull. ép.—J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique*, in *REG*
 BullInstArch Russe à Constantinople—*Bulletin de l'institute archéologique Russe à Constantinople*
 CA—*Constitutio Antoniniana*
 CAH—*Cambridge Ancient History*
 Cd'E—*Chronique d'Égypte*
 Charlesworth, *Documents*—M. P. Charlesworth, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero* (Cambridge, 1939)
 CIG—*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
 CIL—*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
 Clinton, *Sacred Officials*—K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 64, 1974)
 ClPhil—*Classical Philology*
 Cod. Iust.—Codex Iustinianus
 CPHerm—*Corpus Papyrorum Hermopolitanorum*
 CPJud—*Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*
 CRAI—*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
 Deltion—'Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
 DenkschriftenWien—*Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Denkschriften*
 DLZ—*Deutsche Literaturzeitung für Kritik der internationalen Wissenschaften*
 Ehrenberg and Jones—V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (Oxford, 1949)
 EphArch—Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική
 EtPap—*Études de Papyrologie*
 FD—*Fouilles de Delphes*
 FGrHist—F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin, 1923–)

- FIRA²—S. Riccobono, *Fontes iuris romani antijustiniani* 1 (Florence, 1941)
- FIRA³—V. Arango Ruiz, *Fontes iuris romani antijustiniani* 3 (Florence, 1943)
- Follet, *Athènes*—S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et IIIe siècle: études chronologiques et prosopographiques* (Paris, 1976)
- T. Frank, *Ec. Survey*—T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1933–1940)
- Geagan—D. J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 12, 1967)
- GGA—*Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*
- Girard, *Textes*⁶—P. F. Girard and F. Senn, *Textes de droit romain* (6th ed., Paris, 1936)
- GRBS—*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
- Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*—W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia: with some account of their antiquities and geology* (London, 1842)
- HSCP—*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
- ICret—*Inscriptiones Creticae*
- IG—*Inscriptiones Graecae*
- IGBulg—*Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*
- IGLSyrie—*Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie*
- IGRR—*Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*
- IGUrbRomae—*Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*
- ILLRP—*Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*
- ILS—*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
- IRT—J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (1952)
- IstMitt—*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul*
- IPerg—*Inchriften von Pergamon*
- JEA—*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JJP—*Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
- JÖAI—*Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*
- JRS—*Journal of Roman Studies*
- Kiessling, *Sammelbuch*—E. Kiessling, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* 6 (1963)
- Lafoscade, *De epistulis*—L. Lafoscade, *De epistulis (aliisque titulis) imperatorum magistratuumque romanorum, quas ab aetate Augusti usque ad Constantinum graecae scriptas, lapides papyrive servaverunt* (In-sulis, 1902)
- Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*—P. Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, fait par l'ordre du gouvernement français pendant les années 1843 et 1844 . . .* (Paris, 1847–1877)
- LSG—F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris, 1969)
- LSJ—Liddell, Scott and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*
- MAAR—*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
- Magie, *Roman Rule*—D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950)
- Mazzarino, *Trattato*—S. Mazzarino and G. Gianelli, *Trattato di storia romana* (Rome, 1953–1956)
- McCrum and Woodhead, *Select Documents*—M. McCrum and A. G. Woodhead, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors . . .* (Cambridge, 1961)
- Meded—*Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*
- Mélanges Carcopino—*Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire offerts à J. Carcopino* (Paris, 1966)
- Mélanges Daux—*Mélanges helléniques offerts à G. Daux* (Paris, 1974)
- Mélanges Boisacq—*Mélanges Emile Boisacq* (Brussels, 1969)
- MemAcInsc—*Mémoires présentées par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
- MemAcTorino—*Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*
- Meritt and Traill—B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora 15: Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors* (Princeton, 1974)
- Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*—L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (Leipzig, 1912)
- Mommsen, *Ges. Schriften*—T. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin, 1905–1913)
- NumZ—*Numismatische Zeitschrift*
- OGIS—*Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*
- Oliver, *Civilizing Power*—J. H. Oliver, *The Civilizing Power: a study of the Panath-*

- enaic discourse of Aelius Aristides . . . (Philadelphia, 1968)
- PhWoch—*Philologische Wochenschrift*
- PIR²—*Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1933—)
- Pleket, *Greek Inscriptions at Leyden*—H. W. Pleket, *The Greek Inscriptions in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden, Leyden* (Leyden, 1958)
- Pap. Texte u. Abh.—*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*
- PBSR—*Papers of the British School at Rome*
- Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste*—F. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* (1913—)
- RA—*Revue Archéologique*
- RE—*Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894—)
- REA—*Revue des études anciennes*
- REG—*Revue des études grecques*
- RendLinc—*Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*
- RendPontAcc—*Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*
- RevPhil—*Revue de philologie*
- RHD—*Revue d'histoire du droit*
- RhGr—L. Spengel ed., *Rhetores Graeci* (Leipzig, 1885)
- RHist—*Revue historique*
- RhMus—*Rheinisches Museum*
- RIDA—*Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*
- RivFil—*Rivista di Filologia e d'istruzione classica*
- SBBerlin—*Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
- SBHeidelberg—*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
- SBMünchen—*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*
- SBWien—*Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*
- SDHI—*Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*
- SEG—*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*
- SEHHW—M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941)
- SEHRE—M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1956)
- Sherk, *Roman Documents*—R. K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East . . .* (Baltimore, 1969)
- SIG—*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*
- Smallwood, *Documents . . . Gaius, Claudius, and Nero*—E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero* (London, 1967)
- Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian*—E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1966)
- Stein, *Präfecten*—A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bern, 1950)
- SymbOsl—*Symbolae Osloensis*
- Tac., *Ann.*—Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *Annales*
- TAM—*Tituli Asiae Minoris*
- TAPA—*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
- Trans. Am. Philosoph. Soc.—*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
- Vandoni, *Feste*—M. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci* (Milan, 1964)
- Westermann and Schiller, *Apokrimata*—W. L. Westermann and A. A. Schiller, *Decisions of Septimius Severus on Legal Matters* (New York, 1954)
- ZPE—*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
- ZSav—*Zeitschrift der Savigny—Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* (Romanistische Abteilung)

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INTRODUCTION

Epistles

An imperial letter carried the name and titles of the author(s) and the address and the greeting *χαίρειν*. It ended with a formula like *ἔρρωσθε* or *εὐτυχεῖτε*. The place and date of its dispatch followed but were not always copied.

Correspondence between the emperor or other member of the imperial family and a single league, city, guild, municipal corporation, or prominent individual usually began with the transmission of an epistle or decree. In the ordinary course of affairs the correspondence was not initiated by the emperor, although he did occasionally send a letter of advice, explanation, warning, or congratulation without previous inquiry or consultation. For instance, when Claudius heard from the proconsul about the depopulation of Delphi, he wrote to the Delphians (No. **31**) to offer advice. Similarly, Hadrian in No. **114** had occasion to communicate with the Thisbeans after he read charges against them by the Coroneans, and in No. **120** to the Cyreneans. Ordinarily, however, an embassy arrived on the authority of a decree and obtained a hearing, where an epistle or the decree itself was presented and explained, and then the embassy returned with a reply from the emperor or other member of the imperial family. For instance, the city might pass a decree to express loyalty to a new emperor by means of special honors and send ambassadors to show him the decree and to gain his approval. Or the city might pass a decree setting forth the difficulties of its position and appointing an embassy to plead with the emperor for relief. In either case the emperor replied to the city or corporation with an epistle in which he usually mentioned both the decree and the faithful service of the ambassadors.

A prominent individual like an Eastern magnate might send a messenger with an inquiry and receive an epistle. Purely private correspondence too doubtless occurred but is not represented on stone or, in the case of an emperor, on papyrus.

Many of the situations, such as the offer of divine honors, recurred from city to city and from reign to reign, so that a policy was established. Even so, the emperors did not reply with a form letter but with similar phrases and often with a reference

to some local situation or precedent: that is, they took their cue from the words of the embassy or epistle. Most emperors modeled themselves on Augustus if a policy went back that far. There were, however, new or special problems for which no traditional policy existed or for which a policy arose later. The great authority of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius might be invoked in the latter case. Irregularities and arbitrary decisions undoubtedly occurred and attracted the attention of critics, but were rare by comparison and so are hardly perceptible in epistles recorded in inscriptions and papyri. From a formal standpoint we turn our attention to:

- 1) mention of the epistle or decree;
- 2) the recipient;
- 3) ambassadors, *viaticum*, and pouch;
- 4) the main themes;
- 5) date, formula of farewell, and advertisement of the *consilium*.

Mention of the Epistle or Decree

An ἐπιστολή is mentioned by Tiberius in No. 15 to the ephors and city of the Gytheates who were offering divine honors; γράμματα are mentioned by Hadrian in No. 58A to the Neoi of Pergamum, by Antoninus Pius in No. 138 to the Ephesians, and by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in No. 196 to the Athenian Gerusia; τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα are mentioned by Hadrian in No. 62 to the Delphians and in No. 68 to the Astypalaeans, and by Antoninus Pius in No. 155 to the Panhellenes. The word ἐπεστέιλαι is used by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in Nos. 190 to Pherae and 194 to the Athenians; and in No. 195 to the Athenian Gerusia they say ὀρθῶς δὲ ἐποιήσατε καὶ ἐπιστε[ίλαντες ἡμῖν. In No. 80 to Hadrianopolis Stratonicea Hadrian begins Τοῖς ἐπισταλεῖσιν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐντυχῶν. In No. 190 to Pherae Marcus and Commodus begin Ἐνετύχομεν οἷς ἐπεστέιλαι, and in No. 196 to the Athenian Gerusia they begin Ἦσθημεν τοῖς γ[ρ]άμμα[σ]ιν ὑμῶν ἐντυχόντες.

Mention of a decree instead of an epistle seems less natural to a modern student but is more common. In No. 7 Augustus mentions the Sardinian decree which is actually preserved on the Menogenes stele and which called for an annual celebration of the two days when Gaius Caesar assumed the *toga virilis* and when the news reached Sardis. Similarly in A.D. 4/5 a decree of the

Aezanitae concerning another member of the imperial family, the future emperor Tiberius, went with ambassadors not only to Rome but on to Boulogne-sur-mer, where Tiberius had his headquarters. The epistle No. 14 of A.D. 15 begins with the phrase Ἀποδόντων μοι τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβειων τό τε ψήφισμα[α] ὑμῶν. The epistle No. 18 of Caligula to the League of the Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Phocians, and Euboeans concerning the multitude of his statues which they had voted to erect begins Ἀναγνοὺς [τὸ δο]θέν μοι . . . ψήφισμα. The famous epistle No. 19 of Claudius to the Alexandrians begins with the ambassadors ἀναδόντες μοι τὸ ψήφισμα. In the epistle No. 23 to Thasos Claudius names οἱ τὸ ψήφισμα ἀναδόντες ἐ[μοί], instead of referring to "ambassadors." In No. 28 to the Roving Athletes Claudius mentions that the names of the ambassadors stood in the corporation's two decrees; the corporation had voted to send so and so as ambassadors. In No. 34 to the Rhodians Nero says that the ambassadors τὸ ψήφισμα ἀπέδωσαν.

In his first (No. 64) to the Astypalaeans Hadrian says ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος[τος ὑμῶν, in his second Ἐντυχὼν ὑμῶν τῷ ψηφίσματι. In No. 71 to the Ephesian Gerusia Hadrian mentions the decree incidentally. In No. 78 to the Achaean League Hadrian refers to honors voted ἐν ἐλπιδι and to the decree concerning the honors; they apparently awaited his approval before spending the money on a large number of statues. In No. 81 to Hadrianopolis Stratonicea Hadrian begins [Ἐ]νέτυχον τῷ ψηφίσματι ὑμῶν. In No. 89 the ambassadors from Beroea came apparently with the decree. In No. 107, found on Amorgos, a mutilated reference to the decree occurs, τῷ ψηφίσματι — — — ἐνέτυχον ἡδέως. In No. 113, his epistle to the Coroneans on their quarrel with the Thisbeans, Antoninus Pius uses the phrase ἐντυχῶν τῷ ψηφίσματι ὑμῶν.

The decree of the Lycian League, which precedes the epistle No. 136 of Antoninus Pius, reads γ[ενέσθαι ψήφισμα[α εὐ]χαρισ[τ]η[τι]κόν for the emperor. On the Opramoas *heroon* decrees are mentioned in many epistles (Nos. 142, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153).

In No. 157 Marcus Aurelius as Caesar, thanking the Dionysiac *mystae* of Smyrna for their interest in his son, refers to their decree. In No. 211 at Aphrodisias Commodus writes Ἐνέτυχον τῷ ψηφίσματι. In No. 213 Septimius Severus tells the Aezanitae ἔγνω δι[ὰ] τοῦ ψηφίσματος, and in No. 215 to the Delphians

Severus and Caracalla mention the decree, likewise in Nos. 217 to Nicopolis ad Istrum and 218 to Aphrodisias. In No. 244 to the Ephesians Caracalla writes τὸ ψήφισμα δεξάμενος ὑμῶν. In No. 279 to the Aphrodisians, Gordian III says ἐδηλοῦτε διὰ τοῦ πρὸς με ψηφίσματος, which shows a striking similarity between decree and epistle. In No. 285 to Philadelphia in Lydia, Valerian and Gallienus mention the decree.

The Recipient

The reader will best judge the degree of stylization in the address of recipients by turning to the epistles addressed to one specific city or group of cities. Forms were usually those set by local terminology and international correspondence before the Roman Period.

First, the Athenians, as in Nos. 83 (Hadrian), 85, 134, 183, 194, 209, 210, and 288 (Gallienus), are always addressed τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Φ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ (not τῶν) Ἀθηναίων. The popular or lower council was not at all periods one of Five Hundred, but if allowance for this number and for its abbreviation or *scriptio plena* is made, the style achieves absolute uniformity.

Next, the cities of Eresos (4), Cnidus (6), Sardis (7), Cos (14), Samos (20), Thasos (23 and 36), and Rhodes (34) are under the Julio-Claudian emperors addressed as (e.g., Σαρδιανῶν) ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ, as is Chios (43) under Domitian. This usage probably continued as late as the reign of Trajan (49, 54), but under Hadrian and then his successors the style becomes (e.g., Περγαμηνῶν) τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ for cities previously addressed ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ. Examples are Pergamum (59, 60, 127), Astypalaea (65, 66, 68), Miletus (87), Hadrianopolis Stratonicea (79, 80, 81), Beroea (89, 160, 171), Nicomedia (93), Coronea (108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118), Ephesus (135, 138, 139, 244), Myra (142), Tlos (143), Corydallos (149), Nisa (150), Gagatae (152), Thessalonica (162), Balbura (159), Aezani (213), Nicopolis ad Istrum (217), Syros (257, 258), city unnamed (259), and Arycanda (286). One case at Aphrodisias, where a letter of Hadrian (69) is addressed ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ, may reflect an economy of the stonecutter, but Aphrodisias is certainly addressed in the later more formal style in Nos. 211, 218, 219, 278, 279, and 284. Here again we have a multitude of

cities addressed in a strikingly uniform style, very different from that used for Athens, where the ethnic comes last.

Sometimes the dative is employed instead of the genitive of the ethnic. Antoninus Pius, who to the other Lycian cities always uses the genitive, addresses No. **148** *Λι]μυρεῦσι, τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*. At Cyrene Hadrian's epistle (No. **120**) is addressed simply *Κυρηναίοις*, and that of Antoninus Pius (No. **124**) simply *Πτολεμαεῦσι Βαρκαίοις*. Whether the authorities at Cyrene simplified the address or the emperor actually used this form remains uncertain. In No. **48** at Aphrodisias (Trajan *Σμυρναίοις*), the Aphrodisians did not have or give the original heading.

The word *πόλει* too follows a pattern. First, it is not used in the cases cited above. Examples are No. **15** (*Γυθεατῶν ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ πόλει*), Nos. **44**, **57**, **62**, **75**, **76** (all with *Δελφῶν τῇ πόλει*), and **42**, **204**, **274** (all with *Δελφῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ πόλει*), and *FD* 3.4, 334. The area is Old Hellas in both cases. Alexandria, which in the very early No. **5** was addressed as *Ἀλεξανδρέων δήμῳ* and in the abbreviated No. **46** may have been addressed in any one of several ways but was addressed as *Ἀλεξανδρέων τῇ πόλει* in Nos. **19** (Claudius) and **33** (Nero), constitutes a special case and does not belong with the cities of Old Hellas. At Alexandria the word *πόλις* means the Demos plus at least the Jews.

The leagues are less frequently represented. In No. **18** Caligula writes to *Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιω[τῶν] καὶ Λοκρῶν καὶ Φωκέων καὶ Εὐ[βο]έων τῷ κοινῷ*. In Nos. **136**, **141**, **144**, and **146** Antoninus Pius writes to *τῷ κοινῷ τῷ Λυκίων*, but in No. **153** to *τῷ κοινῷ τῶν (not τῷ) Λυκίων*. In No. **276** Severus Alexander writes to *τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐν Βειθυνίᾳ Ἑλλήνων*. The Hellenes of Asia are addressed by Antoninus Pius in No. **140** as *τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλλήσιν*, but the address *τῇ [Ἀσίᾳ]* in an epistle of Caracalla, No. **266**, is part of a short heading for which the Ephesians did not have the long original.

The Panhellenion is addressed *τῷ Πανελληνίῳ* by Antoninus Pius in No. **155** and by Severus and Caracalla in No. **245**. The Athenian Gerusia is addressed as *Ἀθηναίων γερονσίᾳ* by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in Nos. **195** and **196** and by Commodus alone in Nos. **200**, **201**, and **202**, but the Ephesian Gerusia as *Ἐφεσίων τῇ γερονσίᾳ* by Hadrian in No. **71**.

The Oecumenical Society of the Dionysiac Artists received

epistles from Claudius, who in No. 29 writes τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερονεῖκαις καὶ τεχνεῖταις and uses a more expanded formula of the same in No. 24. In No. 96 (Hadrian) the formula is not certain, possibly τῷ κοινῷ? τῶν Ἀθήνη[σι περὶ Διόνυσον καὶ νέον] Διόνυσον τε[χνειτῶν ἱερονεικῶν στεφανειτῶν. On the stele of Claudius Attalus at Athens Hadrian's letters, Nos. 98-104, are addressed συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Χορεῖον τεχνειτῶν μουσικῶν. An inscription at Smyrna has two epistles, one of Marcus Aurelius Caesar (No. 157) συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Βρισέα Διόνυσον, the other (No. 158) συνόδῳ τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ μυστῶν, and No. 168 of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus went to συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Βρισέα] Διόνυσον, as Marcus called the group in No. 157. The word συνόδῳ seems to be accompanied by the article in only one case, No. 47, where Trajan may have written τῇ Ἰσθμικῇ συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν], but all our other examples of epistles to an athletic synod eschew the definite article: Nos. 27 (Claudius), συνόδ[ω] ξυστικῇ [περιπολιστικῇ]; 28 (Claudius), συνόδῳ ξυστικῇ περιπολιστικῇ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα; 37 (Vespasian), ἱερᾷ ξυστικῇ περιπολιστικῇ συνόδ[ω] τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα; both 86 (Hadrian) and 128 (Antoninus Pius) συνόδῳ ξυστικῇ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν ἱερονεικῶν στεφανειτῶν. Even the Neoi of Pergamum were addressed by Hadrian in No. 58 as συνόδῳ τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ νέων, though in No. 57 Trajan addressed them as τοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ] νέοις.

The Neoi of Pergamum were not a municipal corporation comparable to the Athenian Gerusia, but then again neither was the aristocratic society at Argos which M. Agrippa in the epistle No. 3 addressed as γέρονσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Δαναοῦ καὶ Ὑπερμήστρας.

In transcribing an epistle sent to another address (e.g., to a different city or league), it was not customary to bother with the full address. A short heading was substituted for purposes of identification, as in No. 114. Short headings were substituted also for mere extracts and often for appended documents in a papyrus roll.

Ambassadors, Viaticum, and Pouch

IG II² 3620 at Eleusis praised a man of the Antonine period, *πρεσβευτὴν τε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων*, and SEG XVII 505, published by J. Keil (*SB Wien* 1956, 3), praised at Ephesus another

veteran of many embassies. It is significant that Aelius Aristides made embassies a theme in his Panathenaic (Oliver, *Civilizing Power*, 255). There can be no doubt that these embassies, often inspired by false municipal pride, constituted a great burden on the cities. Vespasian (*Digest* 50.7.5.6) issued an edict for all cities not to send more than three ambassadors on any one occasion.

Actually the number of ambassadors sent to the emperor varied. When the Commonalty of the Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Phocians, and Euboeans (No. 18) sent an embassy to offer the new emperor Caligula a multitude of statues, the number of ambassadors reflected the voting strength of the constituent members of the Commonalty—eight Achaeans, four Boeotians, one Phocian, one Euboean, and two Locrians: that is, eight from the Peloponnese and eight from Central Greece, where the Boeotians were exactly balanced by the others, etc. This embassy of sixteen plus a chief ambassador is the largest attested in any of our epistles, and it doubtless had something to do with the desire of the provincials to escape administration by a proconsul from the Senate. The inhabitants had persuaded Tiberius to make the province imperial, as Achaea in fact remained until the time of Claudius. The embassy of the Alexandrians to Claudius named in No. 19 right after the riots against the Jews amounted to eleven or twelve; there were ambassadors also from the Alexandrian Jews in Rome. Here again the situation was abnormal. In No. 213 Septimius Severus attests that after the victory over the Parthians Aezani had sent to congratulate him eight ambassadors, of whom seven actually arrived. Claudius in No. 24 lists six or seven ambassadors from the Oecumenical Society of the Dionysiac Artists on a matter of great importance to them. From No. 39 (Nero?) we learn that Ptolemais Euergetis sent at least five ambassadors. In No. 112 Hadrian names at least four ambassadors from Coronea; he may have been relatively nearby in Athens, but still his dispatch of the senator Aemilius Juncus indicates an important occasion. Four went from Coronea to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus according to No. 117, and four from Miletus to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in No. 192.

Most embassies, however, did consist of one to three men. One ambassador is mentioned by Tiberius from Gythium (No. 15), by Trajan from Delphi (Nos. 44 and 45), the Isthmian synod (No. 47), and Pergamum (No. 54); by Hadrian from Delphi (No. 62),

Astypalaea (No. 64), Hadrianopolis Stratonicea (No. 79), Pergamum (No. 84), the Athletes (No. 86), Gythium (No. 90), and Coronea (Nos. 109 and 111); by Antoninus Pius from Coronea (No. 115), Ptolemais Barca (No. 124), the Athletes (No. 128), the Commonalty of the Lycians (Nos. 136 and 144), Myra (No. 142), and Tlos (No. 143); by an unknown emperor from Ephesus (No. 160B) and from Delphi (No. 178); by Marcus Aurelius from Delphi (No. 182); by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus from Pherae (No. 191) and by Septimius Severus from Delphi (No. 205); by Severus and Caracalla from Delphi (No. 215) and the Panhellenion (No. 245); by Caracalla from Apollonia of the Salbace (No. 268); by Elagabalus and Severus Alexander from Delphi (No. 274); by Gordian III from Aphrodisias (No. 279); by Gallienus from Athens (No. 288). Against seven cases of four or more ambassadors we have thirty-one of only one.

Two ambassadors each from Cnidus and Sardis are mentioned by Augustus (Nos. 6 and 7), from Delphi by Domitian (No. 42), from Samos (or Minoa Amorgos) by an unknown emperor (No. 107), by Antoninus Pius from Coronea (No. 116) and from a city of Upper Macedonia (No. 156); from Delphi by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (No. 171) and by Marcus Aurelius alone (No. 204), from Smyrna by Severus and Caracalla (No. 255), from Pergamum by Caracalla (No. 271), from Aphrodisias by Gordian III (No. 281) and by Decius and his son (No. 284), from Philadelphia in Lydia by Valerian and Gallienus (No. 285). Three ambassadors are named by Claudius from Thasos in No. 23 and from the Athletes in No. 27, by Hadrian from Pergamum in No. 59. Two or three from Coronea are mentioned in No. 113 by Antoninus Pius. Thus we have seventeen attested cases of embassies consisting of two or three ambassadors, but there are five more cases where a plurality of ambassadors is mentioned without specification or names, to wit, Nos. 5 (Augustus), 13 (Tiberius before accession), 78 (Hadrian), 68 (Hadrian), and 89 (Hadrian).

The foreign honors for Epaminondas of Acraephia on the inscription which is printed in its entirety with No. 18 (Caligula's epistle to the All-Hellenic League of Achaea) are very important for the history of this custom of sending ambassadors to the emperor. It shows that the city was at that time not in the habit of paying for such embassies, and all through the empire the voluntary, unpaid performance of a distant embassy remained a great benefaction. The city, however, had to find a way to present

its requests or assert its loyalty when there was no one like Epaminondas of Acraephia to shoulder the expense. In that case it promised a *viaticum*, if the emperor attested the faithful completion of the embassy.

On the other hand, mention of the decree or epistle does not prove the presence of an embassy. Antoninus Pius frequently notes that the decree was forwarded in the government pouch. In two epistles at Ephesus, Nos. 135 and 139, it is stated that Ephesian decrees had been forwarded by the procurator, and a third, the decree of the Hellenes of Asia (No. 140), by the proconsul. The imperial legate forwarded the decrees mentioned in the epistles on the heroon of Opramoas, Nos. 142, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, and 153. Also No. 157 from Marcus Aurelius as Caesar to the Dionysiac mystae of Smyrna mentions that their decree had been forwarded by the proconsul. These were all from the reign of Antoninus Pius, who also notes in No. 138 to Ephesus that the proconsul had forwarded their letter. Perhaps the Hadrianic procurator mentioned in No. 60 forwarded either the decree or a letter; it is not clear. Use of the government pouch is attested for the first time under Antoninus Pius, though Pliny (10. 48) shows it was available earlier. The government pouch continued to be available; Severus and Caracalla in No. 217 mention that the legate of Lower Moesia had forwarded the decree of Nicopolis ad Istrum.

W. Williams ("Antoninus Pius and the Control of Provincial Embassies," *Historia* 16 [1967] 470–483) argued that Hadrian tried to discourage unnecessary embassies by withholding, in the case of those he disapproved, the recommendation that the usual *viaticum* be paid, and that Antoninus Pius went considerably further by prescribing use of the government pouch for the dispatch of epistles or decrees in cases where questions would not have to be asked. The practice lapsed after his death, as No. 117 from Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to Coronea implies. D. Kienast (*RE* Suppl. 13 [1973] 580–581) reinterprets Williams's theory on the control of provincial embassies as a personal one, not a check on the dispatching community.

The early emperors in their epistles mention ambassadors by name and so attest to the city, league, or society the faithful completion of an embassy. From the time of Domitian to that of Caracalla the emperor often recommended in the following terms the payment (and in one case the non-payment) of the *viaticum*.

42. Domitian to Delphi: οὗς διὰ εὐδο[κίμων πρε]σβείας ἀξίους κρε[ίνω ἐφοδίου εἰ μὴ προῖκα ἐπηγγείλαντο πρεσβεύσειν
44. Trajan to Delphi: καὶ αὐ[τῷ] τῆς πρεσβείας εὐλογον τὸ ἐφοδίου δοθήτω εἰ μ[ὴ] προῖκα ὑπέσχηται πρεσβεύσειν
45. Trajan to [Delphi]: [ὄν τοῦ τῆς] πρεσβείας ἄξιον κρείνω ἐφοδίου[ν εἰ μὴ προῖ]κα ἐπηγγείλατο
47. Trajan to the Isthmian Synod: ὄν τοῦ τῆς πρεσβείας ἄξι[ον] κρείνω ἐφοδίου[ν εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηται πρεσβεύσει]ν
71. Hadrian to the Ephesian Gerusia: ὡι τὸ ἐφοδίου δοθήτω εἴ γε μὴ προῖκα ὑπέ[σχε]το πρεσβεύσειν
78. Hadrian to the Achaean League: οἷς τὸ ἐφ[ό]διον δο[θήτω] εἰ μὴ ἐπρέσβενον[ν] ἐκ τοῦ π[ροῖκα ὑποσχεσθαι]
79. Hadrian to Hadrianopolis Stratonicea: ὡι τὸ ἐφοδί[ον] δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηται
90. Hadrian to the Gytheates: ᾧ τὸ ἐφοδίου [δοθήτω εἴ γε μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχε]το τὴν πρεσβείαν [ἐπιτελέσειν]
111. Unknown to [Coronea]: ᾧ τὸ ἐφοδίου δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηται
113. Antoninus Pius to Coronea: Ἐπρέσβενον, names, προῖκα ὡς διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐδηλοῦτε
115. Antoninus Pius to Coronea: ᾧ τὸ ἐφοδίου δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχετο
116. Antoninus Pius to Coronea: ο[ἷς τὸ] ἐφοδίου δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηται
124. Antoninus Pius to Ptolemais Barca: ᾧ τὸ ἐφοδί[ον] δοθή[τω] εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσ[χε]το
156. Antoninus Pius to a City of Upper Macedonia: οἷς τὸ ἐφοδίου δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηται
- 160B. Unknown to [Ephesus]: ᾧ τὸ ἐφοδίου δοθήτω] ε[ἰ μ]ὴ π[ροῖκα ὑ]πέσχηται
177. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to [Delphi]: οἷς τὸ ἐφοδί[ον] δοθήτω] εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχη[νται]
182. Marcus Aurelius to [Delphi]: ᾧ τὸ ἐφοδίου] δοθῆναι β[ούλομαι]
190. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to [Pherae]: ᾧ τὸ ἐφοδί[ον] δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηται
192. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to Miletus: οἷς τὸ ἐφοδίου δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέ[σ]χηται
204. Marcus Aurelius to Delphi: οἷς τὸ ἐφοδίου [δοθῆ]ναι βούλ[ομαι εἰ μὴ προῖκα πρεσβε]ύσειν [ὑπέσχηται]
205. Septimius Severus to Delphi: ᾧ τὸ ἐφοδίου δο[θ-]

207. [Commodus] to [Athens?]: [τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω] τοῖς ἐκεῖθ[εν πρεσβευταῖς εἴ γε μὴ προῖκα ὑπ]έσχηνται
 213. Septimius Severus to Aezani: οἷς τὸ ἐφόδιον ἀπο[δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προ]ῖκα ὑπέσχηνται
 215. Severus and Caracalla to [Delphi]: ᾧ τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω [εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχ]ηται
 268. Caracalla to Apollonia by Salbace: [ᾧ τὸ ἐφόδιον] δοθήτω κατὰ λόγον τ[ῶν ἡμερῶν (or τ[οῦ χρόνου) εἰ μὴ π]ροῖκα ὑπέσχηται

The Main Themes

The imperial correspondence deals with special situations and a great variety of local problems. Each such case is better studied by itself, although certain typical answers to perennial requests or congratulations are discernible and invite comment.

When a new emperor acceded to his post, he received congratulations from all over, resulting in the survival of epistles in which he thanks the city or league and reciprocates with a guarantee of old rights and privileges. The old rights and privileges were not necessarily threatened, but the interest and moral authority of the man with *maius imperium* and tribunician power helped to maintain respect and inspire confidence. In No. 14 Tiberius praises the Coans for their loyal attitude, but the continuation is lost. In No. 18 the new emperor Gaius replies to the All-Hellenic League that he praises and commends them (ἐπαινῶ [ὕμ]ᾱς καὶ ἀποδέχομαι) and guarantees their freedom of association (ἐὼ ὑμᾶς συνεσταμένους). In No. 20, below the lost beginning, Claudius assures the Samians that he guarantees the continuance of privileges which they enjoyed down to his reign. In No. 23 Claudius commends (ἀποδέχομαι) the Thasians for their kind words, declines excessive honors, and guarantees continuance (διαφυλάσσω) of their privileges. The Alexandrians had no real privileges, and Trajan's epistle No. 46 may amuse the reader.

The Neoi of Pergamum were sufficiently identified with the city to express their joy to Hadrian and to receive a reply (No. 58B) that their joy was a sign that they were good men. The Delphians wrote to congratulate him (ἐπὶ τῷ διαδέξ[ασθαί με]), and Hadrian in No. 62 replied with a guarantee. Likewise in No. 64 to the Astypalaeans, Hadrian notes that they rejoiced at his

accession (ἡσθητε διαδεξαμέν[ου ἐμοῦ τὴν πατ]ρώαν ἀρχήν) and he praises them and guarantees the continuance of their freedom. In his mutilated epistle No. 78 to the Achaean League the word ἀποδέχομαι occurs again. Antoninus Pius in No. 115 tells the Coroneans that in rightly recalling the memory of his father and in having politely expressed pleasure in his accession (τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὸ προσήκον ἐπῆσθημένοι) and in warmly congratulating him on his son, they behave in a manner becoming to Hellenes.

In No. 117 Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus guarantee (βεβαιοῦμεν) continuance of Coronea's rights of freedom and autonomy. Since they say nothing about an epistle or decree or congratulations, it is quite possible that all we have is an extract. In No. 166 to the New Hellenes of Antinoopolis, they do refer to the joy at their accession (τ[ὴν] ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν χαρὰν [διαδ]εξα[μ]ένω[ν τὴν] π[α]τρώαν τε καὶ παππῶαν ἀρχή[ν]), and they promise to preserve (φυλάττειν) the rights and privileges already given. Also in No. 167 to Beroea, Marcus and Lucius refer to the joy ([χ]αράν) that they had succeeded jointly to the ancestral office and were now supporting each other (an interesting expansion of the old cliché), and they guarantee continuance of the city's dignity. In No. 177 to the Delphians, they mention a continuance of privileges, but this was on a later occasion, not on that of their accession. The word χαρά is used also by Severus Alexander in reference to the world's joy at his accession in No. 275, the edict on the *aurum coronarium*.

Finally, Gordian III in No. 279 to the Aphrodisians recognizes that they are kindly disposed toward him and says, "I guard (φυλάττω βεβαίαν) your enjoyment of the (old) privileges." And Decius and his son in No. 284 wrote to the Aphrodisians because the latter rejoiced (ἡσθῆναι) in their accession (ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἡμετέρας) and performed religious rites; Decius and his son, accordingly, preserve (φυλάττομεν) the city's freedom and privileges. (Beside using the word ἀρχή or as here and in Nos. 207, 274, and 279 βασιλεία, an emperor occasionally refers to his post as τάξις, e.g., Commodus in No. 211, ἐμοὶ δὲ . . . ταύτην τὴν τάξιν τεταγμένω, and Severus in No. 213, τετάχθαι.)

Similar to these epistles are replies after congratulations on the association of a new co-ruler or on a victory. We may skip No. 157 in reply to congratulations on the birth of a son, when the

son had already died, but No. 177 might be mentioned again. Number 213 to the Aezanitae, who had congratulated Septimius Severus on his successes (over his Roman enemies but also over the Parthians) and the elevation of Caracalla to be Caesar, initiates a series. "I clearly recognized your pleasure (ἡδονήν)," he says. Two years later in A.D. 197 he guaranteed the privileges of the Delphians, who had probably congratulated him and been thanked in a section now lost of No. 215. In No. 217 of A.D. 198 he and Caracalla write to Nicopolis ad Istrum in appreciation of the city's celebration of victories over the barbarians and the elevation of Geta to be Caesar; they accepted *aurum coronarium*. Numbers 218 and 219 are letters to Aphrodisias from Severus and Caracalla, one apparently from the headquarters of Severus, the other apparently from the headquarters of Caracalla. They are worded differently but they both express appreciation for the celebration of victory over the Parthians and guarantee continuation of the city's rights. In No. 244 Caracalla refers to the congratulations on the victory (ἡδονή and εὐφραίνεσθαι suggest celebration), but this is by no means a typical reply. Number 274 from Elagabalus and Severus Alexander followed news of a Delphian festival celebrating the new partnership, but the reply is fragmentary.

The rights and privileges of a society are the subject of another group of epistles. The society was always one felt to be an important institution in support of respectable religious cults. In No. 3 Agrippa writes to the Gerusia of those Descended from Danaos and Hypermestra (at Argos); he has restored their ancient (duties, rights, privileges) and expresses a willingness to assist them in the future. Along with the decision by the consuls of 27 (or 28) B.C., Caesar and Agrippa, about the restoration of sanctuaries (*AJP* 93 [1972] 193, first published by H. W. Pleket, *The Greek Inscriptions . . . at Leyden*, No. 57), this is a highly informative document on Augustan religious policy in the East.

The Dionysiac Artists may for a while have been too closely connected with Marc Antony to be altogether welcome to the new rulers, but some guarantees, at least to those at Miletus, were granted by early emperors and confirmed by Claudius in No. 29. In No. 24 Claudius accepts statues from the Oecumenical Society of Dionysiac Artists and guarantees continuance of their rights and privileges. The latter were publicized and spelled out in an edict, No. 96, by Hadrian, with whom a new era began, and from

whom many epistles are known fragmentarily at Athens (Nos. 97–104). The Dionysiac Artists who congratulated Septimius Severus on his accession and expressed their pleasure (ἡσθῆναι) receive in No. 212 a guarantee of the continuance (φυλάττω) of their old rights and privileges (δίκαια καὶ φιλόανθρωπα). Later celebration of victories called forth No. 225 from Severus and Caracalla, who in reply said the rights and privileges were safe. Likewise Severus Alexander in No. 277.

Also the Roving Athletes Devoted to Heracles received epistles, though Nos. 27 and 28 from Claudius say nothing about their rights and privileges. He did, however, grant them privileges, because in No. 37 Vespasian says so and promises to maintain them (φυλάττειν προαιρούμαι). Hadrian allowed them to reorganize (No. 86), and Antoninus Pius gave them a central building in Rome (No. 128). In a letter at Athens (No. 188) two co-ruling emperors say that they will warn the Athletes, who have been attacked for avoiding the Panhellenia.

The Paeonistae of Old Arsinoites owed a new importance to the interest which Hadrian took in their society. They were granted privileges like those of the Dionysiac Artists by Hadrian in No. 105, an epistle to the Roman, Greek, and barbarian authorities and population of a province which seems to have been Syria and Phoenicia.

The intense interest of Marcus and Commodus (or the latter's early advisers) continues that of Hadrian in old cults. Many epistles of Marcus to the Delphians followed Hadrian's involvement in Amphictyonic affairs (Nos. 75 and 76). Similarly No. 87, in which Hadrian agreed to become *prophetes* at Didyma, was a kind of precedent for No. 206, in which Commodus agreed to accept at Eleusis the archonship of the Eumolpidae.

The Sacred Gerusia of the Athenians, which apparently supported the worship of Athena and higher education at Athens, was founded around 174 by Marcus Aurelius and received or occasioned at least eleven epistles by 184 (Nos. 193–203). The *gerontes* owed something functionally to old (aristocratic) societies of elders in connection with ancient cults elsewhere in Greek lands (Argos, Ephesus, Hyettus, Messene), but also something to the ideal behind societies of *Augustales* in the West as a *nobilitas* of new citizens and their sons.

Another theme of the imperial letters is the refusal of excessive honors, either because they would constitute a burden for the

cities or because they were divine honors unsuitable for men still living. (The latter has been studied notably by K. Scott, "The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals," *TAPA* 62 [1931] 101–123 and M. P. Charlesworth, "The Refusal of Divine Honours, an Augustan Formula," *PBSR* 15 [1939] 1–10.) In No. 15 Tiberius replies to the Gytheates that it was right to award such honors to the deified Augustus but that he himself was content with more moderate and human honors. In No. 19 to the Alexandrians, Claudius accepts certain honors but deprecates (*παραιτοῦμαι*) the appointment of a high priest for him and the construction of temples, not wishing to be offensive (*φορτικός*) to his contemporaries, because he judges that shrines and the like have been granted by every age *ἐξαίρετα* to the gods alone. In No. 23 to the Thasians he says, "I decline the temple which I judge to be for the gods alone" (*τὸν δὲ ναὸν μ[ό]ν[οις εἶναι] τοῖς θεοῖς κρείνων παραιτοῦμαι, τὰς ἄλλας προσειέμενος τειμὰς αἱ πρέπουσιν ἡγεμόσιν ἀρίστοις*). In No. 196 Marcus Aurelius and Commodus instruct the Athenian Gerusia to make portable bronze busts instead of statues in precious metals, explaining that they gladly accepted honors like the former but avoided [divine honors] and those which seemed offensive (*τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐπίφθονα*). In accepting certain honors from the All-Hellenic League of Achaea, Caligula in No. 18 refused others, not because they constituted divine honors but because they would overburden the provincials. In No. 39 to the Arsinoites an unknown emperor declines *aurum coronarium* on similar grounds (*μὴ βουλόμενος . . . ἐπιβαρεῖν ὑμᾶς*). In No. 78, where Hadrian accepted from the Achaean League some honors and declined others, the motivation is not clear. In No. 266 Caracalla declines the honor of a temple for himself allegedly because of modesty.

Date, Farewell Formula and Advertisement of the Consilium Principis

An imperial letter normally ended with a phrase like that of Hadrian's epistle to Hadrianopolis Stratonicea, No. 79: *Εὐτυχεῖτε. Καλάνδαις Μαρτίαις. Ἀπὸ [Ῥώ]μης*. Similarly Nos. 80 and 81 *ibidem*. The epistle of Caligula to the All-Hellenic League, No. 18, ends with the farewell formula (restored in the lacuna), then the list of ambassadors, and then the notation: *Ἐδό[θη πρό] δεκατεσσάρων καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων ἐν Ῥώμῃ*. The year in such cases is known from the reference to the

emperor's tribunician power. Number **285**, however, an epistle of Valerian and Gallienus to Philadelphia in Lydia in A.D. 255, ends: *Εὐτυχεῖτε, Φιλαδελφεῖς ἡμέτεροι. Ἐδόθη πρὸ ιε' καλανδῶν Φεβρουαρίων τοῖς κυρίοις ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανῶ τὸ γ' καὶ Γαλλιηνῶ τὸ β' Σεβαστοῖς ὑπάτοις. Ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας*. Number **256**, a privately published translation of a Latin epistle, omits authors, recipient, formulas of greeting, and farewell but gives the date (A.D. 204) as follows: *Ἐδόθη [πρὸς] α' καλ. Ἰουνί(ων) Ῥώμῃ [Φα]βίῳ Κεῖλωνι τὸ β' καὶ [Ἀ]ννίῳ Λίβωνι ὑπάτοις*. A much earlier epistle found in Lydia, No. **25**, ended with the date by day and month, by suffect consuls of some year between A.D. 41 and 45, and with the notation *Ἀπὸ Ῥώμης*. Number **128** at Rome (Antoninus Pius to the Athletes) had a reference to the ambassador after the farewell formula, and then in a separate line: *Ἐγράφη πρὸ ιζ' καλ. Ἰουν. ἀπὸ Ῥώμης. Τορκουάτῳ καὶ Ἡρώδῃ ὑπάτ(οις)*. These indications of place and day of dispatch were probably less sacred to the recipients than the farewell formula, which came from the emperor himself. Thus the farewell formula was usually retained as part of a full copy, and the date and/or place of dispatch retained where the local taste preferred to have it. The epistles of Antoninus Pius on the heroon of Opramoas at Rhodiapolis in Lycia, Nos. **142–153**, have the place of dispatch and the day by the Roman calendar (but not the consulships). At Delphi too epistles of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Marcus alone, and Severus and Caracalla (Nos. **177, 182, 215**) are engraved with place of dispatch and with Roman day and month. At Athens, on the other hand, this never seems to happen except on the wall of the Epicurean School in No. **74** of A.D. 125, which records both place and complete date, -] *Μαρτίων ἐν Ἀθήναις Ο[ὐαλερίῳ Ἀσιατικῶ]ι τὸ β' καὶ Ἀκυλεῖν[ωι ὑπάτοις*, while all other epistles end with the formula of farewell. See also the epistles of Trajan at Delphi (Nos. **44–45**), the epistles of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius at Coronea, Ephesus, and many other places, and the epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus at Miletus (No. **192**).

The farewell formula, if addressed to an individual was *Ἐρρωσο* or *Ἐρρῶσθαί σε βούλομαι*. If addressed to a city or an important municipal corporation, it read at first *Ἐρρωσθε* or *Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι*. The formula *Ἐρρωσθε* is used by Augustus to the Cnidians (No. **6**), by Claudius to the Alexandrians (No. **19**), to the Samians (No. **20**), to the Athletes (Nos. **27** and

28), by Vespasian to the Athletes (No. 37), by Domitian to the Delphians (No. 42), and by Trajan to the Delphians (No. 44). But Trajan said [Ἐρρῶσθαι] ὑμᾶς βούλομαι to the Delphians in No. 45 and Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμ[ᾶς] βούλομαι to the Isthmian Synod of Athletes (No. 47).

With Hadrian's accession a change occurs. To a city or municipal corporation he always concludes with the formula Εὐτυχεῖτε in twenty examples. Likewise Antoninus Pius as emperor closes with Εὐτυχεῖτε in nineteen examples. On the Opramoas monument (Nos. 142–153) his formula contrasts with Ἐρρῶσ[θαι] ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι which the legate Rupilius Severus uses in No. 146, document 43. In No. 155 to the Panhellenion Antoninus Pius closes with Εὐτυχεῖτε, while the archon of the Panhellenes ends a related letter (OGIS 507) to the Hellenes of Asia with Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι.

Marcus Aurelius as Caesar in No. 159 concludes Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι in writing to Dionysiac Mystae at Smyrna, and as emperor in No. 182 at Delphi to unknown recipients who had sent an ambassador. In No. 206 to the Eumolpidae, Commodus closed with Ἐρρωσθε. These could be special cases, not treated like official correspondence, because the formula Εὐτυχεῖτε continues under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus as four epistles (Nos. 192, 196, 199, and 201) show. See also No. 264 of unknown authorship. An epistle of Severus and Caracalla to Nicopolis ad Istrum (No. 217) concludes unusually with Εὐτυχῶς, but in Nos. 205 to Delphi, 255 to Smyrna, 257 to Syros, and 259 on Amorgos they end with Εὐτυχεῖτε, as do Elagabalus and Severus Alexander in No. 274, Gordian III in Nos. 279 and 281, and Decius and his son in No. 284. Thus for the period A.D. 117–250 we have fifty-two cases of Εὐτυχεῖτε, two of Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, and one each of Ἐρρωσθε and Εὐτυχῶς.

Six epistles carry near the end a list of advisers (Nos. 199, 200, 201, 207, 209, and 244). Five of these date from the early years of Commodus as sole emperor. The sixth was sent by Caracalla to Ephesus in A.D. 201, in the absence of his father. Clearly a young emperor was supposed to advertise the consultation with a *consilium* of experienced men. The practice begins with Commodus because Marcus Aurelius established guidelines for his son to follow. Among the epistles of Commodus as sole emperor only six preserve enough of the end to make a judgment possible on the presence or absence of a list of advisers, and of these six

the only one where the absence of such a list can safely be asserted is No. 206 to the Eumolpidae, which has nothing to do with government.

Edicts, Mandata and Iussa

In 27 B.C. imperial institutions had not yet developed, and the Greek translation of words for pre-imperial institutions was not always fixed. A magistrate could give orders in a specific case or situation. Such an order ('*iussus*' or '*iussum*') may be seen in the order given by Augustus and Agrippa as consuls in the Leyden inscription from Cyme (Sherk, *Roman Documents*, No. 61, also Oliver, *AJP* 93 [1972] 193), if Kunkel's restoration ἐ[κέλευσαν] is accepted for line 2. A later governor of Asia (Vinicius in lines 15–16) may have thought of the '*iussus*' or '*iussum*' as an imperial command when he referred to the '*iussu Augusti*.' On the contrary, if Kunkel's restoration ἐ[κέλευσαν] is right, it was a command from both consuls and does not quite fit into the categories of imperial constitutions. The command is given with third person imperatives. Similarly the Διάταγμα Καίσαρος from Palestine, No. 2, gives an order in a specific case, κατὰ τοῦ τοιούτου κριτήριον ἐγὼ κελεύω γενέσθαι. This is no edict in form, and the word διάταγμα seems to translate '*iussum*' rather than '*edictum*.' Here too we find the third person imperative, καθόλου μηδενὶ ἐξέστω, κτλ. The '*iussum Caesaris*' was a pre-imperial institution still recognized in the early years.

As the imperial service developed and experience accumulated, the emperors gave new governors written instructions ('*mandata*') on how to handle situations in imperial provinces or even in senatorial provinces where abuses by imperial agents had to be checked. The emperor might also give advice to proconsuls, if he was informed of abuses in senatorial provinces. The '*mandata*' by their very nature were seldom engraved; a good example, however, will be found in the instructions of Domitian, No. 40, on the requisitioning of transport and lodgings.

Much more common was the proclamation or edict. According to *IG II*² 1077 (best consulted in Meritt/Traill, 460), the elevation of Geta was announced κοινῶ κη[ρύγμ]ατι πᾶσιν ἀν[θ]ρώποις. In No. 177 Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, as they refuse an offer of '*aurum coronarium*,' say ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα γνώμη τῷ κ[ηρύγμ]ατι προηγόρευται. In No. 275 Severus Alexander, citing Trajan and Marcus as models, also declines the '*aurum coronarium*' for his elevation as emperor. After his name and titles the badly

mutilated papyrus has in line 4 a lacuna where either a vacant area or the phrase *πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις* probably stood. The really important point is that the line ends three spaces short of the column edge with the word *λέγει*, so restored by Wilcken, as shown in Plate 15. The proclamation (*κήρυγμα*) seems to have been issued in the old form of a Republican magistrate's edict, which began '*dicat*' or, in the case of a board, '*dicunt*.' Moreover, the proclamation edict of Severus Alexander at the end calls for publication. (On edicts the main study is that of U. Wilcken, "Zu den Edikten," *ZSav* 42 [1927] 124–158.) The present tense '*dicat*' or '*dicunt*' shows that edicts as a form began in the Republic as proclamations by a herald.

A proclamation, accordingly, carried the same kind of heading that we associate with an edict. As a communication rather than an order it closely resembled an epistle. In fact, No. 105, the proclamation which Hadrian made of the privileged status he was according to the Old Arsinoite Paeanistae, actually bears an epistolary prescript. It begins with the mere name of Hadrian, then an address such as *τοῖς κατ[ὰ τ]ὴν ἐπαρχεῖαν ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐπιτρόποις μου καὶ τοῖς στ[ρατηγ]οῖς Ἑλληνσί τε καὶ βαρβάροις [καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην κατ]ο[ι]κοῦσι*, and then the greeting *χαίρειν*. That a formula of farewell stood at the end of the proclamation cannot be proved because the papyrus breaks off after only two further lines. There never was a bureau '*ab edictis*.' These proclamations presumably came through the secretary '*ab epistulis graecis*.'

The privileges of the Paeanistae were modeled on those of the Dionysiac Artists, which we have on two papyri. The privileges of the Dionysiac Artists were granted by Claudius in an epistle, No. 24, and confirmed by Hadrian in an edict (*διάταγμα*), No. 96, of which we have merely an extract. Since we do not know the occasion for the edict, we can make no inference as to the bureau which prepared the edict.

In No. 56 the emperor (Hadrian or later) says that he has explained in a *κοινῷ διατάγματι* how the roads are to be paved. Number 56 itself is an epistle in reply to a query concerning an important detail, but the phrase *κοινὸν διάταγμα* indicated a general order to a whole group of cities and tribes in at least two provinces. The general edict is no longer extant. An edict could be called also the *κοινὴ κρίσις* as in No. 231, if it contained an administrative decision binding on the whole province.

Among extant documents in edict form it is the Cyrene edicts

of Augustus which first resemble epistles. These edicts are never described as *διατάγματα*. Only Edict V is mentioned by the emperor as his *πρόγραμμα*, which in this context means “covering letter in edict form.” The five communications, though they do not give orders, merely recommendations or reports, have the kind of prescript we associate with edicts, the name and two titles, and the verb *λέγει* (= *dicat*), which means “says with authority.” Similarly, No. 17, an edict of Germanicus, begins with name, title, and *λέγει* and uses the second person (the so-called Cyrene edicts never use the second person). The edict of Germanicus was issued to stop a specific local abuse.

Number 88 is another edict. It begins with Hadrian’s name and titles and the word *λέγει*. It sets forth the situation which calls for relief, and it gives orders to provide it. The emperor (Hadrian) never uses the second person. The edict ends without a formula of farewell and is followed by a statement (*Πρ[ο]ε[ρ]έ[θ]η, κτλ.*) as to date and place of publication (not dispatch). It applied to the whole province.

Number 84, in which Hadrian discusses the business of the public bank at Pergamum, could more easily be an epistle than an edict. The second person may have been used in lines 4–5 and the emperor may refer to an ambassador in line 5. Still the beginning and end are lost, and the emperor gives orders or announces decisions.

Number 184 at Athens emanated from Marcus Aurelius, who speaks of the Athenians and all others in the third person. In line 38 he calls the document an epistle, but No. 184 certainly never presents the second person and does not end with the expected formula of farewell. Here Marcus Aurelius adopted the edict form because he was not addressing the Athenians alone.

Number 260 on *P. Giss.* 40 is certainly in edict form, and in No. 261 Caracalla refers to it as his previous edict, which implies that both 260 and 261 are properly called edicts. They were universal in their application and began with name and titles followed by *λέγει*, though one was an original constitution and the other a novella.

The edict in the Roman Republic was generally used by a magistrate or priest or board of magisterial or religious organizations either to announce a program or to issue an order. Both of these uses continued in the Principate. The proclamation of Hellenic freedom by T. Quinctius Flamininus at the Isthmian

Games through a herald was something quite different from an epistle, but Augustus used written proclamations in edict form as a way of communicating with provincials. These edicts were essentially open letters to whom it might concern. Nero, of course, imitated the famous proclamation of T. Quinctius Flamininus, but all the emperors adopted the Augustan practice of communicating by means of epistles in either epistolary or edict form according to the intended recipients (whether definite or less clearly defined as a group). Thus it happened that the edicts, being not unlike epistles, were prepared by the same secretary and were not always carefully distinguished.

Rescripts (*Subscriptiones*) to Formal Petitions (*Libelli*)

An important class of imperial communications was the answers which an emperor made to formal petitions by writing his reply at the bottom of the petition and having, if not the petition itself, at least the subscription available for anyone to read and copy. The petition could be presented through an intermediary.

The first case in our collection is No. 1, the reply of Augustus to a request from the Samians for the status of a free city. The petition itself is not preserved, but the reply begins: *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱὸς Αὔγουστος Σαμίοις ὑπὸ τὸ ἀξίωμα ὑπέγραψεν*. That prescript identifies the authority (the emperor) and the petitioners (the Samians), and indicates that the reply was subscribed below the '*libellus*' (τὸ ἀξίωμα). The emperor mentions the interest taken by their patroness Livia and states his reason for refusing. The Aphrodisians, whose freedom was mentioned as well deserved, had the subscription engraved on their Archive Wall. This form, namely '*scriptio*,' was seldom used in dealing with a city. Normally the emperor communicated with a city by means of an epistle, in the tradition of international correspondence, as we have observed.

A more common example may be seen in the subscriptions to petitions from local societies of Paeanistae. Number 242 from Septimius Severus and Caracalla τοῖς παλ[αίων] Ἀρσινοειτῶν παιανισταῖς δι[ὰ] — — — — — was published at some imperial headquarters, *π[ρ]οετέθη πρὸ ἐπτὰ εἰδῶν Δεκενβρίων*, and nothing is said on the papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 3018) about a translation, in contrast to No. 154 (also from Egypt but ca. 150). In Egypt and Syria at this period the reply was perhaps composed in Greek.

Not so in Rome, where the Paeanistae in *IGUrbRomae* 35 (= *TAPA* 71 [1940] 313) addressed Septimius Severus and Caracalla in Greek and received subscriptions in Latin, the first addressed *Severus Paeanistis* and signed *Scripti V Id[us] — Recognovi*, the second addressed *Imp. Caes. M. [Aur. Antoninus Paeanistis]* (with the end lost except for the final word *Recognovi*).

The chief example of such petitions comes from Scaptopara in Thrace in an inscription now lost but easily available in Mihailov's excellent edition (*IGBulg* IV 2236). A long petition in Greek from the Scaptoparene villagers was presented in A.D. 238 by a praetorian guard named Aurelius Pyrrhus in Rome to Gordian III, who replied in Latin. One might say that the replies outside Egypt were usually given in Latin, especially where Roman officials were concerned. The heading of the dossier began with date by consulships, day and month, then: *descriptum et recognitum factum ex libro libellorum rescriptorum a domino n(ostro) Imp. Caes. M. Antonio Gordiano Pio Felice Aug. et propositorum Romae in portico [t]hermarum Tr[a]ianarum in verba q(uae) i(n)fra s(c)ripta s(unt). Dat(um) per Aur. Purrum mil. coh. X pr. p. f. Gordianae (centuria) Proculi convicanum et compossores*. There followed 111 lines of the Greek petition (δέησις or ἀξιώσεις), then a further petition to the governor in Greek, and at the end, lines 166–169, the reply of Gordian: *Imp. Caes. M. Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Aug. vikanis per Pyrrum mil. compossores[m]. Id genus qu[ae]rellae praecibus intentum an[— — — —] iustitia pr[aesi]dis potius super his quae adlegabuntur instructa discinge(re) quam rescripto principali certam formam reportare debeas. Rescripti. Recognovi. Sig[n]a*.

A petition to Severus and Caracalla received, in April 200, a favorable reply, No. 243 (*Sammelbuch* 7366), with the usual verification by the bureau chief, ἀνέγνων (= *recognovi*), and the seals of five Romans of some distinction. What we miss, however, is the word *rescriptsimus* in first place. Instead the bureau chief's ἀνέγνων stands in first place, and after it we have προσή[νε]γκον Κρησκευτιανός, 'I, Crescentianus, presented it' (for final approval). The emperors, who had verbally granted the favor but had not actually "signed" it, have probably moved on, leaving the bureau chief to wind up the business and five Roman signatories to represent the imperial *auctoritas* (*AJP* 97 [1976] 370–372).

Having examined above the prescript of No. 1 and the post-scripts of Nos. 242 and 243, we are now ready for No. 38, of

which the prescript is lost but which still retains the postscript: *Αὐτοκρά[τωρ Καῖσαρ Οὐεσπᾶ]σιανὸς ὑπέγραψα καὶ ἐκέλευσα [προτεθῆναι ἐν λε]υκώματι. Προετέθη ἔτους ῥ μηνὶ [Λώωι –, ἐν – – –]ωι πρὸ ἐξ κα(λανδῶν) Ἰανουαρίων.* This constitution, which confirms rather than grants privileges of physicians and medical assistants, is the subscript reply to a petition no longer extant. While the emperor ordered only temporary publication at Rome, some corporation or person paid for permanent publication at Pergamum.

In such documents the word *rescripsi* (or *scripsi*) certainly comes from the emperor, the word *recognovi* (*ἀνέγγνων*) from the chief of the bureau. The phrase *propositum est* or *προετέθη* belongs after the rescript if the rescript is copied during its public exposure; if copied *ex libro rescriptorum . . . et propositorum*, the information as to date and location tends to come at the beginning.

A case which constitutes an interesting contrast occurs in two petitions (*ἀξιώσεις*) from a prominent man, Aurelius Horion, who had held office as *archidikastes* at Alexandria and asked for declarations from Septimius Severus and Caracalla to protect his projected endowments, which were to serve a public purpose. Numbers 246–247 contain the declarations which the emperors issued, not in subscript format, but as epistles to Horion in Greek. The public purpose even more than the prominence of the petitioner may have determined the form of the reply.

The great flood of rescripts in subscript form began in the reign of Hadrian, who opened himself or the bureau *a libellis* to private inquiries of many kinds. But these rescripts received only temporary publication, and our examples are chiefly on papyri from the Severan period after the imperial visit to Egypt. Private inquiries were made before a legal case went to court, so that a ruling on the law could be obtained by anyone from the emperor. These were published by posting either the *libellus* and its rescript or just a text of the rescript in some public place where the inquirer or intermediary could read it and where he and others could copy it. Collections of such private rescripts were made on papyri and preserved for guidance in dealing with similar cases. The most famous such collection is that of the Columbia Apokrimata (Nos. 226–238).

This is a collection labeled ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἀντίγραφα ἀποκριμάτων <προ>τεθέντων ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ γυμνασίου. It contains thirteen Greek responses to private inquiries without the *libelli*

on which they were based, responses of Severus and Caracalla who visited Egypt in 199/200. The first five are said to have been published in the stoa of the gymnasium on the eighteenth of Phamenoth, the next four on the nineteenth, the last four on the twentieth. The full names of the emperors are given only with the first response.

Also smaller collections exist such as *P. Oxy.* 1020 with Nos. **220–222**, *P. Amherst* 63 with Nos. **227B** and **239**, *P. Flor.* 382 with Nos. **248–253**, *P. Oxy.* 1407 with Nos. **290–293**. Sometimes the same rescript appears on two papyri: No. **223** on *P. Strassb.* 22 and *BGU* 267, No. **227** on *P. Amherst* 63 and *P. Col.* 123. One expects that in the case of epistles and edicts, but it clearly occurred also with rescripts to private inquirers.

The format of the subscription differs from that of an epistle in that the prescript omits the titles of the author and the greeting *χαίρειν*, and it does not have an epistolary closing formula. The prescripts of subscriptions are unlike those of edicts or proclamations in that they have a definite recipient, the titles of the author are lacking, and *λέγει* (or *λέγουσι*) does not appear.

In the period from Augustus to Domitian or Trajan the subscript form was more widely used for replies to petitions. Numbers **1** (Augustus to the Samians) and **38** (Vespasian on physicians and *iatraliptae*) were rescripts of a type which in the post-Flavian period would probably have been drafted as epistles. A transfer of business from one bureau to another occurred especially after the Hadrianic development of the service whereby the emperor answered private inquiries on the law.

Three general studies of subscripts should here be mentioned: U. Wilcken, "Zu den Kaiserreskripten," *Hermes* 55 (1920) 1–42, a famous article which broke new ground; W. Williams, "The libellus Procedure and the Severan Papyri," *JRS* 64 (1974) 86–103; and A. A. Schiller, "The Diplomatics of the Tabula Banasitana," *Festschrift für Erwin Seidl* (Cologne, 1976) 143–160. To these should be added the important study by A. d'Ors and F. Martino, "Propositio libellorum," *AJP* 100 (1979) 111–124, on which rescripts were meant to be normative; [and W. Williams's reply to d'Ors and Martino, "The Publication of Imperial Subscripts," *ZPE* 40 (1980) 283–294. K.C.]

EPISTLES, EDICTS, RESCRIPTS, AND INSTRUCTIONS

1. AUGUSTUS TO THE SAMIANS

Aphrodisias, from the Archive Wall. The following text of this unpublished inscription was kindly provided by Joyce Reynolds, who summarized it in *Vestigia* 17 (1973) 119. For other documents from the Archive Wall, see Nos. 48, 69, 211, 218, 219, 278, 279, 281, 282, and 284.

[J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982) 104–106, No. 13. K.C.]

1

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱὸς Αὐγουστος Σαμίοις ὑπὸ τὸ
ἀξίωμα ὑπέγραψεν
Ἐξεστὶν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ὁρᾶν ὅτι τὸ φιλόφρονον τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐδενὶ δέδωκα
δῆμῳ πλὴν τῷ τῶν
Ἀφροδισιέων ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσας δοριόλωτος διὰ τὴν πρὸς
ἡμᾶς εὖνοιαν ἐγένετο·
οὐ γάρ ἐστιν δίκαιον τὸ πάντων μέγιστον φιλόφρονον εἰκῇ καὶ χωρὶς αἰτίας
χαρίζεσθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ
5 ὑμῖν μὲν εὖνοῶ καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν τῇ γυναικί μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν σπουδαζούσῃ
χαρίζεσθαι· ἀλλὰ
οὐχ ὥστε καταλῦσαι τὴν συνθήκην μου. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων μοι μέλει ἢ εἰς
τὸν φόρον τελεῖτε
star ἀλλὰ τὰ τειμώτατα φιλόφρονα χωρὶς αἰτίας εὐλόγον δεδωκέναι οὐδενὶ
βούλομαι star

Translation

Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of divine Julius, added a subscription for the Samians to their petition.

It is possible for you yourselves to see that I have granted the favor of freedom to no demos except to that of the Aphrodisians, who, having taken my side in the war, suffered capture on account of their loyalty to us. It is not just that the greatest favor of all be accorded at random and without cause. I for my part am well disposed toward you and would like to humor my wife who is zealous in your behalf, but not so as to destroy my customary policy. Nor is the money which you pay in tribute my

concern. But I wish to have given the most valuable favors to no one without a good reason.

Commentary

This fascinating document, the earliest *scriptio principis*, shows how the demos of the Aphrodisians became, as it called itself a hundred years later (McCrum and Woodhead 495), “the Caesar-loving demos of the Aphrodisians, free and autonomous from the beginning by the grace of the Augusti.” The city of Aphrodisias had received favor from Julius Caesar and very special favor from Octavian for its stand against Labienus. Most recently it had chosen Octavian’s side against Antony.

The reference to Livia is interesting indeed, not only because of her zeal for the Samians but because of the respect which Augustus gave to her in a public document. So are the diplomacy with which Augustus refused their request and the care with which he protected himself in line 6 from the charge of money greed; the subvirtue ἀφιλαργυρία was part of a great leader’s μεγαλοψυχία. Thus the Alexandrian “martyr” Appian described Marcus Aurelius, in contrast to his son, as φιλόσοφος, ἀφιλάργυρος, and φιλάγαθος (H. A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 66 = *CPJud* II No. 159). Above all, the subscription illustrates the way in which Augustus operated with fixed policies and publicized them, as an able administrator should.

With the phrase χωρὶς αἰτίας εὐλόγον in line 7 may be compared the phrase which Cassius Dio (55.3.2) uses when he refers to fines which Augustus levied on senators τοῖς μὴ δι’ εὐλογόν τινα αἰτίαν τῆς συνεδρείας ἀπολειπομένοις.

The rescript which the emperor appended does not differ in tone from an epistle. A subscription was the usual answer to a *libellus*, but a city did not ordinarily submit a *libellus*. The reader may consult U. Wilcken, “Zu den Kaiserreskripten,” *Hermes* 55 (1920) 1–42. Instead of sending ambassadors to Augustus with an epistle, the Samians had approached him through Livia with a petition.

The phrase θεοῦ Ἰουλίου νιός (instead of θεοῦ νιός) occurs also in an inscription at Eleusis, published by E. Vanderpool, *Deltion* 23 (1968) 7—Ὁ δῆμος | Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσα[ρα] | θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱοῦ | τὸν ἀποῦ σωτή[ρα] | καὶ εὐεργέτην. The formula *div[i] Iuli* f. seems to have occurred in Octavian’s inscription on the victory monument at Nicopolis (*AJP* 90 [1969] 180).

2. Διάταγμα Καίσαρος

Palestine. Now at Paris in the Cabinet des Médailles.

F. Cumont, "Un rescrit impérial sur la violation de sépulture," *RevHist* 163 (1930) 241–266 with photograph; Ed. Cuq, "Un rescrit d'Auguste sur la protection de *res religiosae* dans les provinces," *RHD* ser. 4, 9 (1930) 383–410, and "Le rescrit d'Auguste sur les violations de sépulture," 11 (1932) 109–126; G. De Sanctis, "Rescritto imperiale sulla violazione delle sepolture a Nazareth," *RivFil* 58 (1930) 260 f.; J. Carcopino, "Encore le rescrit impérial sur les violations de sépulture," *RHist* 166 (1931) 77–92 (important); L. Wenger, "Eine Inschrift aus Nazareth," *ZSav* 51 (1931) 369–397 (important for line 1); F. de Zulueta, "Violation of Sepulture in Palestine at the Beginning of the Christian Era," *JRS* 22 (1932), 184–197; St. Lösch, *Diatagma Kaisaros: Die Inschrift von Nazareth und das Neue Testament* (Freiburg im Br., 1936); *SEG* VIII (1936) 13 and XIII (1956) 596 with more complete bibliography than is given here; L. Robert, *Collection Froehner, Inscriptions grecques* (Paris, 1936) No. 70 with photograph; M. Guarducci, "L'iscrizione di Nazareth sulla violazione dei sepolcri," *RendPontAcc.* ser. 3, 18 (1941–1942) 85–98 with photograph (important); M. Sordi, "I primi rapporti fra lo stato romano e il cristianesimo e l'origine delle persecuzioni," *RendLinc* ser. 8, 12 (1957) 58–93 on pp. 91–93 (who interprets *θησκαία* to mean *pietas*). [Ehrenburg and Jones, 322; Charlesworth, *Documents . . . Claudius and Nero* 17.] Emilio Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia* (Milan, 1958) 92–99, No. XXVIII. B. M. Metzger, "The Nazareth Inscription Again," in E. E. Ellis and E. Grässer eds., *Jesus und Paulus, Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel* (Göttingen, 1975) 221–238 (text, translation, commentary, bibliography).

2

Διάταγμα Καίσαρος

Ἀρέσκει μοι τάφους τύνβους
 τε οἵτινες εἰς θησκαίαν προγόνων
 ἐποίησαν ἢ τέκνων ἢ οἰκείων,
 τοῦτους μένειν ἀμετακινήτους
 τὸν αἰῶνα. Ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπιδίξῃ τι
 νὰ ἢ καταλελυκότα ἢ ἄλλω τινὶ
 τρῶσῃ τοὺς κεκηδευμένους

- 10 *ἐξεργριφόντα ἢ εἰς ἑτέρους
τόπους δώλω πονηρῷ με
τατεθεικότα ἐπ' ἀδικίᾳ τῇ τῶν
κεκηδευμένων ἢ κατόχους ἢ λί
θους μετατεθεικότα, κατὰ τοῦ
τοιούτου κριτήριον ἐγὼ κελεύω*
- 15 *γενέσθαι καθάπερ περὶ θεῶν
εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θρησκ
κίας. Πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον δεήσει
τοὺς κεκηδευμένους τειμᾶν.
Καθόλου μηδενὶ ἐξέστω μετα*
- 20 *κεινῆσαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦτον ἐγὼ κε
φαλῆς κατάκριτον ὀνόματι
τυμβωρυχίας θέλω γενέσθαι.*

Translation

Caesar's Order

It meets with my approval that graves and tombs, whoever made them to venerate ancestors or offspring or members of the household, remain undisturbed forever. If anyone indicts a man as having either destroyed the grave or tomb or in any other way exhumed those who had been buried therein or as having transferred them with rascality to other areas to the injury of those who had been buried in the grave or tomb or as having moved the tombstones or blocks, I order that, just as he would if the outrage concerned deities, any such be tried for his offense against the reverent treatment of the aforesaid who were human. For with this prospect it will be more necessary to respect those who have been buried. In general then let it not be permitted to anyone to disturb the burials. If disobedience occurs, I want the disobedient to be condemned to capital punishment on a charge of violation of sepulture.

Commentary

The inscription has provoked an astonishing flood of theories, most of which need not be revived. The main problems are:

1) Where the stone was erected: Alas, that is unknown. The fact that the stone was dispatched from the market at Nazareth suggests but does not prove that it came either from Galilee or from Samaria. It would seem to have been erected in a Greek-

speaking area like Sebaste in Judaea (Samaria) or Sepphoris in Syria, as Robert says.

2) The date: The lettering seemed suitable for the early part of the first century after Christ to several distinguished epigraphists but cannot be dated precisely. The lettering could belong equally well to the second half of the first century B.C. or to the second half of the first century after Christ. De Sanctis argued that if the inscription came from Samaria, it must be dated after A.D. 6 when the province of Judaea was established, and that if it came from Galilee, it must be dated after A.D. 39, but an order of Caesar even there could have been issued in 30 B.C. while Octavian was approaching Egypt via Syria (Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 17: *Asiae Syriaeque circuitu Aegyptum petit*).

3) The identity of Caesar: Cuq, Carcopino, and L. Robert were of the firm opinion that the author was Augustus, because they preferred to take Caesar as a name. Others preferred to take Caesar as a designation of the emperor who was alive at the time the *diatagma* was issued. Both possibilities were envisioned by Cumont, who leaned toward an identification of the Caesar with Augustus. For Sordi he was Nero, for Guarducci and Momigliano he was Claudius, for Lösch he was Caligula, for others Tiberius. Gabba went down to Hadrian, who is surely too late, but it could have been Octavian before 28 B.C.

4) The type of document: Caesar's order appears to be a coherent whole where emendation is pointless; it could well have formed part of a whole group of orders, brief rather than abridged rules for guidance of a local commander. Whether the publication of the one order was private or official is not stated. Though the Greek word *διάταγμα* became the Greek equivalent of the Latin term 'edictum' at the beginning of the principate the terminology may not yet have been fixed. Furthermore, the document does not have the support of an edict's usual prescript, N. λέγει. In fact the word *κελεύω* in line 4 suggests a 'iussus (iussum) Caesaris' of local application only, such as the two early examples brought together in *AJP* 93 (1972) 193–195 and identified by C. P. Burton (*ZPE* 21 [1976] 68) as 'mandata.' A parallel for the citation of one 'mandatum' by itself will be found also in the Requisitions Edict of Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus as restored in *ZPE* 32 (1978) 280: [*i*]d [*iuss*]um in mandatis accepi.

5) The occasion: The reference to the respect which burials will receive in future as a result of this decision implies one or

more sensational violations as the occasion. As the most suitable occasion Carcopino considered the pollution of the Temple in Jerusalem by some Samaritans who put human bones therein (ca. A.D. 8: Jos., *Ant.* 18. 28 f.); others connected the *διάταγμα* with the resurrection of Christ (Matt. 28, 11 ff.). Cumont mentioned also Octavian's route to Egypt in 30 B.C. At that time the inscription's probable region of origin was not yet under permanently organized, direct Roman rule, but an order could have been published by a Roman military commander. All this, however, is speculative since not even the "Caesar" mentioned is identifiable with certainty.

6) The juristic background: In contemporary Roman law there is no trace of the death penalty as punishment for the violation of tombs. The order may probably be interpreted as an emergency measure, whether or not inspired by local law.

The document has probably not been drafted by professional jurists nor worded by meticulous secretaries. Though it does not much resemble the style of the imperial chancery, it might be right for Octavian in 30 B.C. Neither an official nor a private person would have been likely to alter Caesar's language by awkward economies or paraphrase.

[Cumont listed the possibility of understanding *ἐποίησαν* as a mistake for *ἐποιήθησαν*, but was also attracted to the possibility that in the Latin version there was an anacolouthon, as translated here. K.C.] On the famous word *θηρησκεία* of line 3 see in addition to Robert the commentary on the Testament of Epicrates by P. Herrmann, *SBWien* 265 (1970) 30. Also the charge *τυμβωρυχία* of line 22 appears in the Testament, where after listing conditions for the use of the tomb, Epicrates says in lines 78–79: Ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω τυμ | βωρυχία.

3. AGRIPPA TO THE GERUSIA OF ARGOS, 17/16[?] B.C.

Argos. No. 125 in the Museum of Argos, on the back of an episthographic stele.

W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* 47 (1919) 263–270, No. 28; M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa* (Geneva, N.Y., 1933) 122, 160–172; J. H. Oliver, *Historia* 7 (1958) 474–476, 480–481; Sherck, *Roman Documents*, 323 f., No. 63; [*Année ép.* 1920, No. 82; Ehrenberg and Jones, No. 308].

3

Γερόντων

Ἀγρίππας Ἀργείων γέρονσι τοῖς ἀπὸ
 Δαναοῦ καὶ Ὑπερμήστρας χαίρειν.
 Ἐγὼ τοῦ τε διαμεῖναι τὸ σύστημα
 5 ὑμῶν καὶ φυλάττειν τὸ παλαιὸν δίκωμα
 τὴν αἰτίαν ἐματὶ σύννοια παρεσχη
 μένων καὶ πολλὰ τῶν καταλελυμένων
 ὑμεῖν ἀποδεδωκότι δικαίων πρὸς τε
 τοῦτιον προνοεῖν ὑμῶν [προθύμως]
 10 ἔχω καὶ τὴν [-----]
 νομιζ[-----]
 [-----]

Translation

Agrippa to the Gerusia of Argive Elders descended from Danaus and Hypermestra greetings.

Personally I feel confident that I have provided the occasion for your society to survive and to safeguard its ancient dignity and that I have restored to you many of the rights which had been canceled, and for the future I am eager to take good care of you — — —

Commentary

The inscription dates from the period of Agrippa's coregency and sojourn in the East, perhaps 17-16 B.C.

The gerusia of those descended from Danaus and Hypermestra is attested in two other inscriptions (see *Historia* 7 [1958] 480-481), but not much is actually known about it. The interest in the society's ancient dignity has a parallel in No. 173 where Marcus Aurelius connects the ancient dignity of Athens with the purge of the Areopagus. Part of the program of Augustus in the year 18 B.C. was to cleanse the Roman senate of ignoble elements. This policy aimed at a restoration of standards and so at an improvement of the whole community.

4. AUGUSTUS TO THE ERESIANS 12[?] B.C.

Eresos. Formerly built into the wall of a modern house, the stone is now lost. A search was made for it in October 1973.

A. Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* (Hannover, 1865) Pl. 10, 4; better E. David, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἑραιοῦ* (Athens, 1895) 26–27, No. 32; still better W. Paton, *IG XII 2* (1899) 531; Sherck, *Roman Documents*, 69 (with consultation of the Berlin squeeze).

The spare remains in lines 1–11 need not be reproduced here. They may be found in Sherck's edition.

4

- 12 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστός, δημαρχι]κῆς ἐξουσ[ίας τὸ δω]
[δέκατον, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ἐνδὲ]κατ[ον, Ἑρ]εσιῶν ἀρχο[υσι, βουλῇ],
[δῆμῳ χαίρειν· -----] τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν ψή[φισμα -----]
[-----] καὶ ὑπερεθέμην [-----]
16 [-----] INΩ καὶ αὐτὸν [-----]
[-----] καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς [-----]
[-----] Ἀγρίππας ὁ διαφέρων [-----]
[-----] ὅμιενος τῷ θεῷ Καίσαρι [-----]
20 [-----] το παρ' αὐτὸν ἀπαμ[-----]
[-----] Κάλλιππον Δια[-----]
[-----]

Commentary

The main clue to the date lies in lines 12 and 13. The reference to the tribunician power in line 12 shows that we are dealing with an imperial letter; and so line 12 cannot be shorter than here restored. If the epistle postdates 12 B.C., when Augustus became pontifex maximus, the word ἀρχιερεὺς will have preceded reference to the tribunician power in line 12 and all the lines will have been that much longer. In line 13 the numeral should be associated with either the consulate or the imperial salutation, probably the latter if the name of the epistle's recipient follows, and if the writer was Augustus. References to Agrippa ("my" or "his kinsman"?) and to the god Caesar in lines 18–19 point strongly to Augustus. The tenth imperial salutation of Augustus dates from 15 B.C., the twentieth from A.D. 11. The tenth consulate of Augustus was in 24 B.C.. The epistle may certainly be dated after 24 B.C. and probably between 15 B.C. and A.D. 11. Paton assumed from the supposed length of lines 12–13 that the epistle was composed after the death of Agrippa in 12 B.C. In fact, the crucial lines 12–13 lend themselves to restoration best with *ekthesis* of line 12 and the numerals for the year 12/11 B.C. but without

ἀρχιερέυς. The restoration here proposed dates the inscription to the second half of 12 B.C. Paton's καιδέ]κατ[ον in line 13, which assumed a later date, does not work out well and suffers from the probable omission of ἀρχιερέυς. Compare T. D. Barnes, "The Victories of Augustus," *JRS* 64 (1974) 21–26 for dates. The epistle may have stopped at the end of line 15 or gone on.

5. AUGUSTUS TO THE ALEXANDRIANS, 10/9 B.C.

Oxyrhynchus. Papyrus in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Society, now stored in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Hand of the earlier first century after Christ.

P. J. Parsons, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 42 (London, 1974) No. 3020.

Col. II with the proceedings of the embassy need not be reproduced here. Col. I reads as follows.

5

[Αὐ]τοκράτωρ Καίσαρος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιε[ρ]εὺς,
[δη]μαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰδ', αὐτοκράτωρ
[τὸ] ἰβ', Ἀλεξανδρείων δῆμῳ χαίρειν. Οὗς
[ἐπ]έμψατε πρέσβεις ἐλθόντες εἰς Γαλατείαν
5 [πρ]ὸς με τάς [τ]ε ἄλλας ἐντολὰς ὑμῶν ἀπέ
[δο]σαν κα[ὶ] τὰ δοκοῦντα ὑμᾶς λελοιοπηκέ
[να] ἰ ἐν τοῖς ἔ]μπροσθε[ν] ἔτε[σ]ιν ἠδῆλωσαν
[· · · · ·]ωι πρό[τε]ρον εἰ τοὺς ἡμετε
[ρ]-----]εἰν τῆς δεο[· · · ·]
10 [-----]γ καταλεξ[· · ·]
[-----]πρε]σβέων ρισ[· · · ·]
[-----]ἐξηγητη[---]
[-----]

6–7 λελυπηκέναι. 7 ἐδήλωσαν.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the fourteenth time, imperator for the twelfth time, to the Demos of the Alexandrians, greetings.

The ambassadors whom you sent came to Gaul and found me. They delivered your other commissions and explained the things which seem to have aggrieved you in previous years — —

Commentary

Unfortunately we have only its opening lines with the earliest example of the heading Augustus used in official letters from 12 B.C. on, followed by conventional remarks about the reception of the embassy. On the visit of Augustus to Gaul Parsons cites Cassius Dio 44. 36. 4. Some idea of the aims of the embassy may be gathered from the report about the audience where ὑπὲρ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου, and ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως are mentioned as themes treated in the negotiations.

In line 8 Parsons suspects εἰ for ἡ and ἡμετε for ὑμετέ | [ρους πρόσβεις προσελθ]εῖν.

For the augment in ἡδήλωσαν, see also B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens, 1973) §270–271.

This, the earliest epistle which preserves a heading such as Augustus used from 12 B.C. on, shows how Augustus himself visualized the principate. First, he is the emperor with *imperium* and *auctoritas*, second he is the *archiereus* (pontifex maximus at Rome but also far more than a priest of the city state Rome), and third he has the tribunician power (with the *auxilium* to aid and protect provincials as well as Romans).

6. AUGUSTUS TO THE CNIDIANS, 6 B.C.

Astypalaea. Formerly in the Castello (Kastro), but now broken and removed, and partly destroyed. Fragments were seen by the writer on 17 June 1971 in a storeroom near the demarcheion at Astypalaea.

L. Ross, *Inscriptiones graecae ineditae* 3 (Berlin, 1845) No. 312, has part of the text, but for all practical purposes the first edition was the good one by M. Dubois, *BCH* 7 (1883) 62–67 with translation and commentary. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* XII 3 (1898) 174 and *SIG*³ (1917) 780 improved the text, which has remained hitherto as he left it. Sherk, *Roman Documents*, No. 67, reexamined the Berlin squeeze and assembled a bibliography. The text has often been reprinted: P. Viereck, *Sermo Graecus* (Berlin, 1888) No. 9; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*² (1898) 356; U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechisches Lesebuch* (Berlin, 1902) Text 394–395, Erläuterungen 257–258; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, No. 36; G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927)

1031b; Arangio-Ruiz, *FIRA*², 3: No. 185 with Latin translation and discussion; Ehrenberg and Jones 312. See also P. Garnsey, *JRS* 56 (1966) 184–187.

The block, when copied in the nineteenth century, preserved the epistle of Augustus to the Cnidians in letters 0.008 m. high. Below this was a vacant area of 0.035 m., and then in letters 0.016 m. high the (first) epistle of Hadrian to the Astypalaeans, which is *infra* No. 64. The fragments seen by the writer are:

1) fragment, 0.23 m. high, 0.40 m. wide, and 0.29 m. thick, containing part of lines 14–25 of the epistle of Augustus;

2) a second fragment—the squeeze is 0.18 m. high and 0.47 m. wide—containing part of lines 23–34;

3) a third fragment, 0.44 m. high, 0.36 m. wide and 0.30 m. thick, containing a few letters of lines 36–39 of the epistle of Augustus to the Cnidians and part of ten lines of the epistle of Hadrian to the Astypalaeans.

Dubois gave no measurements, and those that Hiller gave probably belonged to another stone. Also measurements made from a squeeze by Dittenberger seem to be wrong.

6

[-----]

[ἐπὶ δαμι]ωργοῦ δὲ Καιρογένειος Λευ[κα]θέου (?).

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς
ὑπατος τὸ δωδέκατον ἀποδεδειγμένος

καὶ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὀκτω{ι}καιδέκατον

5 Κνιδίων ἀρχουσι βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν· οἱ πρέσ

βεις ὑμῶν Διονύσιος β̄ καὶ Διονύσιος β̄ τοῦ Διονυ

σίου ἐνέτυχον ἐν Ῥώμῃ μοι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ἀποδόντες

κατηγόρησαν Εὐβούλου μὲν τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδα τεθνε{ι}

ῶτος ἥδη{ι}, Τρυφέρας δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ παρούσης

10 περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Εὐβούλου τοῦ Χρυσίππου. ἐγὼ{ι}

δὲ ἐξετάσαι προστάξας Γάλλῳ Ἀσινίῳ τῷ ἐμῷ φίλῳ

τῶν οἰκετῶν τοὺς ἐνφερομένους τῇ αἰτίᾳ διὰ βα

σάνων ἔγνω Φιλεῖνον τὸν Χρυσίππου τρεῖς νύ

κτας συνεχῶς ἐπεληλυθότα τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ Εὐβού

15 λου καὶ Τρυφέρας μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ τρόπῳ τινὶ πολι

ορκίας, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ συνεπη{ι}γμένον καὶ τὸν ἀδελ

φὸν Εὐβουλον, τοὺς δὲ τῆς οἰκίας δεσπότας Εὐβου

λον καὶ Τρυφέραν, ὥς οὔτε χρηματίζοντες πρὸς

τὸν Φιλεῖνον οὔτε ἀντιφραττόμενοι ταῖς προσ

- 20 βολαῖς ἀσφαλείας ἐν τῇ ἐαυτῶν οἰκίᾳ τυχεῖν ἡδύνατο, προστεταχ[χ]ότας ἐνὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐκ ἀποκτεῖναι, ὡς ἴσως ἂν τις ὑπ' ὀργῆς οὐ[κ] ἀδίκου προήχθη{ι}, ἀλλὰ ἀνείρξαι κατασκεδάσαντα τὰ κόπρια αὐτῶν, τὸν δὲ οἰκέτην σὺν τοῖς καταχεομένοις εἴτε ἐκόντα
- 25 εἴτε ἄκοντα — αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐνέμεινεν ἀρνούμενο[ς]— ἀφείναι τὴν γάστραν, [κα]ὶ τὸν Εὐβουλον ὑποπεσεῖν δικαίῳ [τε]ρον ἂν σωθέντα τᾶ{ι} δελφοῦ. πέπονθα δὲ ὑμεῖν καὶ α[ὐ] [τε]ὰς τὰς ἀνακρίσεις· ἐθαύμαζον δ' ἂν, πῶς εἰς τόσον ἔδεισαν τὴν παρ' ὑμεῖν ἐξετασίαν τῶν δούλων οἱ φ[ε]ύ]
- 30 γοντες τὴν δίκην, εἰ μὴ μοι σφόδρα αὐτοῖς ἐδόξ[ατε] χαλεποὶ γεγονέναι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία μισοπόνη[ροι], μὴ κατὰ τῶν δέξιων πᾶν ὅτιοῦν παθεῖν, ἐπ' ἄλλο[τριάν] οἰκίαν νύκτωρ μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ βίας τρις ἐπεληλυ[θό]των καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων ὑμῶν ἀσφάλειαν [δναί]
- 35 ρούντων ἀγαναχτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν καὶ ἡν[ίκ' ἡ] μύνοντο ἡτυχηκότων, ἡδίκηκότων δὲ οὐδ' ἔστ[ιν ὅ τι]. ἀλλὰ νῦν ὀρθῶς ἂν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιῆσαι τῇ ἐμῇ π[ερὶ τοῦ] τῶν γνώ{ι}μῃ προνοήσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς δημ[οσίοις] ὑμῶν ὁμολογεῖν γράμματα. ^{vv} ἔρρωσθε. vacat
vacat

A letter of Hadrian follows.

1 [ἐπὶ δαμν]ωργοῦ Dubois; Λευ[κα]θέου Hiller (SIG³ 780). 22 Dubois. 25–27 Dubois. 29–31 Ross. 32 Dubois. 34 Ross. 35 καὶ [ὅτε ἦ] Ross, καὶ ἡν[ίκ' ἡ] Hiller (IG XII, 3, 174). 36 οὐδέ[ν] Dubois; οὐδ' ἔστ[ιν ὅ τι] Kaibel (IG XII, 3, 174). 37–38 Dubois.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Divi filius Augustus, pontifex maximus, consul designate for the twelfth time and with tribunician power for the eighteenth, to Archons, Council, Demos of the Cnidians greetings.

Your ambassadors, Dionysius junior and Dionysius III, met with me in Rome, and when they gave me your decree, they denounced the already dead Eubulus, son of Anaxandridas, and Tryphera his wife, who did appear, for the death of Eubulus, son of Chrysippus. I assigned to Gallus Asinius, my friend, the interrogation by torture of those house slaves involved in the affair. I learned that Philinus, son of Chrysippus, for three nights in succession had attacked the house of Eubulus and Tryphera with outrageous insolence and a kind of siege and on the third

night had brought along his brother Eubulus too, and that the owners of the house, Eubulus and Tryphera, inasmuch as they could not obtain security in their own house either by negotiating with Philinus or by barricading it against his attacks, had ordered one of the slaves, not to kill as one might be led to do by a not unjust anger, but to discourage them by dumping their offal upon them. The slave, whether willingly or unwillingly—for he persists in denying it—released the pot along with the contents that were being poured, and Eubulus succumbed, who might more justly have been saved than his brother. I have sent you the record itself of the inquiries. I should wonder how they conceived such a fear of the investigation of their slaves among you, they who avoided trial, if it had not appeared to me that you had been very rough with them and perversely indignant, being aroused not against those who deserved every punishment, who had thrice attacked another's house at night with outrageous insolence and violence and were destroying the security of your society, but against people who while defending themselves had met with bad luck but committed no wrong. But now it seems to me that you would do rightly in seeing to it that the records in your public files agree with my decision on these matters. Farewell.

Commentary

Dubois translated the participle *παρούσης* in line 9 as “présente ici” (“who was here,” Sherk), whereas Arangio-Ruiz translated it “superstitem” (followed by *ARS*, “still alive”). Dubois was surely right. Again in line 30 Dubois read *μοι* where Hiller copied and Sherk retained the unintelligible *ποι*. The third fragment still preserves the word; the reading is clearly *μοι*, as Wilamowitz corrected and Hiller himself recognized in *SIG*³ 780. In line 37 the pi of *π[ερὶ]* is actually preserved. These are the only textual problems, though P. Viereck's discussion in *Sermo Graecus*, 78–79, should be mentioned. We may turn at once to the administrative aspect.

In a capital case the surviving defendant, feeling herself threatened by the local influence of a powerful enemy and by the prejudice of her fellow-citizens, demanded or requested trial before the emperor at Rome. Augustus himself conducted the trial except for the interrogation of the slaves of the defendant. This he assigned to his friend Asinius Gallus. Because of the cost

and the need to guard the house, it does not seem likely that all the slaves would have been transported to Rome. In fact, it can hardly be a coincidence that Asinius Gallus was to be the proconsul of Asia in 6/5 B.C. (*ILS* 97). Surely the emperor would not have turned over the interrogation of the slaves to this distinguished consular, if the consular were not about to depart for the general area of Cnidus. He was asked to stop at Cnidus (which did not belong to the province of Asia) before he sailed to Ephesus to take up his duties as proconsul. Gallus carried out the commission and reported by letter to Augustus, whereupon Augustus finished his *cognitio* and in a letter dated in 6 B.C. notified the Cnidians and castigated them. For a different interpretation see Sherk.

The Cnidians were not ordered to publish the letter of Augustus and we may be sure they did not do so. The block with the epistle in the last century bore a date in line 1 by the eponymous magistrate of Astypalaea where it was originally erected. Astypalaea did belong to the province of Asia, and the publication of the epistle of Augustus to the Cnidians at Astypalaea may perhaps be explained as a warning by the concerned new governor Asinius Gallus to unruly elements at Astypalaea. The extant line 1 was not the first line of the original inscription, which began with some kind of explanation. Wilamowitz surmised that Tryphera, who moved away from Cnidus, published the epistle at Astypalaea to prove her innocence.

The interest of the epistle is manifold. First, we see that Cnidus, a free city, did not feel able to condemn in a capital case, when the defendant did not accept trial. Eubulus and Tryphera, the defendants, were not Roman citizens, but they could obtain protection and justice from the emperor. While Hadrian (*infra*, No. 91) limited appeals from the free cities of Greece, he did not do so in capital cases. Second, we note that the interrogation of slaves by torture, abhorrent as it is to modern man, might be very different in the hands of a fair Roman judge from the harassment by a hostile court. The judge had the right to torture but perhaps did not make use of the right if in his opinion the threat sufficed to produce cooperation. Third, the interest which Augustus personally took in an orderly society and his indignation at the outrages speak very well for the energy of his administration and its goals, and also for the tribunician power, which made him the champion of the oppressed.

Both Viereck (p. 78) and Wilamowitz comment on the elegance

of the epistle. Wilamowitz says that *ἐξετασία* in line 29 is the only *Sprachfehler*.

7. AUGUSTUS TO SARDIS, 5 B.C.

Sardis. Stele of bluish marble found 1912 in the precinct of Artemis at Sardis and now No. 401 in the New ("Fuari") Archaeological Museum at Izmir, where it was examined in September 1973.

W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *AJA* 18 (1914) 321–362 and *Sardis* 7.1 (1932) 16–27, No. 8 with photograph; [G. Lafaye, *IGRR* 4 (1927) 1756]; Sherck, *Roman Documents*, 68 (with consultation of the squeeze at Princeton).

The stele, 139 lines long, contains a collection of twelve documents honoring Menogenes, one of two ambassadors who went to Rome to congratulate the emperor and his adopted son Gaius on the latter's assumption of the *toga virilis*. In view of the accessibility and length of the inscription only lines 22–27, the epistle of Augustus, are here reproduced.

7

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς <ς> Σεβα<σ>τός, ἀρχιερεύς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξου-
 σίας ·ΙΘ·
 Σαρδιανῶν ἀρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν Ἰόλλας τε
 Μητροδώρου καὶ
 Μηνογένης Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Μηνογένους συνέντευχον ἐν Ῥώμῃ μοι καὶ τὸ παρ'
 ὑμῶν
 25 ψήφισμα ἀπέδοσαν, δι' οὗ τὰ τε δόξαντα ὑμεῖν περὶ <ή>μῶν δηλοῦντες καὶ
 συνήδεσθε ἐπὶ τῇ τε·
 λειώσει τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου μου τῶν παίδων· ἐπαινῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς φιλοτειμουμένους
 ἀνθ' ὧν εὖεργε
 τῆσθε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐχαρίστους ἀτοῦς εἰς τε ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς πάντας ἐνδείκνυσθαι.
 Ἔρρωσθε.

Translation

Imperator Caesar divi f. Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the nineteenth time, to the archons, council and demos of the Sardians greetings.

Your ambassadors, Iollas son of Metrodorus and Menogenes

son of Isidorus the son of Menogenes met with me at Rome and gave me from you the decree in which you make clear your resolutions concerning ⟨us⟩ and offer congratulations on my elder son's graduation from childhood. I praise you accordingly because you are ever ambitious to show yourselves grateful to me and to all my family for the benefits you have received at my hands. Farewell.

Commentary

The "resolutions concerning ⟨us⟩" are recorded in the document which precedes the letter of Augustus, namely to celebrate Gaius Caesar's assumption of the *toga virilis* annually as a holiday, likewise the day on which the news reached Sardis.

Both documents which mention Iollas give his patronymic but not the name of his grandfather. All twelve documents give the names of the father and grandfather of Menogenes; described in one document (VI) as [ἀνὴρ] καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πατρὸς ἐκ προγόνων τιμίου, Menogenes clearly possessed the *trigonia* on the paternal side. One cannot assume that Iollas lacked the *trigonia*, but the question certainly arises. The other documents show that Menogenes served with distinction not only as *eclogista* of Sardis but as *ecdicus* of the Commonalty of Asia, and he became the recipient of great honors.

8–12. THE SO-CALLED CYRENE EDICTS OF AUGUSTUS AND THE SENATUS CONSULTUM

Cyrene. Now No. 86 in the Cyrene Sculpture Museum at Shahat, a stele of common marble, intact, 2.05 m. high, 0.61 m. wide above and 0.70 m. at the base, 0.38 m. thick.

It was found in the Italian excavations and was first published by G. Oliverio, "La stele di Augusto rinvenuta nell'Agora di Cirene," *Notiziario Archeologico* 4 (1927) 13–67, with photographs. The bibliography is now huge. Among the most important prewar studies were those of J. G. C. Anderson, "Augustan Edicts from Cyrene," *JRS* 17 (1927) 33–48; L. Radermacher, "Fünf Erlasse des Augustus aus der Cyrenaica, *AnzWien* 10 (1928) 60–82 (with contributions from A. Wilhelm); A. von Premerstein, "Die fünf neugefundenen Edikte des Augustus aus Kyrene," *ZSav* 48 (1928)

419–531 and 51 (1931) 431–459; V. Arangio-Ruiz, “L’editto di Augusto ai Cirenei,” *RivFil* 56 (1928) 321–364; J. Stroux and L. Wenger, “Die Augustus-Inschrift von Kyrene,” *AbhBayAk* 34. 2 (1928) (and compare V. Arangio-Ruiz, *RivFil* 58 [1930] 220–230). *SEG* IX (1939) 8 closed this period with a good bibliography. During the War appeared F. De Visscher’s splendid edition, *Les édits d’Auguste découverts à Cyrène* (Louvain and Paris, 1940) with photographs, an edition which marks an epoch. The two most important reviews were by H. Last, *JRS* 35 (1945) 93–99 and by L. Wenger, *ZSav* 62 (1942) 425–436. Among later studies of the so-called edicts were those of Adolf Wilhelm, “Zu dem dritten der Edikte des Augustus aus Kyrene,” *AnzWien* (1943) 2–10; J. H. Oliver, “On Edict II . . .,” *MAAR* 19 (1949) 105–108, and “On Edict III from Cyrene,” *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 324–325; G. I. Luzzato, “Nota minima sul secondo editto di Augusto ai Cirenei,” *Festschrift Hans Lewald* (Basel, 1953) 101–104; F. De Visscher, “La justice romaine en Cyrénaïque,” *RIDA* 11 (1964) 321–333; P. Garnsey, *JRS* 56 (1966) 177 on Edict I; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1973) 334–336. [Ehrenberg and Jones, No. 311.] A complete bibliography will be found in Sherk, *Roman Documents*, No. 31 (Edict V and the *senatus consultum* which occasioned it), and one should now add W. Kunkel, “Über die Entstehung des Senatsgerichts,” *SBMünchen phil.-hist. Kl.* (1969) Heft 2.

8

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς δημαρχικῆς
ἐξουσίας ἑπτακαίδεκατον αὐτοκράτωρ τεσερασκαιδέκατον
vacat λέγει vacat

- Ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πάντας εὗρισκω Ῥωμαίους ἐν τῇ περὶ Κυρήνην
5 ἐπαρχίᾳ πέντε καὶ δέκα καὶ διακοσίους ἐκ πάσης ἡ<λ>ικίας,
δισχειλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων διναρίων ἢ μείζω τίμησιν ἔχοντας,
ἐξ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ κριταί, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις εἶναι τινὰς συνωμοσίας
αἱ πρεσβῆαι τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπαρχίας πόλεων ἀπω<δ>ύραντο τὰς ἐπιβαροῦ
σας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐν ταῖς θανατηφόροις δίκαις, τῶν αὐτῶν ἐμ μέρει κα
10 τηγορούντων καὶ μαρτυρούντων ἀλλήλοις, κἀγὼ δὲ αὐτὸς ἔγνωκα ἃ
ναίτιους τινὰς τῷ τρόπῳ καταβεβαρημένους καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐσχά
την ἡγμένους τιμορίαν, ἄχρι ἂν ἡ σύνκλητος βουλευσῇται περὶ τούτου
ἢ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἀμεινον εὖρω τι ^{VV} δοκοῦσί μοι καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ποιῆσειν
οἱ τὴν Κρητικὴν καὶ Κυρηναικὴν ἐπαρχίαν καθέζοντες προτιθέντες ἐν τῇ κατὰ
15 Κυρήνην ἐπαρχίᾳ τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμὸν Ἑλλήνων κριτῶν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημὰ

- των ὅσον καὶ Ῥωμαίων, μη<δ>ένα νεώτερον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν, μήτε Ῥωμαῖον μήτε Ἕλληνα, μη<δ>ἐ ἔλασον ἔχον<τ>α τίμημα καὶ οὐσίαν, ἂν γε εὐπορία τοιούτων ἂν θρώπων ἦι, δειναρίων ἑπτακισχειλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων, ἧ ἂν τούτωι τῷ τρόπῳ μὴ δύνῃται συμπληροῦσθαι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ὀφειλόντων προτιθέσθαι κριτῶν, τοὺς
 20 τὸ ἡμῖσι καὶ μὴ ἔλασον τούτου τοῦ τιμ<ήμ>ατος ἔχοντας προτιθέσθαι κριτὰς ἐν τοῖς θανατηφόροις τῶν Ἑλλήνων κριτηρίοις ^{vvv} Ἐὰν δὲ Ἕλληγ κρινόμενος πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ τὸν κατήγορον ἄρξασθαι λέγειν δοθείσης ἐξουσίας αὐτῷ, πότερον ἅπαντας βούλεται κριτὰς αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους εἶναι ἢ τοὺς ἡμίσιους Ἕλληνας, ἔλῃται τοὺς ἡμίσεις Ἕλληνας, τότε σηκωθείσων τῶν
 25 σφαιρῶν καὶ ἐπιγραφέντων αὐταῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἐγ μὲν τοῦ ἐτέρου κληρωτηρίου τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματα, ἐγ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κληρω[ύ]σθω, ἕως ἂν {αν} ἐφ' ἐκατέρου γένους ἀνὰ εἴκοσι πέντε ἐκκληρωθῶσιν, ὧν ἀνὰ ἕνα ἐξ <ἐ>κατέρου γένους ὁ διώκων, ἂν βούληται, ἀπολεγέτω, τρεῖς δὲ ἐξ ἀπάντων [ὁ] φεύγων ^{vvv} ἐφ' ὧι οὐτε Ῥωμαίους πάντας οὐ<τ>ε Ἕλληνας πάντας ἀπολέξει· εἴτα οἱ
 30 ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν ἀπολυέσθωσαν καὶ φερέτωσαν ἰδία μὲν εἰς ἐτέραν κίστην οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ψῆφον, ἰδία δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἰς ἐτέραν· εἴτα, γενομένης ἰδίας τῆς διαριθμήσεως τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ψήφων, ὅ τι ἂν οἱ πλείους ἐξ ἀπάντων δικάσωσιν, τοῦτο ἐμφανῶς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀποφαιnéσθω. Καὶ ἐπ<ε>ὶ τοὺς ἀδίκους θανάτους ὧς <τ>ὸ πολὺ οἱ προσήκον<τ>ες τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν οὐκ ἀτειμωρήτους περιωρῶσιν, εἰκὸς τέ ἐστιν
 35 τοῖς ἐνόχοις μὴ ἐνλίψειν Ἕλληνας κατηγόρους τοὺς δίκην ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπολωλότων οἰκίων ἢ πολιτῶν πραξομένους ^{vvv} ὁρθῶς καὶ προσηκόντως μοι δοκοῦσιν ποιῆσειν ὅσοι Κρήτης καὶ Κυρήνης στρατηγήσουσιν, εἰ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Κυρήνην ἐπαρχίᾳ ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνος ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς ἀναιρέσεως μὴ προσίοιντο κατήγορον Ῥωμαῖον Ἕλληγ
 40 νος, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τις Ῥωμαϊότητι τετειμημένος ὑπὲρ τινος τῶν οἰκίων ἢ πολιτῶν θανάτου δικάζοιτο vacat Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς δημοκρατικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἑπτακαίδεκατον λέγει ^{vv} Φθόνος ψόγος τε εἶναι Ποπλίῳ Σεξτίῳ Σκεύῃ οὐκ ὀφείλει, ὅτι Αὐλὸν Στράκκιον Λευκίου υἱὸν Μάξιμον καὶ Λεύκιον Στράκκιον Λευκίου υἱὸν Μακεδόνα καὶ Πόπλιον Λακουτάνιον Ποπλίου ἀπελεύθερον Φιλέρωτα ^{vvvv} ἐπειδὴ ἑατοὺς οὗτοι,

- 45 ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν τά τε δημόσια πράγματα ἀνῆκεν, ἐπίστασθαι καὶ
 βούλεσθαι εἰπεῖν ἔφθασαν, δεσμίους πρὸς με ἐκ τῆς Κυρηναικῆς ἐπαρχίας {α}
 ἀναπεμφθῆναι ἐφρόντισεν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐποίησεν Σέξστιος καθηκόντως καὶ ἐ-
 πιμελῶς ὧς Λοιπόν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τὰ δημόσια πράγματα ἀνηκόν
 των οὐδὲν γεινώσκουσ<ι, τ>οὔτο δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ εἶπαν ἑατοὺς πε
 50 πλάσθαι καὶ ἔψευσθαι φανερόν τε ἐποίησάν μοι, ἐλευθερωθέντας
 αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς παραφυλακῆς ἀφείημι ὧς Ἀὐλὸν δὲ Στλάκκιον
 Μάξιμον, ὃν Κυρηναίων οἱ πρέσβεις αἰτιῶνται ἀνδριάντας ἐκ τῶν
 δημοσίων τόπων ἡρκεῖναι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν ὧς ἡ πόλεις τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ὑπέργραψεν,
 ἔω{ς}
 ὡς ἂν περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος διαγνῶ, ἀπελθεῖν ἀνευ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιταγῆς κω
 55 λύω vacat Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
 10 τὸ ἐπτακαιδέκατον vacat λέγει vacat Εἴ τινας ἐκ τῆς Κυρηναικῆς ἐπαρχί-
 ας πολιτῆται τετεῖμνται, τούτους λειτουργεῖν οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἐμὲ μέρει τῷ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων <χρήμασι καὶ> σώματι κελεύω ὧς ἐκτὸς τ<ο>ι[ο]ύτων, οἷς κατὰ
 νόμον ἢ δόγμα συνκλή<του>
 τῷ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐπικρίματι ἢ τῷ ἐμῷ ἀνεισφορία ὁμοῦ σὺν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
 60 δέδοται ὧς καὶ τούτους αὐτούς, οἷς ἢ ἀνεισφορία δέδοται, τούτων τῶν πρα-
 γμάτων εἶναι ἀτελεῖς, ὧν τότε εἶχον, ἀρέσκει μοι· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐπικτητῶν
 πάντων τελεῖν τὰ γινόμενα vacat Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς ἀρχι-
 11 ερεὺς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἐπτακαιδέκατον vacat λέγει ὧς Αἵτινες
 ἀμφοισβητήσις ἀνὰ μέσον Ἑλλήνων ἔσσονται κατὰ τὴν Κυρηναικὴν ἐπαρχίαν,
 65 ὑπεξειρημένων τῶν ὑποδίκων κεφαλῆς ὑπὲρ ὧν ὃς ἂν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν διακατέχη
 αὐτὸς διαγεινώσκειν κ[αὶ] ἰστάναι ἢ συμβούλιον κριτῶν παρέχειν ὀφείλει ὧς
 <ὅ>
 πὲρ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν πραγμάτων πάντων Ἑλληνας κριτὰς δίδοσθαι ἀρέσκει, εἰ
 μὴ τις
 ἀπαιτούμενος ἢ ὁ εὐθυνόμενος πολεΐτας Ῥωμαίων κριτὰς ἔχειν βούλῃται· ὧν
 δ' ἂν ἀ-
 νὰ μέσον ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐπικρίματος Ἑλλήν<ε>ς κριταὶ δοθῇσονται ὧς
 κριτὴν δίδοσθαι
 70 οὐκ ἀρέσκει ἐ<ξ> ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ ἕνα, ἐξ ἧς ἂν ὁ διώκων ἢ ὁ εὐθύνων
 ἔσται ἢ ἐκεῖ-
 νος ὁ {π}ἀπαιτούμενος ἢ εὐθυνόμενος vacat
 vacat
 12 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὧς ἸΘ vacat λέγει·
 vacat
 Δόγμα συνκλήτου τὸ ἐπὶ Γαίου Καλουσιίου καὶ Λευκίου
 75 Πασσιήνου ὑπάτων κυρωθὲν ἐμοῦ παρόντος καὶ σὺν
 ἐπιγραφομένον, ἀνῆκον δὲ εἰς τὴν τῶν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ
 Ῥωμαίων συμμάχων ἀσφάλαν, ἵνα πᾶσιν ἢ γνωστόν,
 ὧν κηδόμεθα, πέμπειν εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας διέγων καὶ τῷ
 ἐμῷ προγράμματι ὑποτάσσειν, ἐξ οὗ δῆλον ἔσται πᾶσιν
 80 τοῖς τὰς ἐπαρχίας κατοικοῦσιν, ὅσῃν φροντίδα ποιούμε

θα ἐγὼ τε καὶ ἡ σύνκλητος τοῦ μηδένα τῶν ἡμῖν ὑποτασο
μένων παρὰ τὸ προσήκόν τι πάσхин ἢ εἰσπράτεσθαι.

vacat Δόγμα συνκλήτου vacat

Ἵπὲρ ὧν Γάιος Καλουίσιος Σαβεῖνος Λεύκιος Πασσιῆ

85 νος Ῥούφος ὑπατοὶ λόγους ἐποίησαντο περὶ ὧν

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός, ἡγεμῶν ἡμέτερος,

ἐκ ξυμβουλίου γνώμης, ὃ ἐκ τῆς συνκλήτου κληρωτὸν ἔσχεν,

ἀνενεχθῆναι δι' ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἠθέλησεν, ἀνηκόντων

ἐς τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἀσφάλειαν, ἔδο

90 ξε τῇ βουλῇ. Τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων δίκας χρημάτων

{ξετη} ἀπαιτήσεως νομοθετησάντων, ὅπως ῥῆον οἱ σύμμαχοι ὁ

πὲρ ὧν ἂν ἀδικηθῶσιν ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ κομίσασθαι χρήματα ἀπαι

ρεθέντες δύνωνται, ὄντος δὲ τοῦ γένους τῶν τοιούτων δικασ

τηρίων ἔστιν ὅτε βαρυτάτου καὶ ἀηδεστάτου αὐτοῖς δι' οὗς ἐγρά

95 φη ὁ νόμος, τῶν ἐπαρχῶν μακράν ἀπεχουσῶν ἔ<λ>κεσθαι μάρτυ

ρας πένητας ἀνθρώπους καὶ τινὰς ἀσθ<ε>νῆς διὰ νόσον ἢ διὰ γῆρας, ἀρέ

σκει τῇ βουλῇ. Ἐάν τινες τῶν συμμάχων μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ

δόγμα τῆς συνκλήτου χρήματα δημοσίαι ἢ ἰδίαι πραχθέντες ἀπαι

τεῖν βουληθῶσιν, χωρὶς τοῦ κεφαλῆς εὐθύνειν τὸν εἰληφότα, καὶ ὑπὲρ

100 τούτων καταστάντες ἐμφανίσωσι τῶν ἀρχόντων τινί, ὧι ἐφεῖται συν[ά]

γειν τὴν σύγ[κλ]ητον, τούτους τὸν ἀρχοντα ὡς τάχιστα πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν

προσαγαγεῖν καὶ συνήγορον, ὃ<ς> ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐρεῖ ἐπὶ τῆς {η} συνκλήτου, ὃν

ἀ[ν]

αὐτοὶ αἰτήσωσιν, διδόναι· ἄκων δὲ μὴ συνηγορεῖτω, ὧι ἐκ τῶν νόμων παρ

αίτησις ταύτης τῆς λειτουργίας δέδοται. Ὡν ἂν ἐν τῇ συνκλήτῳ αἱ

105 τία<ι ἀ>ς ἐπιφέρουσιν ἀκουσθῶσιν, ὅπως <κριταὶ ὦσιν>, ἀρχων δς ἂν αὐτοῖς

πρόσοδον εἰς τὴν

σύνκλητον δῶι, αὐθημερὸν παρούσης τῆς βουλῆς, ὥστε μὴ ἐλάττους διακο

σίων εἶναι, κληρούσθω{ι} ἐκ πάντων τῶν ὑπατικῶν τῶν ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς

Ῥώμης

[ἦ] ἐντὸς εἴκοσι μετρίων ἀπ{τ}ὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄντων τέσσαρες· ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν

στρατη

[γ]ικῶν πάντων τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ῥώμης ἢ ἐντὸς εἴκοσι μετρίων ἀπὸ τῆς

πόλε

110 [ω]ς ὄντων, τρεῖς· ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων συνκλητικῶν ἢ οἷς ἐπὶ τῆς συνκλήτου

γνώ

μην ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἔξεστιν πάντων, οἱ ἂν τότε ἢ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἢ ἐνγειον εἴκοσι

μετρίων τῆς πόλεως ὦσιν, δύο· κληρούσθω δὲ μηδένα, δς ἂν ἐβ<δ> ομήκοντα ἢ

πλείω ἔτη γεγονῶς ἢ ἢ ἐπ' ἀρχῆς ἢ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας τεταγμένος ἢ ἐπιστάτης κριτη

ρίου ἢ ἐπιμελητῆς σειτομετρίας ἢ ὃν ἂν νόσος κωλύη ταύτην τὴν λειτουργίαν

115 λειτουργεῖν ἀντικρὺς τῆς συνκλήτου ἐξομοσάμενος καὶ δοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτου

τρεῖς ὁμνύντας τῆς βουλῆς ἀνδρας, ἢ δς ἂν συγγενεῖαι ἢ οἰκηότητι προσή

κη αὐτῷ ὥστε νόμῳ Ἰουλίῳ τῷ δικαστικῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἐπὶ δημοσίῳ δικαστη

ρίου (ἀ)κων μὴ ἀνγκάζεσθαι, ἢ ὃν ο εὐθυνόμενος ὁμόσῃ ἐπὶ τῆς συνκλήτου

- ἐχθρόν ἐατῶι εἶναι, μὴ <π>λείονας δὲ ἢ τρεῖς ἔξομύσθω. Οἱ ἂν ἐννέα τοῦ
 120 τον τὸν τρόπον λάχωσιν, ἐκ τούτων ἄρχων ὃς τὸν κληρὸν ποιήσεται φροντι
 ζέτω, ὅπως ἐντὸς δυεῖν ἡμερῶν οἱ τὰ χρήματα μεταπορευόμενοι καὶ ἄφ' οὗ ἂν
 μεταπορεύονται ἀνὰ μέρος ἀπολέγονται, ἕως ἂν πέντε ὑπολειφθῶσιν.
 Ὅς ἂν τῶν κριτῶν τούτων πρὶν ἂν κριθῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀποθάνῃ, ἢ ἄλλῃ τις αἰτία
 διακωλύ
 σῇ αὐτὸν κρίνειν, οὗ ἂν παραίτησις δοκιμασθῇ ὁμοσάντων πέντε ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐ
 125 κ τῆς βουλῆς, τότε ὁ ἄρχων παρόντων τῶν κριτῶν καὶ τῶν τὰ χρήματα
 μεταπορευ
 ομένων καὶ τούτου παρ' οὗ ἂν μεταπορεύονται, ἐπικληρούσθω ἐκ τούτων τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἂν τῆς αὐτῆς τάξεως ὦσιν, καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἄρξαντας ἀρχάς, ἣν ἂν τύ
 χῃ ἄρξας ἐκεῖνος, εἰς τοῦ τὸν τόπον ἐπικληροῦται, ἐφ' ὧι μὴ ἐπικληρώ
 σεται ἄνδρα, ὃν κληροῦσθαι κατὰ τοῦ εὐθυνομένου τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι τῆς
 <σ>υν
 130 κλήτ<ου> οὐκ ἔξεστιν. Οἱ δὲ αἰρεθέντες κριταὶ περὶ τούτων μόνον ἀκούε
 τωσαν καὶ διαγινωσκέτωσαν, περὶ ὧν ἂν τις εὐθύνῃται δημοσίαι ἢ ἰδία νε
 νοσφισμένοις, καὶ ὅσον ἂν κεφάλαιον χρημάτων οἱ εὐθύνοντες ἀποδε<ί>
 ξωσιν ἀπενηνέχθαι ἑαυτῶν ἰδία ἢ δημοσίαι, τοσοῦτον ἀποδιδόναι κελευέτω
 σαν, ἐφ' ὧι ἐντὸς τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν οἱ κριταὶ κρινοῦσιν. Οὗς ἂν δέῃ ὑπὲρ
 135 τούτων διαγινώσκειν καὶ γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, οὗτοι μέχρι ὅτου ἂν διαγνώσιν
 καὶ
 τὴν γνώμην ἀποφῆνωνται, πάσης λειτουργίας δημοσίας ἐκτὸς ἱερῶν δημοσί
 ων παρίσθωσαν. Ἀρέσκειν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ τὸν ἄρχοντα τὸν τὴν κλήρωσιν
 τῶν δικαστῶν ποιήσαντα ἢ, εἰ μὴ οὗτος δύναιτο, τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν <τό>τε
 προσηγορῶν
 τα ταύτης τῆς διαίτης προϊστασθαι καὶ καταγγέλλ<λ>ιν μάρτυσιν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς
 Ἱτα
 140 λίας οὖσιν ἐ<ξ>ουσίαν διδόναι, ἐφ' ὧι τῶι μὲν ἰδία τι μεταπορευομένῳ μὴ
 πλείο
 σιν πέντε, τοῖς δὲ δημοσίαι μὴ πλείουσιν <δ>έκα καταγγεῖλαι ἐπιτρέψει.
 Ὅμοίως ἀρέσκειν τῇ βου<λ>ῇ κριτάς, οἱ ἂν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ <δόγματος τῆς
 συνκλήτου>
 λάχωσιν, καθ' ὃ ἂν αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ δόξῃ, ἀναφανδὸν {ο}
 ἀποφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὃ ἂν οἱ πλείους ἀποφῆνωνται, ἔαν.

The foregoing text is based on that of Stroux (in Stroux and Wenger), but I retain in line 49 εἶπαν (so the stone) instead of εἶπ(εῖ)ν (Stroux and others following Rehm) and in line 105, where we have an awkward translation of a Latin relative clause of purpose, ἀκουσθῶσιν ὅπως (so the stone) instead of ὅπως ἀκουσθῶσιν (Olivario's inversion followed without brackets by Stroux and others). Moreover, in line 50 I adopt <τε> instead of

two well-preserved spaces left uncut which cannot be interpreted as punctuation; in line 58 I insert <χρήμασι καὶ> (see commentary); in line 105 I now interpret αἰτίας ἐπιφέρονσιν (so the stone) as simple haplography (αἰτία(ι ᾗς)); and in line 138 I accept instead of τὸν τε L. Radermacher's emendation τὸν <τό>τε (AnzWien 65 [1928] 73).

Translation of the Four So-Called Edicts of 7/6 B.C.

Edict I = No. 8 in lines 1–40

Imperator Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the seventeenth time, imperator for the fourteenth time, says with authority:

In the Cyrenaic part of the province the total number of Romans with a census of 2500 denarii or more, from whom the jurors come, is, I find, 215 of all ages. The embassies from the cities of the province have complained that among these very jurors there exist certain conspiracies, which victimize the Hellenes in the death penalty cases, the jurors allegedly taking turns in bringing accusations and in supporting each other with testimony. And I myself have learned that some innocent persons have been oppressed in this way and have been brought to the ultimate penalty. Therefore, until the Senate shall consult concerning this matter or I myself find something better, those who will have the province of Crete and Cyrene in charge will in my opinion act well and properly by appointing throughout the Cyrenaic province the same number of Greek jurors from the highest census classes as Romans, no one younger than twenty-five either Roman or Hellene, or having a census or estate less than 7500 denarii if there are enough of such men, or if the number of those due to be appointed as jurors cannot be filled in this way, let them appoint as jurors in the death penalty cases of the Hellenes those who have no less than half of this census. But if, one day before the accuser begins his speech, a Hellene being tried chooses, when the option is offered whether he wants to have Romans as jurors or half the jurors Hellenes, chooses to have Hellenes as half the jurors, then when the pellets have been weighed and inscribed with the names, let the names be drawn, from the one sortition vase the names of the Romans, from the other the names of the Hellenes, until the panel has been filled with twenty-five from each category. Of these let the plaintiff, if

he so wishes, reject one from each category, the defendant, however, three from all, provided that those he rejects will not all be Romans or all be Hellenes. Then let all the rest be released to cast their vote, and let the Romans cast their vote separately in one chest, the Hellenes separately in the other. Then when the count of the ballots from each vase is made separately, let the magistrate declare publicly whatever verdict is reached by the majority of all. And since the relatives of the dead as a rule will not leave their murders unavenged, and since it is likely that the guilty parties will have no shortage of Greek accusers to bring actions in behalf of their dead kinsmen or fellow-citizens, all who will hold Crete and Cyrene in charge will in my opinion act correctly and properly, if in the Cyrenaic part of the province they do not admit a Roman as accuser of a Hellene in vengeance for a killing of a Greek man or woman, unless he who brings suit in vengeance for some kinsman's or fellow-citizen's death be a non-Roman who has been honored with Roman citizenship.

Edict II = No. 9 in lines 40–55

Imperator Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the seventeenth time, says with authority:

Ill will and blame are not due P. Sextius Scaeva, because he thoughtfully sent to me from Cyrenaica in bonds, A. Stlaccius L. f. Maximus and L. Stlaccius L. f. Macede and P. Lacutanius P. lib. Phileros, when these men claimed to know something pertaining to my safety and to the republic and wished to make a statement. For Sextius acted here with propriety and care. Then since they knew nothing which pertains to me and the republic and said that in the province they themselves had invented and faked this information and since they made this clear to me, I have released them from prison and leave them at liberty. But as regards A. Stlaccius Maximus, whom the ambassadors of the Cyreneans charge with having removed from the public localities statues including that on which the city engraved my name, until I make a decision concerning this affair I forbid him to go away without my order.

Edict III = No. 10 in lines 55–62

Imperator Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the seventeenth time, says with authority:

If any in the Cyrenaic province have been honored with

(Roman) citizenship, they by my order are none the less to perform public services as Hellenes with (their patrimonies and) their persons, except those to whom by law or *senatus consultum* upon the decision of my father or upon my decision immunity has been granted along with citizenship. Even these to whom immunity has been granted are without obligation (to the cities) on that property which they rightfully held at that time; on subsequent acquisitions they are to pay the going rate.

Edict IV = No. 11 in lines 62–71

Imperator Caesar Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, tribunician power for the seventeenth time, says with authority:

Whatever litigation shall arise among Hellenes in the Cyrenaic province, apart from those disputes liable to capital punishment concerning which whoever holds the province as governor must himself investigate and decide, for all the rest of the cases it seems right that Hellenes be granted as judges unless the defendant or accused wishes to have Roman citizens as judges. And where Hellenes shall be given as judges on the basis of this decision of mine, no judge shall properly be from the same city as the plaintiff or accuser or as the defendant or accused.

Translation of the *Senatus Consultum* and its Covering
Letter of 4 B.C.

Edict V = No. 12 in lines 72–82

Imperator Caesar Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, tribunician power for the nineteenth time, says with authority:

The *senatus consultum* which was passed when C. Calvisius and L. Passienus were consuls with me present and joining in the signature, and which pertains to the security of the allies of the Roman People, in order that it be known to all in our care, I decided to send to the provinces and to append to my covering letter. From this it will be clear to all those who inhabit the provinces, how much care I and the Senate take that none of our subjects unduly suffer any wrong or exaction.

In lines 83–144: Senatus Consultum

On the subject which C. Calvisius Sabinus, L. Passienus Rufus, consuls, set forth, which Imperator Caesar Augustus, our princeps, on the basis of an opinion of an advisory council which he

obtained by lot from the Senate, wished to be presented through us to the Senate, inasmuch as it pertains to the security of the allies of the Roman People, the Senate decreed:

Our ancestors established by law ways of suing for the return of moneys so that the allies might more easily be able to take action concerning injustice and to recover money of which they have been deprived, but such procedures are of a type very expensive and very inconvenient for those for whom the law was written, that poor men be dragged from the remote provinces as witnesses and in some cases when they are weak with illness or old age. Therefore, it pleases the Senate:

If any of the allies after passage of this *senatus consultum* wish to sue, without bringing a capital charge against the recipient, for the return of moneys which have been publicly or privately exacted from them, and apply in person to one of the magistrates empowered to convene the Senate, said magistrate is to bring these (provincials) as soon as possible before the Senate and to grant them an advocate who will speak for them in the Senate, whomsoever they request, but let no one, to whom on the basis of the laws the right to be excused has been granted, be named as advocate against his will.

In order that in the Senate charges they bring may be heard, the magistrate who grants them access to the Senate shall, on that very day, in the presence of the Senate with a quorum of no less than two hundred, draw by lot from all the consulars who are either in Rome itself or within twenty miles of the city four names. Likewise from all the praetorii who are in Rome itself or within twenty miles of the city, three names. Likewise from all the other senators or all these with the right to express an opinion in the Senate, who may be at that time in Rome or nearer than twenty miles away from the city, two names. Let him not choose anyone who is over seventy or has been appointed to office as magistrate or tribune or as chairman of a court or as curator of the grain supply or whom illness prevents from performing this service provided he has excused himself by oath in the presence of the Senate and produced three men of the Senate who swear to this, nor anyone who is connected by blood or friendship to (the defendant) so as, by the Julian law concerning courts, to be exempt from the necessity of giving evidence in court against his will, nor anyone who, the accused swears in the Senate, is his enemy, but let him not reject by his oath more than three.

Let the magistrate who conducts the allotment arrange that from these, namely whichever nine are chosen in this way, those who are suing for the money and those who are being sued make their rejections in turn within two days, until five are left. If any of these judges shall die before the affair comes to judgment or if any other cause shall prevent him from judging, whose excuse is approved on the oath of five members of the Senate, then let the magistrate, in the presence of the judges and of those suing for the money and of him who is being sued, conduct a supplementary allotment from such men as are of the same rank and have held the same offices as he in whose place a supplementary allotment is being made happened to have held, understood of course that he will not choose in supplementary allotment a man who cannot by this *senatus consultum* be chosen in allotting judges in a case against the accused.

Let those who have been chosen as judges hear and make their decision merely concerning what a defendant is accused of having publicly or privately misappropriated. And let them order restitution of whatever sum of money the accusers may prove themselves to have been thus deprived privately or publicly, the judges judging within thirty days.

Let whoever are supposed to decide and vote on these affairs be released from every public charge except the public religious rites until they decide and vote.

The Senate suggests that the magistrate who has conducted the allotment of the judges, or, if he cannot, the consul who at that time has the fasces, preside over the jury and grant power to issue summons to witnesses who are in Italy, with the understanding that he will not allow more than five to him who is being privately sued, to those publicly not more than ten.

Likewise the Senate suggests that those who are chosen on the basis of this *senatus consultum* express their individual opinions openly and accept whatever opinion the majority express.

Commentary

In all five "edicts" at Cyrene the emperor writes not as commander in chief with proconsular power over frontier provinces, not as holder of *imperium maius* to be exercised if ever a conflict arose with another holder of *imperium*, but rather as protector and elder statesman. Though Edict II is best explained

by the *imperium maius* of Augustus, he deliberately avoids the implication of *imperium* and emphasizes the *auctoritas* of the highest sacral and non-political office in the state. It is coupled with the tribunician power, which implies the emperor's role as champion of the people. One should compare the conception of the principate behind the original list of names (N. Degraasi, *RendPontAcc* 41 [1969–70] 135–192), possibly selected by Vespasian himself for the Capitolium which he was erecting at Brescia, where the legitimate emperors and those *qui in collegium rece[pti sunt]* (i.e., Marcus Agrippa and Drusus Minor) are those with tribunician power (the consulates were not engraved).

In line 82 the form εἰσπράττεσθαι (= εἰσπράττεσθαι) after ὑποτασο | μένων (= ὑποτασσομένων) may suggest that even at this period the imperial chancelry itself employed an Attic Greek but that Attic forms tended to be replaced by *koine* forms in areas where Attic Greek was not customary. This would not be considered a departure from the wording of the original.

The spelling ΑΚΑΤΕΡΟΥ (for ἑκατέρων) in line 28 is paralleled at Athens in No. 184, line 10, ἐξ ἀκατέρων.

Since there is no covering letter from the governor, there is no reason to think that the governor ordered the publication of these “edicts” or “epistles.” These epistles in edict form are epistles directed to no one city or its officials but to all cities (*civitates*) of the area. The fifth epistle addresses, so to speak, the *clientela* of Augustus in a much wider area, but the first four epistles (in edict form) address the Hellenes of the Cyrenaica and alleviate or explain away the grievances of which they have complained to him (Augustus). There would have been separate epistles to the proconsul in the first four cases, but here the emperor speaks only to the Hellenes and as their protector, not their ruler. The word ἀρέσκει in lines 67 and 70 is vague (not accompanied by μοι), and the only time he uses the word κελεύω, he applies it to those Hellenes who have received their superior status from him or his father (line 58) and who owe him obedience as their immediate patron.

The Hellenes were the citizens of the local Greek republics which formed the hexapolis or pentapolis. The word “Hellenes” had a long history of similar connotation from the Persian Wars on. The Delian Confederacy was called the Hellenes, and when Cimon said “Let not Hellas go lame, nor Athens pull without her yokefellow,” he did not include the helots as Hellenes, or even

the resident aliens. The *Philippus* of Isocrates is equally clear on who the Hellenes were. Augustus does not include the Jews, Libyans, or other non-citizens.

"Edicts" I and IV indicate that capital cases were not left to the local communities. In capital cases, i.e., those which involved the death penalty, because loss of Roman citizenship did not apply to peregrines, the proconsul of Crete and Cyrene had a choice. He could either hear and decide the whole case himself or he could send the case to a jury court modeled on the *quaestiones* at Rome. The system of jury court, whether it was based on the *lex provinciae* or was introduced by some proconsul later, clearly antedated Augustus. In the Cyrenaica it had become common or even normal. The fact that the jury was empaneled from Roman citizens to guarantee a fair trial ironically made it possible for a clique of local blackmailers with Roman citizenship to shake down wealthy Greeks. In the first "edict" the emperor gives no orders in a senatorial province but expresses the opinion that future governors would do well not to accept accusations of murder of a Greek from an unrelated Roman and to allow the defendant to choose whether he wanted all Romans or a court consisting half of Greeks. The balls or pellets of line 24 had to be weighed in order to preclude irregularities which might offer clues as to the names. In line 33 the neutral word *στρατηγός* does not necessarily mean praetor but more generally magistrate. With the phrase *σηκωθῶν τῶν σφαιρῶν* of lines 24–25 compare *Tabula Hebana* (Oliver and Palmer, *AJP* 75 [1954] 227–232) line 23, *pilas quam maxime aequatas*. With the clause in lines 29–31 on voting in separate *κίσται*, compare *Tabula Hebana* line 24, *sortiri qui senatores et eq(uites) in quamq(ue) cistam suffragium ferre debeant*.

Three things are most striking: the existence of a jury court, the low census requirement (at Rome the census for a juror amounted to 100,000 denarii), and the bad feeling between Hellenes and Romans.

In the second "edict" Augustus defends the proconsul for the way he has handled allegations of conspiracy. The emperor calms the Hellenes by reporting that most of the allegations were false and by showing that he was not worried.

In the third "edict" Augustus protects and supports the Greek cities by ordering Hellenes with Roman citizenship to carry out their traditional liturgies at home. The meaning of the third edict has been worked out in successive stages. De Visscher recognized

that σώματι in line 58 could not mean "category" or "corporation" of the Greeks but referred to *munera corporalia* (*personalia*). Wilhelm saw that the phrase ἐμ μέρει (line 57) went with τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Sherwin-White (*The Roman Citizenship*, 2nd ed. [Oxford, 1973] 334-336) helpfully collected references to Latin phrases of the type *in numero peregrinorum*. It is surprising, however, that instead of recognizing that the phrase *in numero Graecorum* had been precisely rendered into excellent Greek as ἐμ μέρει τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, he insisted that τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματι was the translation. Quite apart from the violence it does to the word σώματι, this theory collapses because of the absence of the preposition ἐν. The ablative alone does not make for good Greek any more than *numero* alone for good Latin. Wilhelm's interpretation, "wie Hellenen," remains the only one possible, but the weakness of his discussion lies in the kind of omission he postulated before σώματι. He suggested <τῷ ἑαυτῶν>, which makes for blameless Greek but leaves us with the problem of an ἀνεισφορία clearly referring to property, yet producing a *vacatio* from local *munera* which are expressly limited as *corporalia*. De Visscher already envisaged this difficulty, and M. Guarducci's interpretation of σώματι ("personalmente" or "pro capite") does not solve it, because there is no parallel where σῶμα has this sense and subsumes the meaning "property," and because the position of the word would be very awkward. De Visscher proposed to solve it by the assumption that Augustus's somewhat elliptic argument could have been caused by the peculiarity of the abuse he had to redress. It is true that we do not know how the enfranchised Cyreneans worded their claims, but it is unlikely that they would have claimed release from personal *munera* only. The financial obligations constituted the real difficulty and concern of Greek cities. The enfranchised may have tried to get rid of all public burdens and to usurp a position like that envisaged in the s.c. for the nauarch Asclepiades and others (Sherk, *Roman Documents*, 22), where a combined release from taxes and liturgies is expressed with . . . ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσιν ἀλειτούργητοι πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἀνείσφοροι (sc. ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων), and a similar combination of privileges seems to have been conferred on Seleucus of Rhosos (Sherk, *Roman Documents*, 58). If this was the case, the λειτουργεῖν phrase of our edict can be amended to read λειτουργεῖν οὐδὲν ἔλασον ἐμ μέρει τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων <χρήμασι καὶ> σώματι, as suggested in *Hesperia* 29

(1960) 324 f. This phrase is a stereotyped distributive and can be used with either a singular or plural verb. It is not true that the text would then require a plural σώμασι, as Sherwin-White charges. It suffices to cite one of the best known passages in Greek literature, Thucydides 2.42.4, where Pericles praises the men who have died for the city, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν. See also Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, Zweiter Teil, I 14–15, §347, 4. Severus and Caracalla in No. 234 say τῷ σώματι λιτουρ[γ]οῦσιν.

Finally, personal immunity such as Julius Caesar and Octavian himself had once given was recognized, but this privilege was no longer being granted to new beneficiaries. The problem arose for the cities because new Roman citizens claimed the same privilege.

In the fourth "edict" Augustus clarifies the procedure which he considers proper in suits between Hellenes of different cities.

The second half of the inscription consisting of "Edict" V and the *senatus consultum*, of which "Edict" V is the covering letter, is clearly differentiated from the first half. The consulate and the tribunician power limit the date to the first six months of 4 B.C.

The *senatus consultum* brings the first contemporary evidence for the *consilium* of advisers drawn by lot from the Senate. The *consilium* is mentioned by Suetonius, *Aug.* 35.3 and Cassius Dio 53.21.4–5.

Unlike the five epistles in edict form the *senatus consultum*, very interesting in itself but not of primary concern to use here, represents a cruder form of phrasing, a Greek translation close to the Latin original. For its provisions the reader is referred particularly to De Visscher's book or to the brief summary of conflicting interpretations by Sherk, *Roman Documents*, pp. 174ff. It contains the formulation of an accelerated procedure in *repetundae* cases, provided that capital charges (in our opinion such as violence, murder, etc.) are not being made and that it is a question merely of the recovery of sums illegally alienated.

De Visscher visualizes the steps to be taken by the ambassadors of allies with a complaint within the frame of the Senate's traditional control of foreign affairs. The Senate in full session expresses an opinion which automatically sends the case to a *quaestio* or allows the recuperatory procedure to be used. If declared a criminal case, it goes as such to a *quaestio*. The crime underlying a capital case may have been that of extortion, as

Stroux thought, or it may have been a crime which accompanied the extortion, as Arangio-Ruiz and Premierstein saw it. Stroux thought that the plaintiff had the option, but De Visscher denies this. Still the attitude adopted by the plaintiff must usually have had considerable influence upon the decision of the Senate to allow or preclude the recuperatory procedure.

The aim of this legislation was to cut out the misuse of the law by creating an alternative procedure at the discretion of the Senate. The emperor indeed wished to improve provincial administration, but there were always other ways of dealing with a corrupt or inefficient administrator. It is true that the emperor wished to protect the provincials, but at the same time he needed the cooperation of the Senate in the government of the empire, and he needed a Senate with prestige. The alternative of a procedure with far less publicity than a trial in a *quaestio* safeguarded the dignity of all senators and made them less reluctant to condemn one of their own.

A regular senatorial jurisdiction begins with such trials, for which there were certain unusual precedents. Whether or not such trials fit within the frame of the Senate's traditional control of foreign affairs, the rivalry between senators and *equites* for control of the courts which judged cases involving provincial authorities has finally been removed from politics.

Short omissions occur; sometimes space was left for letters which were never cut. Similar letters were frequently confused. The two most serious textual problems are those in lines 57/58 and 105. For the former case see the discussion above, and for the other case, see the apparatus. The structure of the sentence in line 105 is like that in No. 15 (*SEG* XI 923 at Gythium), lines 15–16: Ὦν δ' ἄν ποτε δημευθῇ τὰ ὄντα, ταῦτα χρήματα ἱερὰ ἔστω. The section begins with a clause introduced by Ὦν ἄν and containing a passive verb in the aorist subjunctive; the main clause with a verb in the third person imperative follows.

On the δημόσια ἱερὰ of line 136, see Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (*MAAR* 22 [1955]).

13. TIBERIUS TO THE AEZANITAE, A.D. 4/5

Aezani (Phrygia). It could not be found in October 1973 at Aezani or in the museum at Kütahye or anywhere else and is presumed lost.

E. Kornemann, *Klio* 9 (1909) 422–429; [*Année ép.* (1910) 23]; H. Dessau, *ILS* III (1916) 9463; G. Lafaye, *IGRR* 4 (1927) 1693; [Ehrenberg and Jones, 319].

13

- ['Από Β]ονωνίας τῆς ἐν Γαλλίαι ἐνεχθ[εῖσα ἐπιστολὴ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος]
 Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ Αἰζ[ανειτῶν βουλῇ]
 δήμῳ [χαίρειν.]
 'Αρχῆθεν ὑμῶν τῇ[ν εὐσέβειαν (?) καὶ]
 5 πρὸς ἐμὲ συνπαθί[αν μαθὼν ἀπεδεξά]
 μην ἥδιστα καὶ ν[ῦν παρὰ τῶν ὑμε]
 τέρων πρεσβευτῶν [τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ]
 διαφαῖνον τῆς πό[λεως τὴν εἰς με εὔ]
 νοιαν· πειράσσομαι [οὖν ὑμῖν ὅσον]
 10 ἂν ὧ δυνατός συν[αύξειν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ]
 ροῖς οἷς ἀξιοῦτε τ[υχεῖν βοηθείας.]

Translation

A letter of Tiberius Caesar brought from Bononia in Gaul
 Tiberius Caesar to the [Council and] Demos of the Aezanitae
 [greetings].

From the very beginning I very gladly accepted it when I came to know the loyalty and sympathy you had for me, and [now from your ambassadors] I accept with pleasure [the decree which] shows the city's goodwill [toward me]. I shall try, [accordingly, to be as much help to you] as I can [on all] occasions when you call on me [to obtain aid].

Commentary

Tiberius (*PIR*² C 941) was not yet emperor but had been taken into partnership through his adoption by Augustus. The ambassadors of the Aezanitae congratulated him and he replied from Boulogne-sur-mer, which, as Kornemann noted, dates the epistle to the campaign of A.D. 4/5.

For the ἀποδέχομαι formula, restored convincingly in line 5, see A. Wilhelm, *AnzWien* 65 (1922) 129–136 and J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 390 f.

14. TIBERIUS TO THE COANS, A.D. 15

Cos. Formerly (1886) in the private collection of D. Platanistes. No one remembered it in 1974. A vain search through the storerooms and lapidaria of the Kastro at Cos in February 1974 established that the inscription is now lost.

S. K. Pantelides, *Pandora* 17 (1866) 428 f., wordy and inaccurate; I. Sakellion, *Pandora* 19 (1868) 42; W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford, 1891) No. 25, the best reading; [Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, No. 5; G. Lafaye, *IGRR* 4 (1927) 1042; Ehrenberg and Jones, 318].

14

Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ θε[οῦ Σε]βασ[τοῦ]
 υἱὸς Σεβαστός, δημ[αρχικ]ῆς ἐ
 ζουσία[ς] τὸ ἐπτακαιδ[έκατ]ον, αὐτο
 κράτωρ τὸ Ζ, Κώϊων ἀρχ[ουσι, β]ουλῇ, [δὴ]
 5 μοι χαίρειν. Ἀποδόντων μοι τῶν ὑ
 μετέρων πρέσβων τό τε ψήφισμ[α] ὑ
 μῶν, καὶ ἃς ὑπέθεσθε αὐ[τ]οῖς πρὸ[ς ἐ]
 μὲ ἐντολάς, τῆς μὲν διαθέσεω[ς ὑ]
 μᾶς τῆς πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἐπαιν[ῶ].
 10 [δι]εκέϊμην· δὲ καὶ πρότερον [πρὸς]
 [τε τὴν πόλιν] τὴν ὑμε[τέραν --]
 [-----]

1 Sakellion. 2–3 Pantelides. 4–5 Sakellion. 7 πρ[ὸς] Pantelides, ἐ] Paton and Hicks. 9 Pantelides. 10–11 Paton and Hicks.

Translation

Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of divine Augustus, tribunician power for the seventeenth time, imperator for the seventh time, to the Archons, Council, Demos of the Coans, greetings. Since your ambassadors gave me (copies of) your decree and (of) the orders you enjoined upon them in respect to me, I commend you. I was [well] disposed [toward] your [city] even previously –
 – – –

Commentary

Although Tiberius did not use Augustus as his name in the West, he did use it in the East, and it belonged to him, to judge

from the authenticated copy of a document at Rome on the *Tabula Banasitana* published by W. Seston and M. Euzennat, *CRAI* (1971) 468–490 (*Année ép.* [1971] No. 534).

15. TIBERIUS TO THE GYTHEATES

Gythium. Until 1936 the plaque with the epistle of Tiberius, here B (= *SEG* XI 922), was preserved in the local Museum at Gythium, but on 10 December 1936 this stone along with other antiquities of the Museum was sold for export abroad and has never been reported again (P. E. Giannokopoulos, *Tò Gύθειον* [Athens, 1966] 123). The *lex sacra*, here A (= *SEG* XI 923), was still in the Gythion Museum on 20 November 1970, when the author examined it and made a squeeze.

Editions: S. B. Kougeas, *Ἑλληνικά* 1 (1928) 16–43 (with illegible photographs) and 152–157; E. Kornemann, *Neue Dokumente zum lakonischen Kaiserkult* (Abhandlungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur, Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, Heft 1 (Breslau, 1929) with better photographs; H. Seyrig, "Inscriptions de Gythion," *RA* 29 (1929) 84–106; [*Année ép.* (1929) 100; Ehrenberg and Jones, 102].

L. Wenger, "Griechische Urkunden zum Kaiserkult und zum Grabrecht," *ZSav* 49 (1929) 308–344; M. I. Rostovtzeff, "L'empereur Tibère et le culte impérial," *RHist* 142 (1930) 1–26; L. R. Taylor, "Tiberius' Refusal of Divine Honors," *TAPA* 60 (1929) 87–101; A. D. Nock, *CAH* 10 (1934) 494; M. P. Charlesworth, "The Refusal of Divine Honours, an Augustan Formula," *PBSR* 15 (1939) 1–10; M. Rosenbach, *Galliena Augusta* (*Ἀπαρχαί* 3, 1958) chap. 4, "Kaiser und Göttinnen"; F. Taeger, *Charisma: Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes* (Stuttgart, 1960) 2:263 f.

The inscription contains not only the epistle of Tiberius but the end of what may be the *lex sacra* found with it on another block and published by Kougeas, 16–38. The two stones were found in the excavation of what was probably the Caesareum at Gythium, and a close connection exists between them whether or not one is a continuation of the other. Both blocks are here presented as parts I and II of the same inscription or dossier.

15

I

- [-----] ἐπιτίθετω [-----]
 [ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πρώτην θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἐκ
 δευτέραν Ἰουλίας τῆς Σεβαστῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τρίτην Αὐτοκράτορος Τιβερίου
 Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, τῶν εἰκόνας παρεχούσης αὐτῶ τῆς πόλεως Προτι
 θέσθω]
 5 [δὲ καὶ τράπεζα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ θυμιατήριον ἐπικείμενον
 καὶ
 [ἐπι]θυέτωσαν πρὶν εἰσιέναι τὰ ἀκροάματα ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἡγεμόνων σωτηρίας
 οἷ τε σύεδροι καὶ αἱ συναρχαὶ πᾶσαι. Ἀγέτω δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν θεοῦ
 Καίσαρος
 ρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἐλευθερίου, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν Αὐτοκράτορος
 [Τι]
 βερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος, τὴν δὲ τρίτην Ἰουλίας
 Σεβαστῆς]
 10 τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ πόλεως ἡμῶν Τύχης, τὴν δὲ τετάρτην Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος
 τῆς Ν[ί]
 κης, τὴν δὲ πέμπτην Δρούσου Καίσαρος τῆς Ἀφροδείτης, τὴν δὲ ἕκτην Τίτου
 Κοϊνκτίου
 Φλαμενίνου καὶ ἐπιμελείσθω τῆς τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων εὐκοσμίας. Φερέτω δὲ
 καὶ πᾶ
 σης τῆς μισθώσεως τῶν ἀκροαμάτων <καὶ> τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν ἱερῶν χρη
 μάτων τὸν λόγον τῇ πόλ[ει]
 μετὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ· κἂν εὐρεθῇ νενοσφισμένος ἢ ψευδῶς
 λογογραφῶν ἐξελε[γ]
 15 χθεῖς, μηκέτι μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἀρξάτω καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ δημευέσθω. Ὡν δ' ἂν
 ποτε δημευθῇ τὰ ὄντα,
 ταῦτα <τὰ> χρήματα ἐκὰς ἔστω καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν προσκοσμήματα ὑπὸ τῶν κατ'
 ἔτος ἀρχόντων κατασκευ[ε]
 αῖσθω. Ἐξέστω δὲ τῶν βουλομένων Γυθεατῶν παντὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκδικεῖν
 χρημάτων ἀθῶν δ[ε]
 τι. Ὡς ἔπειτα ἀγορεύει δὲ ὁ ἀγορανόμος μετὰ τὸ τὰς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἡμέρας
 τελέσαι τῶν θυ
 μελικῶν ἀγῶνων ἄλλα[ς] δύο ἡμέρας τὰ ἀκροάματα, μίαν μὲν εἰς μνήμην Γαίου
 Ἰουλίου Εὐρυκλέους]
 20 εὐεργέτου τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἐν πολλοῖς γενομένου, δευτέραν δὲ
 εἰς τειμὴν Γα
 ῖου Ἰουλίου Λάκωνος κηδεμόνος τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν φυλακῆς
 καὶ σωτηρίας]
 ὄντος. Ἀγέτω δὲ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ ἐν αἷς ἂν ἢ δυνατόν ἡμέραις αὐτῶν·
 ὅταν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς

- ἐξίη, παραδιδότω τῷ ἀντιτυγχάνοντι ἀγορανόμῳ διὰ γραφῆς δημοσίας τὰ
 εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας χρη[στή]
 ρια πάντα καὶ λαμβανέτω^{1} χειρόγραφον παρὰ τοῦ παραλαβόντος ἢ πόλις.
 Ὅταν ὁ ἀγορανόμος τοῦ[ς]
 25 [ἀγῶ]νας ἄγῃ τοὺς θυμελικούς, πομπὴν στελλέτω ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ
 καὶ τῆς Ὑγιείας[ς],
 πομπευόντων τῶν τε ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νέων πάντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν
 ἐστεμμένων δάφνης]
 στεφάνοις καὶ λευκὰ ἀμπεχομέν<ω>ν. Συμπομπευέτωσαν δὲ καὶ αἱ ἱεραὶ κόραι
 καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν
 [τ]αῖς ἱεραῖς ἐσθῆσιν. Ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Καισάρηον ἡ πομπὴ παραγένηται,
 θυέτωσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦ
 [ρ]ον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ θεῶν σωτηρίας καὶ διδίου τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 αὐτῶν διαμονῆς κα[ί]
 30 [θ]ύσαντες ἐπανανκάσάτωσαν τὰ τε φιδείτια καὶ τὰς συναρχίας ἐν ἀγορᾷ
 θυσιάσαι. Εἰ δὲ ἢ μὴ τε
 [λ]έσουσιν τὴν πομπὴν ἢ μὴ θύσουσιν ἢ θύσαντες μὴ ἐπανανκάσουσι θυσιάζειν
 ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὰ
 [φ]ιδείτια καὶ τὰς συναρχίας, ἐκτεισάτωσαν ἱεράς τοῖς θεοῖς δραχμὰς δισχιλίας.
 Ἐξέστω δὲ τῷ
 βουλομένῳ Γυθεατῶν κατηγορεῖν αὐτῶν. Ὅ οἱ ἔφοροι οἱ ἐπὶ Χαίρωνος στρατηγοῦ
 καὶ ἱερέως θε
 οῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος οἱ περὶ Τερέντιον Βιάδαν ἐγδότησαν τρεῖς γραπτὰς
 εἰκόνας τοῦ θε
 35 οῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς Σεβαστῆς καὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 καὶ τὰ διὰ θέατρον
 ἱκρία τῷ χορῷ καὶ θύρας μιμικὰς τέσσαρας καὶ τῇ συνφωνίᾳ ὑποπόδια.
 Στησάτωσαν δὲ καὶ στή
 λην λιθίνην χαράζαντες εἰς αὐτὴν τὸν ἱερὸν νόμον καὶ εἰς τὰ δημοσία δὲ
 γραμματοφυλάκια θέτω
 σαν ἀντίγραφον τοῦ ἱεροῦ νόμου, ἵνα καὶ ἐν δημοσίῳ καὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ καὶ πᾶσιν
 ἐν φανερῷ κείμενος ὁ νό
 mos [δι]νη[κ]ῇ τὴν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Γυθεατῶν εὐχαριστίαν εἰς {σ}τοὺς ἡγεμόνας
 παρέχῃ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ
 40 ποῖς. Εἰ δὲ ἢ μὴ ἐνχαράξουσιν τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, ἢ μὴ ἀναθήσουσιν τὴν στήλην
 πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἢ μὴ γρά
 [ψουσι τὸ ἀντίγραφον --].

II

- [-----]ν
 [-----]γο
 [-----]ες καὶ
 [-----]εἰ δέ τις
 5 [-----]ξ]σεσθαι κυρι
 [-----] μήτε ψήφισμα

- [-----] ἔκσπονδος ἔστω
 [-----] αὐτοῦ καθιερούσθω τοῖς η
 [-----] ἄς τῶν θεῶν τειμὰς ἀλλοὺς
 10 [----- ὡς ἐναγῆς ἀπολλύσθω ἀκρίτου ὄν]τος τοῦ κτείναντος αὐτόν.
 Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβασ]τοῦ
 [Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Σεβ]αστοῦ υἱὸς Σε]βαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς, δημαρχικῆς
 ἐξουσίας
 [τὸ ἐκκαιδέκατον], Γυθεατῶν ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ πόλει χαίρειν. Ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑφ'
 ὑμῶν
 [πρὸς] ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα πρεσβευτῆς Δέκμος Τ[ο]υρράνιος Νεικάνωρ
 15 [ἀνέδ]ωκέν μοι τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιστολὴν ἢ προσεγγράπτο τὰ νομοθετηθέν
 [τα ὑφ' ὑ]μῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν μὲν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς τιμὴν δὲ ἡμετέραν.
 [Ἐ]φ' οἷς ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶν προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνω<<ι>> καὶ κοινῇ πάντας
 ἀνθρώ
 πους καὶ ἰδία τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν ἐξαιρέτους φυλάσσειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τοῦ
 ἐμοῦ πατρὸς εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς θεοῖς πρεπούσας
 20 τιμὰς, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρκοῦμαι ταῖς μετριωτέραις τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείοις· ἡ μέντοι ἐμὴ μή
 τηρ τόθ' ὑμῖν ἀποκρινεῖται ὅταν αἰσθηται παρ' ὑμῶν ἣν ἔχετε περὶ τῶν εἰς
 αὐτὴν τιμῶν
 κρίσιν.

Restorations of I: 1 τιθέτω ὁ ἀγορανόμος τρεῖς βάσεις, καὶ εἰκόνας] ἐπιθέτω, [ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν] Seyrig. 2 [ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πρώτην θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσα]ρος, [κατὰ μέσον κειμένην Seyrig; δ[ε]ξιῶ[ν] Kougeas, δ[ε]ξιᾶ[ς] Seyrig. 3 δευτέραν Ἰουλίας Σεβα Kougeas, κατὰ μέσον κειμένην Ἰουλίας Σεβα Seyrig, δευτέραν Ἰουλίας τῆς Σεβα Kornemann. 3–4 Κα[ίσα]ρος (θεοῦ) υἱοῦ Kougeas, [ρος τ]οῦ Kornemann; cetera Kougeas. 5 Kougeas. 6 [μὴ] θυνέτωσαν Kougeas, [ἐπι]θυνέτωσαν Seyrig. 7–11 Kougeas. 12 καὶ addidit Kougeas. 12–14 Kougeas. 16 τὰ addidit Tod (SEG XI 923). 16–17, 19, 23–26, 28–32, 39 Kougeas. 27 AMIEXOMENON stone.

Restorations of II: 5 Kougeas. 8 ἡ οὐσία] αὐτοῦ Kougeas in commentary. 9 ἡ[γεμόσι Kougeas. 10 Kougeas. 11 ἐπιστολὴ Τιβερίου Kougeas in commentary, Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβασ]τοῦ Seyrig. 12–13 Kougeas. 14 [πρὸς] ἐμέ Kougeas, [πρὸς τ]ε Seyrig; Τ[ο]υρράνιος Oliver. 15 [ἐπέδ]ωκεν Kougeas, [ἀνέδ]ωκεν Seyrig. 16 τὴν omisit Kougeas, addidit Seyrig. 17 ΥΠΕΛΑΜΒΑΝΩΙ stone, ὑπ(ο)λαμβάνω Seyrig; [Ἐ]φ' Kougeas.

Translation

— — — of the deified Caesar Augustus] the father, on the [second] to the right (that) of Julia Augusta, on the third (that) of Emperor Tiberius Caesar Augustus, the city providing the statues for him.

Then let a table be kept by him on display in the middle of the theatre and let an incense burner stand thereon, and, before the players enter, let all the councillors and magisterial boards make offerings there on behalf of the safety of the Roman princes. And let him keep the first day sacred to the deified Caesar Divi f. Augustus Soter Eleutherius, the second day sacred to Emperor Tiberius Caesar Augustus pater patriae, the third day sacred to Julia Augusta the Fortune of our League and city, the fourth day sacred to Victory's Germanicus Caesar, the fifth day sacred to Aphrodite's Drusus Caesar, the sixth day sacred to Titus Quinctius Flamininus, and let him watch over the good discipline of the contestants. Let him account to the city for the hire of the players and the administration of the sacred funds after the competition at the first meeting of the assembly, and, if he is convicted of falsifying the record, let him be found guilty of peculation and let him no longer hold any public office and let his property be confiscated. Whenever anyone's property is confiscated, his goods shall be consecrated and adornments shall be prepared from them by the archons of the year. It shall be permissible to any Gytheate in good standing to make a vindication concerning these sacred monies. After the celebration of the days sacred to the gods and princes the agoranomos shall bring on the players for two more days of theatrical competitions, one in memory of C. Julius Eurycles who proved himself a benefactor of the League and of this city on many occasions, a second in honor of C. Julius Laco patron of the League and of our city's safety and protection. Let him hold the games after those of the goddess on whatever days are possible for him. When he goes out of office, let him hand over to the succeeding agoranomos through a public recording all the equipment for the games and let the city get a copy in writing from the recipient.

When the agoranomos holds the theatrical competitions, let him dispatch from the sanctuary of Asclepius and Hygieia a procession of the epebes, the neoi and the other citizens, all crowned with laurel wreaths and dressed in white, and let the sacred maidens and the women march with them in their feast-day costumes. When the procession reaches the Caesareum, let the ephors sacrifice a bull for the safety of the princes and the gods (= imperial family) and for the eternal duration of their rule, and when they have sacrificed, let them make the common messes and magisterial boards sacrifice in the agora. But if they

do not carry out the procession or do not sacrifice or, having sacrificed, do not make the common messes and magisterial boards sacrifice in the agora, they shall pay 2000 drachmas sacred to the gods. It shall be permissible for any Gytheate who so wishes to bring a charge against them.

The ephors of the year of Chaeron's generalship and priesthood of the deified Augustus Caesar, namely Terentius Biadas and his colleagues, shall let contracts for three paintings, to wit of the deified Augustus and the Augusta Julia and Tiberius Caesar Augustus, and for an orchestra platform for the dance and for four doors for the mimes and for foot cloppers to help keep the rhythm. Let them also set up a marble stele and engrave upon it this *lex sacra* and let them deposit a copy of the *lex sacra* in the public files, in order that in a public building and in the open air where it is visible to all the law which is in force may make apparent to all mankind the gratitude of the demos of the Gytheates toward the princes. If they do not engrave this law or do not set up the stele in front of the temple or do not make the copy — — —

- II [Tiberius Caesar] Augustus son of [the deified] Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power [for the sixteenth time], to the ephors and city of the Gytheates, greetings.

The ambassador sent by you to me and to my mother, Decimus Turranius Nicanor, delivered your letter in which were recorded the laws you had established for veneration of my father and honor to us. I praise you for this; I consider it proper for all mankind in general and for your city in particular to maintain exceptional honors which are due to gods for the great benefactions of my father to all the world, but I myself am content with the more moderate honors which are proper for men. As for my mother, she herself will reply to you when she hears from you what decision you have reached concerning the honors in her case.

Commentary

Since the numeral of the tribunician power is lost in line 13, the epistle of Tiberius cannot be dated with certainty, but since it belongs to the beginning of his reign, the sixteenth year of his tribunician power is likely. Tiberius calls himself pontifex maximus, which gives 10 March A.D. 15 as a *terminus post quem*.

The epistle is part of a pair or series of documents. The two (or the two best preserved) are clearly related, to wit: 1) the great *lex sacra*, SEG XI 923, about exceptional and divine honors for the imperial family on one block, and 2) this epistle of Tiberius in response to the tentative decrees presented for his approval by the ambassador D. Turranius Nicanor on a second block. Above the epistle are the ends of ten lines of sanctions against any one who by proposing a decree (or in any other way might seek to nullify) the honors of the gods. It is natural to suppose with Rostovtzeff that the honors of the gods were those of the great *lex sacra* found with it and that these sanctions came at the end of the *lex sacra* (or in a rider to the *lex sacra*). At Gythium disagreement over the interpretation of Tiberius's ambiguous statement may have been heated.

The *lex sacra* establishes a feast with thymelic contests and accords cult honors to members of the imperial family as "gods and princes." The gods, as Kornemann says, are the divus Augustus and Livia; she is identified with the Tyche of the city and ethnos (cf. R. Bernhardt, *Imperium und Eleutheria* [1971] 193–195 with n. 523 on the League of the Free Laconians). Tiberius probably, his sons certainly are the princes. Kornemann explained the position of Germanicus and Drusus as *σύνναοι* respectively of Nike and Aphrodite. They were not gods but they had a place in the temples of the two goddesses. The feast days honored the family members in descending order of importance: Augustus first, Tiberius second, Livia third, Germanicus fourth, Drusus fifth, and then T. Quinctius Flamininus, whose cult had probably been established in 195 B.C. The *lex* furthermore establishes a feast in honor of C. Julius Eurycles (cf. G. W. Bowersock, *JRS* 51 [1961] 112–118) and his son Julius Laco.

The real question concerned the divine honors, undoubtedly offered to Tiberius himself as well as to Livia. They were still living, and the precedent established by Augustus (see Charlesworth, *PBSR* 15 [1939] 1–10) precluded the acceptance of divine honors by the living emperor. The exceptional but human honors accorded to Germanicus and Drusus were no problem.

The great *lex sacra*, which contained a compromise, was presumably not engraved until the emperor and his mother replied. As Augustus had welcomed the deification of Julius Caesar, Tiberius welcomes the deification of the dead Augustus. As far as he himself is concerned, he shows a striking ambiguity (rightly

underlined by Rostovtzeff, *RHist* 142 [1930] 20–24), saying that he “would be content with more moderate honors proper for men,” which left vast room for interpretation. The words strongly resemble Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.37.2–38.4. He states explicitly that Livia will make her own decision. She undoubtedly did so, but it is only the emperor’s letter which had to be engraved in explanation of the limits imposed.

16–17. TWO PROCLAMATIONS OF GERMANICUS AT ALEXANDRIA, A.D. 19

Egypt. Papyrus from the first decades of the first century, now in East Berlin (P 11547), where it was seen in September 1972. Height 0.28 m., width 0.105 m.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and F. Zucker, “Zwei Edikte des Germanicus auf einem Papyrus des Berliner Museums,” *SB-Berlin* (1911) 794–821 with photograph; [Fr. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch* (Strassburg, 1915) 1: No. 3924]; C. Cichorius, “Die ägyptischen Erlasse des Germanicus,” *Römische Studien* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1922) 375–388 (misleading); A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2 (Loeb Classical Lib., 1934) 76–79, No. 211 with English translation; Ehrenberg and Jones, No. 320; D. G. Weingärtner, *Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus, Pap. Texte u. Abh.* 11 (1969) 124–136 (the Requisitions Edict) and 108–119 (the Acclamations Edict) with text, translation, and commentary of each.

The second or Acclamations Edict has often been discussed or reproduced: W. S. Ferguson, “Legalized Absolutism on the Way from Greece to Rome,” *AHR* 18 (1912) 43, n. 45; W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin, 1918) 202 and 215 f.; A. Wilhelm, *AnzWien* 59 (1922) 82–84; W. Crönert, “De critici arte in papyris exercendis,” *Raccolta di studi in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso* (Milan, 1925) 493–495; U. Wilcken, “Zum Germanicus-Papyrus,” *Hermes* 63 (1928) 48–65 (against Cichorius); M. P. Charlesworth, “The Refusal of Divine Honours, an Augustan Formula,” *PBSR* 15 (1939) 1–10; K. Kalbfleisch, “Das Rätsel im zweiten Erlass des Germanicus,” *Hermes* 77 (1942) 374–376; L. A. Post, “A New Reading of the Germanicus Papyrus,” *AJP* 65 (1944) 80–82; J. H. Oliver, *Rivista Storica dell’Antichità* 1 (1971) 229–230 (on line 38).

- 16 ἀ[γγα]ρ[είας πλοίων]
καὶ κτηγῶν γείνεσθαι καὶ
ἐπὶ σκηνώσεις καταλαμβά
νεσθαι ξενίας πρὸς βίαν καὶ
5 καταπλήσσεσθαι τοὺς ἰδιώτας,
ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην δη
λῶσαι, ὅτι οὔτε πλοῖον ὑπὸ τινος
ἢ ὑποζύγιον κατέχεσθαι βού
λομαι, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν Βαίβιον
10 τοῦ ἐμοῦ φίλου καὶ γραμματέως
προσταγὴν, οὔτε ξενίας καταλαμ
βάνεσθαι. ἐὰν γὰρ δέη, αὐτὸς Βαίβιος
ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσου καὶ δικαίου τὰς ξενίας
διαδῶσει· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγαρευ
15 ομένων δὲ πλοίων ἢ ζευγῶν
ἀποδίδοσθαι τοὺς μισθοὺς κατὰ
τὴν ἐμὴν διαγραφὴν κελεύω {ι}
τοὺς δὲ ἀντιλέγοντας ἐπὶ τὸν
γραμματέα μου ἀνάγεσθαι βού
20 λομ[αι, θ]ς ἢ αὐτὸς κωλύσει ἀδι
κεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰδιώτας <ἢ> ἐμοὶ ἀναγ
γελεῖ, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς πόλεως διατρέ
χοντα ὑποζύγια τοὺς ἀπαντῶν
τας πρὸς βίαν περιαιρεῖσθαι κωλύω.
25 τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη ὁμολογουμένης
ληστείας ἐστὶν ἔργον.
- 17 Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ, Σεβασ[τ]οῦ υἱός,
Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱωνός, ἀνθύπατος
λέγει· τὴν μὲν εὐνοίαν ὑμῶν
30 ἦν αἰεὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθε, ὅταν με εἴ
δητε, ἀποδέχομαι· τὰς δὲ ἐπιφθόνου[ς]
ἐμοὶ καὶ ἰσοθέους ἐκφωνήσεις
ὑμῶν ἐξ [ᾧ]παντος παραιτοῦμαι.
πρέπουσι γὰρ μόνῳ τῷ σωτῆρι
35 ὄντως καὶ εὐεργέτῃ τοῦ σύνπαντος
τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, τῷ ἐμῷ
πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐμῇ δὲ
μάμμη. τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ἐν <λόγῳ> πᾶρε<ργ>ᾷ
ἐστὶν τῆς ἐκείνων θεϊότητος, ὥς
40 ἐάν μοι μὴ πεισθῇτε, ἀναγκᾷ με
μὴ πολλάκις ὑμεῖν ἐνφανίζεσθαι.

Translation

— — hearing that] requisitions . . . of boats and beasts take place
and that guest-quarters are occupied by force for accommodations

and that the common people are (sometimes) beaten, I deemed it necessary to make it clear that I want neither boat nor beast of burden to be requisitioned by anyone, except on order of Baebius my friend and secretary, nor guest-quarters to be occupied. For if there is need, Baebius himself will assign the lodgings on a fair and equal basis. For the forced services of boats or beasts I order that the payments be made according to my tariff. I want the objectors to be brought before my secretary, who either will himself prevent the common people from being unjustly treated or will report to me. As for the beasts of burden that run through the city, I forbid those who encounter them to strip them forcibly. For this is nothing more than an act of banditry.

Germanicus Caesar, son of Augustus, grandson of divine Augustus, proconsul, proclaims:

The good will which you ever display when you see me I accept gladly, but those invidious divine acclamations of yours I reject absolutely. For they are suitable to him alone who is really the savior and benefactor of the whole human race, namely my father and his mother, who is my grandmother. The deeds reputed as mine are but an additional working of their divinity. Thus, if you do not obey me, you will compel me not to appear often among you.

Commentary

In A.D. 19 Germanicus (*PIR*² J 221), who was sent to the East to regulate the provinces across the sea (compare No. **261**), made a trip to Egypt together with his wife Agrippina and went up the Nile as far as the First Cataract. The extraordinary visit entailed great preparations in Upper Egypt and produced scenes of wild enthusiasm in Alexandria. The first edict of this papyrus was called forth by the oppression of the provincials upcountry who had to supply provisions, transportation, and so forth. The second edict was called forth by the acclamations with which the Alexandrians greeted him, like "savior and benefactor of the human race" which were suitable for the emperor alone. He was the grandson of Antony, and Alexandria, which still felt itself the greatest city in the world, remembered its role in the time of Antony and Cleopatra. Germanicus was all too obviously the heir apparent and really had no business in Egypt, which he thought came within his *imperium* and where he seems to have ignored

the prefect and Roman staff and taken upon himself to open the granaries. As Wilcken demonstrates, this was not grain earmarked for Rome, but even so, he overstepped. These edicts show Germanicus in a different light from that of Tacitus, *Annals* 2. He was tactlessly carried away. Wilamowitz emphasized the appeal of divine honors to Antony, Germanicus (who was slow to react), and Gaius on the one hand, and the refusal of divine honors by Augustus and Tiberius; this difference of attitude was more significant, he found, than the jealousies of a few officers and princesses. Charlesworth emphasized the influence of Augustus in establishing a policy which continued with infelicitous exceptions throughout the Principate.

The only textual problem comes in line 38 where Wilamowitz and Zucker read *ἐν ὑποπαρετια* and left it as an unintelligible garble. Wilhelm interpreted this as *ἐν ὑποπαραιτία*, which does not produce a convincing text with what follows. Crönert read *ἐν συννηρησειά*, and Schubart *ἐν νιού μέρεσι(ν)*. All these readings were rejected by Wilcken, who wrote (*Hermes* 63 [1928] 49) merely *ε..... ἐστὶν τῆς ἐκείνων θειότητος*. After Wilcken rejected on palaeographical grounds the readings of all these scholars, attempts to achieve a better reading did not cease. K. Kalbfleisch (*Hermes* 77 [1942] 374–376) proposed *ἐν ὑπ{π}ηρησειά*, and L. A. Post (*AJP* 65 [1944] 80) *ἐνλογα παρεπ(όμενα)*. That is, Post treated the two oblique lines of the superimposed alpha as a mark of abbreviation. But there are no other abbreviations. I myself have examined the excellent photograph repeatedly and have come to the following conclusion. Either reading, *ἐννπρ* (Wilamowitz and Zucker) or *ενλοπο* (rather than Post's *ἐνλογα*), could be a misreading by the ancient scribe from an original *ἐν λόγῳ*, because gamma followed by an omega open at the top is easily mistaken for pi followed by omicron. The reading by Wilamowitz and Zucker, *παρετια* (or Post's *παρεπ* with a superimposed alpha instead of a superimposed mark of abbreviation), looks to me right. It is evidently again a scribal error, and I think the error lies in the letters *τι* (or Post's *π*), which reflect the ancient scribe's misreading of *ργ*. For the thought, *τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ἐν <λόγῳ> πάρε(ργ)ὰ ἐστὶν τῆς ἐκείνων θειότητος*, "the deeds reputed as mine are an additional working of their divinity," I drew attention in 1971 to Plato, *Timaeus* 38 d–e, *ὁ λόγος πάρεργος ὢν πλέον ἂν ἔργον ὢν ἐνεκα λέγεται παρ-άσχοι* (with its similar wordplay on the antithesis *λόγος-ἔργον*),

and to Aelius Aristides for his description of the small victory on Psyttaleia after the great, inspired victory in the Battle of Salamis as the *πάρεργον τῶν ἔργων* or as the *πάρεργον* no less glorious than the *ἔργα* (*Panathenaic*, section 126 [Oliver]). The divine *ἔργα* are those of Tiberius and Livia; his own operations, Germanicus explains, are mere *πάρεργα* of their divinity. For the plural possessive *ἡμέτερα* in line 38 alternating with the first person singular in other lines, Wilhelm cites Cronus in Lucian, *Ep. Sat.* 2.25, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ταῦτα. This phrase also in construction would correspond to that of Germanicus, τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐν λόγῳ. Dessau and Weingärtner describe the plural correctly as a *pluralis modestiae*.

The heading of the first edict was restored by Wilamowitz and Zucker to read like that of the second edict, and the phrase *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν* was restored on the basis of the phrase *εἰς παρουσίαν Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος* on Ostrakon Louvre 9004 = Wilcken in Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*, 413. Crönert's very different restoration has no real support and may be ignored.

In line 9 the *amicus et ab epistulis* Baebius (*PIR*² B 9) is not otherwise identified. Or *comes et scriba* (Cichorius, 387f.). See Weingärtner, *Die Ägyptenreise*, 15–21.

Lines 34–36: Compare the proconsul of Asia about Claudius, τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἀλ[η]θῶς δικαιοτάτου ἡγεμόνος, ὃς πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνα(δε)δε(ι)γμένος κηδεμονίαν (F. K. Dörner, *Der Erlass des Statthalters von Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus* [Greifswald, 1935] 37).

18. CALIGULA TO THE LEAGUE OF THE ACHAEANS, BOEOTIANS, LOCRIANS, PHOCIANS, AND EUBOEANS, A.D. 37

Acraephia. The inscription on gray limestone serves as a jamb in a door on the north side of the church of St. George at Akraiphnion, formerly called Kardhitsa, in northeastern Boeotia, where it was examined in 1971. Only lines 21–42 with the emperor's epistle strictly concern us, but it is best to present the whole text with all its eight or nine documents, which were testimonials from abroad to the service rendered by Epaminondas of Acraephia in undertaking the cost and labor of an embassy to the new emperor when the Boeotians were unable to pay for an ambassador.

H. 1.80 m.; W. 0.46 m.; Th. 0.47 m.

H. of letters, 0.01 m.

H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* (Bremen, 1840) 1:249–253, No. 26a; K. Keil, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Boeoticarum* (Leipzig, 1847) 116–127, No. XXXI; M. Holleaux, “Inscription d’Acraephiae,” *BCH* 12 (1888) 305–315, a much better reading after a cleaning; W. Dittenberger, *IG VII* (1892) 2711, proposing some excellent restorations; M. Holleaux, *REA* 1 (1899) 16–18, a note concerning only line 7 but even so vitiated by a false measurement of lacunae; J. H. Oliver, “Epaminondas of Acraephia,” *GRBS* 12 (1971) 221–237, especially 222–225 with a revised text of lines 78–128; [*ILS* 8792; Smallwood, *Documents . . . Gaius, Cladius and Nero*, 361]. The documents are discussed by A. B. West, *Corinth* 8.2 (1931) 30, 78; J. A. O. Larsen in T. Frank, *Ec. Survey*, 4:450 f.; U. Kahrstedt, *SymbOsl* 28 (1950) 70–75; J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (= *Vestigia* 6 [1965] 90 f.).

18

- [‘Ο στρατηγός τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν καὶ Εὐβοέων καὶ
 [Φωκῶν] εἰς Διοδότου Ἀ[ρ]γεῖος Ἀκρηφιέων ἄρχουσι χαίρειν
 [‘Ο πεμφθεὶς ὑφ’ ὑμῶν πρεσβευτῆς Ἐπαμινώνδας Ἐπαμινώνδου
 [ἐπαινετῶ]ς καὶ σπουδαῖος ἀπέδωκέν μοι τὴν παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐπιστολῇ[ν]
 5 [τὴν περὶ τῇ]ς εἰς Καίσαρα Γερμανικὸν Σεβαστὸν εὐσεβείας τόν τε ὄρ
 [κον ὥμοσε]ν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος,
 [ἐναντίον] τοῦ συνεδρίου, καὶ τῆς συνόδου μετέσχεν πρεσβείας τε ζη
 [τουμένη]ς ὑπὲρ Βοιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν καὶ <ἐ>κ τῶν μειζόνων πόλε
 [ων παρ]όντων κα[ὶ] ἐξομνυμένων καὶ ἐπικαλουμένων ὡς ἀποστῆναι
 10 [κινδύ]νεύειν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Πανελλήνων, ἀριστον ἔργον ἐποίησεν
 [καὶ εὐγ]ενὲς καὶ εὐσεβείας ἐχόμενον τῆς εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν ὁ ὑμέτερος
 [πρεσ]βευτῆς Ἐπαμινώνδας, ὑποσχόμενος τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν πρεσ
 [βείαν] ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βοιωτῶν ἔθνους κατὰ δωρεάν, ἐφ’ ᾧ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλ
 [λήνων] ἀποδοχῆς ἡξιώθη καὶ ἐπαίνων καὶ τειμῶν ἃς ἐψηφισάμεθα
 15 [] ννν Ἔρρωσθε νν Ἔδοξε τῇ συνόδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαινεῖσαι Ἐπα
 [μινώ]νδαν Ἐπαμινώνδου Ἀκρηφιῆ, ἐπειδὴ πολλῆς ζητήσεως γενομέ
 [νης] ὑπέσχετο τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν πρεσβείαν προθυμότητα κατὰ
 [δωρε]άν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βοιωτῶν ἔθνους, ἣν ἄλλοι παρόντες ἐκ τῶν μειζόνων[ν]
 [πόλε]ων ἡρνήσαντο, στεφανῶσαι δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἐκ[όνι]
 20 [γραπ]τῇ τύχῃ τῇ ἀγαθῇ, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀναγραφῇ τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν Ἑ[λλήνων].
 [Αὐτοκ]ράτωρ Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ, θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Ἑ[κ]χ[ονος, Τιβερίου Καί[σα]

- [ρος υἱ]ωνός, ἀρχιερέυς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὕπατος, Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν καὶ Φωκέων καὶ Εὐβοέων τῷ κοινῷ ^{vvv} χαίρειν ^v Ἀναγνοῦς
- 25 [τὸ δο]θέν μοι ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων πρεσβευτῶν ψήφισμα, ἔγνων ὅτι οὐδεμί [αν ὑπ]ερβολὴν ἀπελίπετε τῆς εἰς ἐμέ [προθυμ]ίας καὶ εὐσεβείας, ἰδίᾳ τε [ἔκασ]τος θυσάμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ κοινῇ ἐορτάσαντές [τε κα]ὶ τειμὰς ἃς ἠδύνασθε μεγίστας ψηφισάμενοι, ἐφ' οἷς ἅπασι ἐπαινῶ [τε ὑμ]ᾶς καὶ ἀποδέχομαι, καὶ μεμνημένος τῆς ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων [ἐπιφ]ανείας ἐκάστου τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δ[ήμω]ν ἐὼ ὑμᾶς συνεσταμένους·
- 30 τῶν ἀνδριάντων οὗς ἐψηφίσας <θ>έ μοι, τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος, ἐὰν ὑμεῖν δοκῇ, [καθε]λόντες, ἀρκεσθῇτε τοῖς Ὀλυμπίαισι καὶ Νεμέᾳ καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἴσθμοῖ τεθησομένοις· ὁ ποιή[σαντες ἐμέ σεβή]σθε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἦτ [τον ἀνα]λῶμασι βαρυνεῖ[τε ^v Ἀπέδωκάν μοι] τὸ ψήφισμα πρεσβε[υ] [ταὶ ὧ]ν τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπ[ογέγραπται. Εὐτυχεῖτε ^v] Ἀρχίπρεσβευτῆς μὲν
- 35 [...]^{ΔΡΣ} Λευκίου [----- Ἀχαιῶ]ν δὲ Θεόπομπος Ἀ [...]^δάμου, Ἀριστ[-----]ος Ἐπιδίκου[υ], Τιμόξε [νος Τ]ειμοξέν[ο]υ, Α[-----]δαμος Τειμανδρ[ί] [δου], Μηνοφάνης [-----]δου ^v Βοιωτῶν δὲ Ἐπα [μινῶ]νδας Ἐπαμινώνδου[υ, ----- Ὀλυμ]πίων ^v Ἡράκλειτος
- 40 Ὀλυμ]πίωνος ^v Φωκέων [δὲ ----- ^v Εὐβο]έων δὲ Ἀριστόδικος [...]^{φου} ^v Λοκρῶν δὲ [-----]ης Ἀναξιδότου. Ἐδό [θη πρὸ] δεκατεσσάρων Καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων ἐν Ῥώμῃ vacat [...]^{ων} Ἡρακλείδου ὁ ἀν[τ]άρχων Ἀ[ρ]ισ[τ]ομάχου τοῦ Ἐρασίππου [τ]οῦ
- [γραμ]ματέως τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τ[ῷ] κοινῷ Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ χαί [ρειν]. Τοῦ πεμφθέντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευτοῦ Ἐπαμινώνδου τ[οῦ] Ἐ[πα] [μινῶ]νδου ἀποδόντος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς Ἀχαι^aς συνπρεσβευ [τῶν τ]ῆν παρὰ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἐπιστολὴν πέπομφα ὑμεῖν τὸ ἀντίγρα [φον, τ]ὰς τε νῦν πάλιν πρεπούσας αὐτῷ τειμὰς, ἃς ἐψηφισάμεθα, [αὐ] [τοῦ αἰ]τησαμένου μετὰ τῶν συνπρέσβειων ὑπερεθέμεθα εἰς τὴν
- 50 [δευτ]έραν ἐσομένην τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον ^{vv} Ἐρρωσθε vacat [Τὸ κοι]νὸν Βοιωτῶν καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ συνεδρίου Ζώπυρος [Ἀγαμ]ήστωρος ^v Ἀκρηφιέων ἀρχουσι ^v χαίριν. Τῶν κυρωθε [ισῶν] τιμῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν Ἐπαμινώνδα Ἐπαμινώνδου [τῷ π]ολεῖται ὑμῶν πεπόμφαμεν ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντίγραφον σημη
- 55 [νάμ]ενοι τῇ κοινῇ σφραγίδι ^v Ἐρρωσθε ^{vv} Ἐδοξε τοῖς σύνπα[υ] [vvv σ]ι ναοποιοῖς ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῶν Παμβοιωτικῶν vvvvv [Ἐπειδ]ὴ Ἐπαμινώνδας Ἐπαμινώνδου ἀνὴρ καλὸς τε κἀγαθὸς ὁ [πάρ]χων παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον καὶ ἐν τῷ π[α]ρόντι μηδὲν ἐν [λιπν]ὴν βουλόμενος εἰς τὸ ἔθνος, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἢ πᾶσιν μακα
- 60 [ριωτ]άτῃ ἐπέλαμψεν ἡγεμονία τοῦ νέου θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, [πρεσ]βείας ζητουμένης ἐν τοῖς Πανέλλησι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βοι [ωτῶν] ^v ἔθνους μηδενός τε βουλομένου ὑπομεῖναι τὸ βᾶ [ρος], πάντα ἐν ἐλάσσονι θέμενος τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπίγοντα πράγμα

- [τα, ἐπ]εδέξατο τὸ μεγαλόφρον, προσενδεξάμενος κατὰ δωρεὰν
 65 [πρεσ]βεύσιν πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν Καίσαρα Γερμανικὸν καὶ [συνα]
 [ναπλ]ηρώσας τὰ τῆς πρεσβίας προσενενκῶν τε μετὰ τῶν συ[ν]
 [πρέσ]βεων τὰς ἐψηφισμένας τιμὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Πανελλήνων[ν]
 [τῷ Σ]εβαστῷ, ἤνενκεν ἀπόκριμα πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος πάσης
 [φιλα]νθρωπίας καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν πλήρης ^{vv} δι' ἃ δὴ
 70 [πάν]τα ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ Βοιωτῶν <ἐπαινεῖσαι> Ἐπαμινώνδαν ἐφ' ἧ
 [εἰχ]εν εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μεγαλοψυχία τε καὶ εὐνοία, ἀνα
 [θεῖν]αι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ἐν ὄπλῳ ἐπιχρύσω
 [ἐν τῷ] ναῷ τῆς Εἰρωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς, τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ποιήσα
 [μένον]ς τήνδε ^{vv} Τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν Ἐπαμινώνδαν
 75 [Ἐπα]μινώνδου πρεσβεύσαντα πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βοιω
 [τῶν] ἔθνους κατὰ δωρεὰν πρὸς τὸν νέον Σεβαστὸν
 [Καίσ]αρά Γερμανικὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν [καὶ εὐνοί]ας ^{vocat}
 [Θηβαί]ων ἀρχοντες καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀκρηφιέων ἀρ
 [χουσ]ι, βουλῇ, δῆμῳ ^{vvn} χαίρειν ^{vv} Τῶν [ἐψηφισμ]ένων
 80 [παρ' ἡ]μεῖν τειμῶν καὶ πολειτείας Ἐπ[αμινώνδ]α Ἐπα
 [μινώ]νδου τῷ πολεῖτῃ ὑμῶν πεπόμ[φ]αμεν ὑμ]εῖν
 [τὸ ἀν]τίγραφον, καθὼς ἔδοξε, σ[ημν]άμενοι [τῇ] δημο
 [σίᾳ σ]φραγίδι, παρεκαλέσαμεν δὲ τό τ' ἐ[πείναι τῇ] διακο
 [μιδ]ῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς Δωρόθεον Νεικοκλ[έους καὶ τοῦ]ς ἀπὸ
 85 [τῆς ἡ]μετέρας πόλεως λόγους ποιήσ[ασθαι πρὸς] τὴν ὑ
 [μετέ]ραν καθ' ἧς ἔλαβεν παρὰ τῆς βο[υλῆς καὶ τοῦ] δήμου
 [ἐντο]λὰς ^{vvn} Ἑρρωσθε ^{vvn} Ἐπει[δὴ] Ἐπαμινώνδ]ας Ἐπαμι
 [νών]δου ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθ[ὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ] ἔθνους
 [ἐστ]ί, συνπολειτευόμε[νος - - - - -] πάντοτε καὶ
 90 [...]ικλ[- - - - -]μίας ἐποίῃ
 [σεν, καὶ διατελεῖ ἀρίστη χρώμενος β]ίου ἀγωγῇ, καὶ
 [καλῶς ἰδί]α τε πρὸς ἑκαστὸν ἡμῶν καὶ κοινῇ πρὸς [ς]
 [ἅπαντας διὰ τε τοῦ χρόνου τ]οῦ παρεληλυθότος
 [προσεφέρετο καὶ ἀξίως τ]ῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀγωγῆς, καὶ
 95 [ζητουμένης παρ' ἡμ]ῶν ^{vv} πρώτης καὶ ἀνανκαί
 [οτάτης πρὸς τ]ὸν νέον Σεβαστὸν πρεσβείας
 [ἀφελ]ούσης τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν πολλῶν ὁ

1 [Τὸ κοινὸν Ἀχαιῶν] Ulrichs, [Στρατηγὸς Ἀχαιῶν] Dittenberger, [Ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Oliver. 2 [Φωκέων καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς Ulrichs; Ἀ[ρ]γείος Holleaux. 3 Ulrichs. 4 ἐ[π]α[ι]νετῶς] Holleaux. 5 [τὴν Oliver, [περὶ τῆς] Ulrichs. 6 Holleaux. 7 [ἐναντίον] Dittenberger, [μετὰ] Holleaux, [καὶ] Ulrichs. 8 Ulrichs. 9 [ων τῶν πα]ρόντων Ulrichs. 10 Ulrichs. 11 [καὶ εὐγ]ενὲς Ulrichs, εὐμ]ενὲς Keil. 12–14 Ulrichs. 16–19 Ulrichs. 20 Holleaux. 21–24 Ulrichs. 25 [αν ὑ] Ulrichs; [προθυμ]ίας Holleaux. 26 [ἐκασ]τος

Ulrichs. 27 [τε Oliver, [κα]ὶ Ulrichs. 28 [τε Oliver, [ύμ]ᾱς Ulrichs. 29 Holleaux. 30 Ulrichs. ΕΨΗΦΙΣΑΣΟΕ *lapis*. 31 [ἄφε]λόντες Keil, [καθε]λόντες Oliver. 32 [θμοῖ] Ulrichs; ὁ ποιή[σαντες ἐμὲ σεβήσε]σθε Oliver. 33 [τον Holleaux; cetera Keil. 34 Keil. 35 Μέν[αν]δρ(ο)ς Holleaux; Ἀχαί[ω]ν Holleaux; 36 Ἀ[ριστο]δάμου Holleaux. 37–38 Holleaux. 39 [μιν]ώνδον Ulrichs; Ὀλυμ[πίων Oliver, 40 [Ὀλυμ] Dittenberger; cetera Holleaux. 42–43 Holleaux. 44 γραμ[ματ]ῶς Ulrichs; cetera Holleaux. 45 [ρειν] Holleaux; το[ῦ] Oliver; Ἐπα[υ] Ulrichs. 46 [μιν]ώνδου Ulrichs; Ἀχαί(α)ς Holleaux. ΑΧΑΙΣ *lapis*. 47 Keil. 48–49 Holleaux. 50 [δεντ]έραν Ulrichs, [ύστ]έραν Keil. 51 Ulrichs. 52 [Ἀγα]μήσσορος Ulrichs. 53 Holleaux. 54 [τῷ π] Ulrichs. 55–58 Holleaux. 59 [λιπεῖν] Holleaux, [λιπῖν] Oliver. 60 Holleaux. 61 [πρεσ] Ulrichs. 62–63 Holleaux. 64 [τα Holleaux, ἐπ]εδέξατο Ulrichs. 65 [πρέσ]βενσιν Ulrichs, [πρεσ]βεύσιν Keil; [συνα] Oliver. 66 [συνπλ]ηρώσας Holleaux, [συνα | ναπλ]ηρώσας Oliver. 67 [πρεσ] Ulrichs. 68 [τῷ Holleaux, Σε]βαστῷ Ulrichs. 69 φιλ[ανθ]ρωπίας Ulrichs. 70 Ulrichs. 71 Holleaux. 72–76 Ulrichs. 77 [Καίς]αρα Ulrichs; [καὶ εὐνοί]ας Holleaux.

Translation

[The general of the Achaeans] and Boeotians and Locrians and Euboeans and [Phocians, – – –]eus, son of Diodotus, of Argos to the archons of Acraephia, greetings.

The ambassador [sent] by you, Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas, delivered to me with [praiseworthy] zeal your letter concerning the demonstration of piety toward Caesar Germanicus Augustus and took the oath for your city, in the governor's presence, [before] the council, and he participated in the assembly. And when an embassy to the emperor on behalf of the Boeotians was being sought and from the larger cities there were people present declining with oaths of disability and challenging others to go in their place so that there was danger of Boeotia withdrawing from the all-Hellenic league, your ambassador Epaminondas did a very fine and noble deed and one of loyalty to the emperor. He promised to pay for the embassy to the emperor on behalf of the Boeotian League. For this he met with appreciation from all the Hellenes and was deemed worthy of praise and honors which we then voted. Farewell. (*Lines 1–15*)

The Assembly of the Hellenes decreed a proposal to praise Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas, of Acraephia, because when a great search occurred he undertook most readily to perform and pay for the embassy to the emperor on behalf of the Boeotian League, the embassy which others present from the larger cities had refused, and to honor

him with a gold crown and a [painted] portrait to Good Fortune, and for the decree of the Hellenes to be engraved. (*Lines 15–20*)

Imperator Augustus Caesar, descendant of divus Augustus, grandson of Tiberius Caesar, pontifex maximus, tribunician power, consul, to the Commonalty of the Achaeans and Boeotians and Locrians and Phocians and Euboeans, greetings.

Upon reading the decree given to me by your ambassadors I recognized that you displayed an unsurpassable [zeal] and devotion to me, sacrificing individually for my security and as a group celebrating and decreeing the greatest honors you could. I both praise you for all this and accept with approval. And remembering the distinction from ancient times of each of the Greek republics, I allow your union. As for the statues which you voted me, if you please, reduce the great number and be content with those that will be placed at Olympia and Nemea and at the Pythian sanctuary and at the Isthmus. By doing this you will [venerate me] and burden yourselves less with expense. Ambassadors whose names follow [delivered to me] the decree. Farewell. (*Lines 21–42*)

Chief ambassador, [— —], son of Leukios [— —]; from the Achaeans Theopompus, son of A[. . .]damus, Arist [— —, son of — — —, — —] us, son of Epidicus, Timoxenus, son of Timoxenus, L[— — —, son of — — —, — —]damus, son of Timandr[ides], Menophanes, [son of — — —, — — —, son of — —]des; from the Boeotians Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas, [— — —, son of — — —, Olym]pion, Heraclitus, son[s] of [Olym]pion; from the Phocians [— — —, son of — — —], from the [Eubo]eans Aristodicus, [son of — — —]phus; from the Locrians [— — —, son of — — —, — — —]es, son of Anaxidotus.

Dated August 19 in Rome.

[— — —]ôn son of Heraclitus acting secretary of the Achaeans for Aristomachus son of Erasippus, to the Boeotian League, greetings.

The ambassador sent by you, Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas, together with the other members of the embassy from Achaea delivered the epistle from the emperor. I have sent you your copy. The honors which are again due to him and which we decreed, we postponed to the future second assembly of the Achaeans; he himself so requested together with his fellow ambassadors. Farewell. (*Lines 43–50*)

The Boeotian League and the secretary of the council, Zopyrus son of Agamnestor, to the archons of the Acraephians, greetings.

We have sent you your copy of the honors enacted by the Boeotians for your fellow citizen, Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas. We have stamped it with the public seal. Farewell. (*Lines 50–55*)

The *naopoioi* at the festival of the Panboeotia unanimously decreed: Whereas Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas, being a good and fine man all his life and wishing not to fail the League in any way in the present situation at the time when the, for all, most blessed reign of the new divine emperor had dawned and an embassy was being sought in the all-Hellenic gathering to represent the Boeotian League and no one was willing to undertake the burden, he subordinated all his urgent affairs and showed his magnanimity by accepting to go on an embassy to the emperor Augustus Caesar Germanicus and to offer the embassy as a gift besides; and when he had helped to fulfill all the purposes of the embassy and had reported with his fellow-ambassadors the honors voted by the all-Hellenic gathering for the emperor, he brought back to the League a reply full of every courtesy and good expectations. For all these reasons the Boeotian League voted (to praise) Epaminondas for the generosity and goodwill he had for the *ethnos* and to erect also a painted portrait of him on a gilded shield in the Temple of Athena Itonia, making the following inscription, “The Boeotian League (honors) for his excellence and goodwill Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas, who first offered as a gift an embassy to the new emperor Augustus Caesar Germanicus on behalf of the Boeotian *ethnos*.” (*Lines 55–77*)

Archons and the council and the *demos* of the Thebans to the archons, council, *demos* of the [Acraephians], greetings.

We have sent you, as voted, your copy of the honors and citizenship among us decreed for Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas, your fellow-citizen, having stamped it with the public seal. We called upon Dorotheus, son of Nicocles, in regard to its transmission to you and to the phrasing of the words from our city to your city according to the instructions which he received from the council and *demos*. Farewell. (*Lines 78–87*)

Whereas Epaminondas son of Epaminondas is a good and fine man in his support of the *ethnos*, ever cooperating [with the Boeotians] and [— — — — — and continuously follows an excellent] style of life and [has behaved well both privately toward each of us] and publicly in the past [toward all at all times and in a manner worthy] of his own upbringing. And then as a first and most essential embassy to the new emperor was being sought, one beneficial to the Boeotian League, after many had shown reluctance to assume the burden and trouble of the journey abroad and there was danger that the *ethnos* would be detached from the common hope and act of courtesy of the people of Achaea, he of his own accord volunteered in the common all-Hellenic assembly gathered at Argos. He undertook the embassy which others who were

being invited refused to accept, and without even asking time to prepare, he went forth and performed perfectly, undertaking, apart from the trouble, to defray the costs of his own money. And when he had fulfilled the embassy for the *ethnos*, he brought back to us the reply of the new emperor, which was full of every hope and courtesy and kept the cities and the League unburdened both on the journey out and in the report after the embassy. For all this may it be decreed by the archons, the council, and the *demos* of the Thebans that citizenship has been granted as a free gift to Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas, and that there be for him a sharing in all the privileges of the city as for those born in native families; and to set up a painted portrait of him on a gilded shield in the agora, making an inscription, "The *demos* of the Thebans (honors) for his excellence Epaminondas son of Epaminondas who offered in the common assembly of the Achaeans an embassy to Augustus Caesar Germanicus on behalf of the Boeotian *ethnos* as a free gift"; and to elect the man to carry their copy of this decree to the city of the Acraephians.

Dorotheus son of Nicocles was elected. (*Lines 78–124*)

In the same terms the other cities too in Boeotia honored him with decrees and citizenship. There were a lot of them, and they have not been inscribed because there is no room.

Commentary

The form of the emperor's name (in line 21) without Germanicus is like that on certain coins from the mint of Rome which begin *C. Caesar divi Aug. pron(epos) Aug.*, but the element *Σεβαστός* precedes *Καῖσαρ*. The element *αὐτοκράτωρ* seems to be an unofficial identification added by the League's secretary.

The epistle of Caligula happened to be engraved at Acraephia because it formed part of the dossier concerning the benefaction of Epaminondas of Acraephia, who made it possible for Boeotia to be represented on a congratulatory embassy to Caligula after his accession. The whole inscription might have been labeled Honors for Epaminondas from Abroad. How difficult it was for the Boeotians to finance an embassy to Rome appears from the other documents of the dossier. See Oliver, *GRBS* 12 (1971) 221–237, for this and for the honors decreed by Acraephia itself.

The epistle of the emperor has two main interests for modern scholars. First, it illustrates the eagerness of the inhabitants of what had recently been a senatorial province to congratulate and please a new emperor. Senatorial administration had on request been suspended by Tiberius, who had made Achaea part of the

complex called Moesia. What is here in line 10 called the all-Hellenic League embraced all those states formerly under the *imperium* of the proconsul of Achaëa. Athens, Sparta, Nicopolis, the Eleutherolacones, are not represented, nor are the Hellenes of Macedonia.

Second, the epistle illustrates the moderation of Caligula at the beginning of his reign. Later he acquired an evil reputation as a tyrant eager for divine honors. Here, however, he stands in the tradition established by Augustus and continued by Tiberius, but later, when according to Cassius Dio (59.28.1) he ordered a *temenos* for himself at Miletus, he does not seem to have been curtailing more extravagant honors (see L. Robert, "Le culte de Caligula à Milète," *Hellenica* 7 [1949] 206–238; Chr. Habicht, *Entretiens Hardt* 19 [1972] 56 and 85).

The all-Hellenic League had been formed under Tiberius by the merger of the Achaean League in the Peloponnese with the League of the Boeotians, Locrians (who had absorbed the former Dorians), Phocians, and Euboeans on a basis of equality reflected in the embassy of eight Achaëans and eight from Central Greece (four Boeotians, two "Locrians," one Phocian, one Euboean). See J. H. Oliver, "The So-called and Real Panhellenes of the Roman Period," in *Studies offered to Antonio Garcia y Bellido. Revista de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid* 18 No. 118 (1979).

19. CLAUDIUS TO THE ALEXANDRIANS, A.D. 41

Egypt. Papyrus (*P. Lond.* 1912) from Philadelphia in the Heraclides division of the Arsinoite nome. Acquired at Cairo in 1921 and now in the British Museum (BM 2248), where it was reexamined in October 1972.

H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1924) 1–37 with a splendid reading and translation (here adopted with modifications); U. Wilcken, *ArchP* 7 (1924) 308–310; E. Schwartz, *DLZ* (1924) 2093–2095; W. Schubart, *Gnomon* 1 (1925) 24–37; A. Stein, "Parteikämpfe im hellenistischen Alexandrien," *Preussische Jahrbücher* 200 (1925) 54–73; W. Otto, *PhWoch* 46 (1926) 6–14; H. Stuart Jones, "Claudius and the Jewish Question," *JRS* 16 (1926) 17–35; H. Willrich, "Zum Brief des Kaisers Claudius an die Alexandriner," *Hermes* 60 (1925) 482–489; A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2 (London, 1934) No. 212 with trans-

lation; M. P. Charlesworth, "The Refusal of Divine Honors, an Augustan Formula," *PBSR* 15 (1939) 1–10; M. David and B. A. van Groningen, *Papyrological Primer* (Leyden, 1946) No. 1; V. A. Tcherikover, *CPJud* (1960) 2: No. 153 with translation, excellent discussion, and almost complete bibliography listing more than a hundred items.

19

Col. I

- Λούκιος Αιμίλλιος Ῥήκτος λέγει
 ἐπειδὴ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς ἱεροτάτης
 καὶ εὐεργετικωτάτης ἰς τὴν πόλιν
 ἐπιστολῆς πᾶσα ἡ πόλεις παρατυχεῖν
 5 οὐκ ἡδυνήθη{ν} διὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῆς,
 ἀνανκαῖον ἡγησάμην ἐκθεῖναι
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἵνα κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον
 ἀναγινώσκων αὐτὴν τὴν τε μεγαλιότητα
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Καίσαρος θαυμάσητε
 10 καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν [[ὁμοίᾳ]] εὐνοίᾳ
 χάριν ἔχητε. (ἔτους) β' Τιβέριου Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, μηνὸς Νέου
 Σεβαστο(ῦ) ἰδ̄.

Col. II

- Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Αὐτοκράτωρ ἀρχ{ι}ιερεὺς
 15 μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπατος ἀποδεδигμένος Ἀλεξανδρέων
 τῇ πόλει χαίρειν. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Βάρβιλλος, Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀρτεμιδώρου,
 Χαυρήμων Λεονίδου, Μάρκος Ἰούλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης, Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διονύ
 σιος(ς),
 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Φανίας, Πασίων Ποτάμωνος, Διονύσιος Σαββῆωνος,
 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος < Ἀρχίβιος>, Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀρίστονος, Γάιος Ἰούλιος
 Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἑρμαῖσκος
 20 Ἀπολλωνίου, οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἀναδόντες μοι τὸ ψήφισμα πολλὰ περὶ
 τῆς πόλεως διεξῆλθον, ὑπαγόμενοί μοι <ζ>ῆλον πρὸς τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς
 εὐνοίαν ἦν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων, εὐ εἰστε, παρ' ἐμοὶ τεταμιευμένην ἔ[τι]
 εἴχεται, φύσει μὲν εὐσεβεῖς περὶ τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς ὑπάρχοντες, ὡς
 ἐκ πολλῶν μοι γέγονε γνόριμον, ἐξερétως δὲ περὶ τὸν ἐμὸν
 25 οἶκον καὶ σπουδᾶσαντες καὶ σπουδασθέντος, ὧν εἶνα τὸ τελεῦ
 ταῖον εἶπωι παρεῖς τὰ ἄλλα μέγιστός ἐστιν μάρτυς οὐμος ἀδελφός
 Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ γνησιωτέrais ὑμᾶς φωναῖς προσαγορεύσας.
 διόπερ ἡδέως προσεδεξάμην τὰς δοθείσας ὑφ' ἡμῶν μοι τιμὰς
 καίπερ οὐκ ὦν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα {ρ} βράδιος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν Σεβαστὴν
 30 ὑμείν ἀγειν ἐπιτρέπωι τὴν ἐμὴν γενεθλείαν ὅν τρόπον αὐτοὶ προ
 εἴρησθαι, τὰς τὲ ἑκα{τασ}σταχοῦ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἀναστάσεις

- ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ γένους μου ποιήσασθε συνχωρῶν· ἐγὼ ὁρῶν γὰρ
 <ὅτι> πάντη μνημεῖα τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον
 ὑδρόσασθαι <ἐ>σπουδάσεται. τῶν δὲ δυοῖν χρυσῶν ἀνδριάντων
 35 ὁ μὲν Κλαυδιανῆς Εἰρήνης Σεβαστῆς γενόμενος, ὥσπερ ὑπέθετο
 καὶ προσελειπάρη[σ]εν ὁ ἐμοὶ τιμ[ι]ώτατος Βάρβιλλος ἀρνούμενου
 μου διὰ τὸ φορτικότε[ρο]ς δ[οκ]εῖν,] ἔπει Ῥώμης ἀνατεθήσεται,

Col. III

- ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἀξιοῦτε πομπεύσει ταῖς ἐπονύμαις
 ἡμέραις παρ' ὑμῖν· συνπομπεύετω δὲ [[καὶ αὐ]] αὐτῶν καὶ δίφρος
 40 ᾧ βούλεσθαι κόσμῳ ἡσκημένος. εὐήθες δ' Ἰσ[σ]ως τοσαύτας
 προσ[ι]έμενον τειμᾶς ἀρνήσασθαι φυλὴν Κλαυδιανὰν καταδίζαι
 ἄλση τε κατὰ νόμον παρεῖναι τῆς Αἰγύπτου· διόπερ καὶ ταῦτά [[ἡμῖν]]
 θ' ὑμεῖν ἐπιτρέπω. εἰ δὲ βούλεσθαι καὶ Οὐεित्रασίου Πωλείωνος
 τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τοὺς ἐφίππους ἀνδριάντας ἀναστήσατε. τῶν δὲ
 45 τετραπῶλων ἀναστάσε[ι]ς <ἃς περὶ τὰς εἰς>βολὰς τῆς χώρας ἀφιδρῶσέ μοι
 βούλεσθαι
 συνχωρῶν, τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴν Ταπόσιριν καλουμένην τῆς Αἰβύης,
 τὸ δὲ περὶ Φάρον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, τρίτον δὲ περὶ Πηλουσίον
 τῆς Αἰγύπτου στήσαι. ἀρχ[ι]ιερέα δ' ἐμὸν καὶ ναῶν κατασκευὰς
 παρετοῦμε, οὔτε φορτικὸς τοῖς κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώποις
 50 βουλόμενος εἶναι τὰ ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνοις τοῖς θεοῖς
 ἐξέρετα ὑπὸ τοῦ παντὸς αἵωνος ἀποδεδόσθαι κρίν[ω]ν.
 περὶ δὲ τῶν αἰτημάτων ἃ παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ἐσπουδάκα
 τε οὕτως γινώσκω· ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐφηβευκώσκει ἀχρεὶ τῆς
 ἐμῆς ἡγεμονείας βαί[[βον]]βαιον διαφυλάσσωι τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων
 55 πολειτείαν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως τειμεῖσι καὶ φιλανθρώποις
 πάσει πλην εἰ μὴ τινες ὑπῆλθον ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐν δούλων
 γ[ε]γονότες ἐφηβεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ οὐχ ἥσσον εἶναι βούλομε
 βέβαια πάνθ' ὅσα ὑμεῖν ἐχαρίσθη ὑπὸ τε τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνων
 καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων, ὡς καὶ [ὁ] θεὸς Σεβαστὸς ἐβεβαίωσε.

Col. IV

- 60 τοὺς δὲ νεοκόρους τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ναοῦ ὃς ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ κληροτοῦς εἶναι βούλομε καθὰ καὶ ὁ ἐν Κανόπῳ
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ κληροῦνται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τὰς πολει
 τεικὰς ἀρχὰς τριετῆς εἶναι καὶ πάν<υ> ἐμοὶ [[υ]] καλῶς βεβουλευθαι
 δοκεῖται, ὃ γὰρ <ἃ>χοντες φώβῳ τοῦ δώσειν εὐθύνας ὧν κακῶς
 65 ἤρξαν μετριώτεροι ἡμεῖν προσενεκτήσονται τὸν ἐν ταῖς
 ἀρχαῖς χρόνον. περὶ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ὃ τι μὲν ποτε σύνθηθες
 ὑμεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων οὐκ ἔχωι λέγειν, ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν
 πρὸ ἐμοῦ Σεβαστῶν οὐκ εἴχεται σαφῶς οἶδατε. καινοῦ δὲ
 πράγματος νῦν πρῶτον καταβαλλομένου ὅπερ ἄδηλον εἰ συνοί
 70 σει τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πράγμασι ἔγραψα Αἰμιλλίῳ Ῥήκτῳ
 διασκέψασθαι καὶ δηλώσέ μοι εἴ ται καὶ συνείστασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν δεῖ.

- τόν τε τρόπον, εἴπερ ἄρα συνάγειν δέν, καθ' ὃν γενήσεται τοῦτο.
 τῆς δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ταραχῆς καὶ στάσεως, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ χρή τὸ ἀληθὲς
 εἰπεῖν τοῦ πολέμου, πότεροι μὲν αἴτιοι κατέστησαν, καίπερ
 75 ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως πολλὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων πρέσβων
 φιλοτειμηθέντων καὶ μάλιστα Διονυσίου τοῦ Θέων[ο]ς, ὅμως
 οὐκ ἐβουλήθην ἀκριβῶς ἐξελένξαι, ταμιευόμενος ἑμαυτῶι
 κατὰ τῶν πάλειν ἀρξαμένων ὀργὴν ἀμεταμέλητον·
 ἀπλῶς δὲ προσαγορεύωι ὅτι ἂν μὴ καταπαύσῃται τὴν ὀλέ
 80 θριον ὀργὴν ταύτην κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐθ<ημερ>όν, ἐγβιασθήσομαι
 διῆξαι ὅν ἐστιν ἡγεμὼν φιλάνθρωπος εἰς ὀργὴν δικαίαν μεταβεβλη
 μένος. διόπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμαρτύρομαι εἶνα Ἀλεξανδρεῖς μὲν
 πραέως καὶ φιλανθρώπως προσφέροντε Ἰουδαί<οι>ς τοῖς
 τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων οἰκοῦσαι

Col. V

- 85 καὶ μηδὲν τῶν πρὸς θρησκείαν αὐτοῖς νενομισμένων
 τοῦ θεοῦ λοιμένωνται, ἀλλὰ ἐῷσιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἔθεσιν
 χρῆσθαι ὅς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἅπερ καὶ ἐγὼ
 διακούσας ἀμφοτέρων ἐβεβαίωσα. καὶ Ἰουδαίοις δὲ
 ἀντικρυς κελεύωι μηδὲν πλῆγι ὧν πρότερον
 90 ἔσχον περιεργάζεσθαι μηδὲ ὥσπερ ἐν δυσεὶ πόλεσιν κα
 τοικοῦντας δύο πρεσβείας ἐκπέμπειν τοῦ λοιποῦ,
 ὧ μὴ πρότερόν ποτε ἐπράκθη, μηδὲ ἐπισπαίειν
 γυμνασιαρχικοῖς ἢ κοσμητικοῖς ἀγῶσει,
 καρπουμένους μὲν τὰ οἰκία ἀπολά<υ>οντας δὲ
 95 ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει περιουσίας ἀπθόνων ἀγαθῶν,
 μηδὲ ἐπάγεσθαι ἢ προσεῖεσθαι ἀπὸ Συρίας ἢ Αἰγύπ<τ>ου
 καταπλέοντας Ἰουδαίους, ἐξ οὗ μείζονας ὑπονοίας
 ἀνακασθήσομαι λαμβάνειν. εἰ δὲ μή, πάντα
 τρόπον αὐτοὺς ἐπεξελεύσομαι καθάπερ κοινήν
 100 τεινα τῆς οἰκουμένης νόσον ἐξεγείροντας. ἐὰν
 τούτων ἀποστάντες ἀμφοτέροι μετὰ πρᾶότητος
 καὶ φιλανθρωπείας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζῆν ἐβελήσετε,
 καὶ ἐγὼ πρόνοιαν τῆς πόλεως ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀνατάτωι
 καθάπερ ἐκ προγόνων οἰκίας ὑμῖν ὑπαρχούσης.
 105 Βαρβύλλωι τῶι ἐμῶι ἐτέρωι μαρτυρῶι δαὶ πρόνοια[ν]
 ἡμῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ ποιουμένωι, ὃς καὶ νῦν πάσῃ φιλο
 τειμεῖα περὶ τῶν ἀγῶνα τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κέχρ[ητε],
 καὶ Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Ἀρχιβίωι Τῶι ἐμῶι ἐτέ[ρωι]. ἔρρωσθαι.

8. 1. ἀναγιγνώσκοντες. 20. 1. οἱ passim. 21. δηλον correxit Schu-
 bart; 1. (ὕ)μᾶς. 22. ἔ[τι] Oliver. 23. 1. εἴχετε passim. 1. σπουδασθέν
 τες, ἵνα. 28. 1. ὑμῶν. 32. 1. ποιήσασθαι. 33. 1. ὑμετέρας. 34. 1.
 ιδρύσασθαι ἐσπουδάσατε. 40. 1. βούλεσθε passim. 45. 1.

ἀφιδρῦσαι. 49. 1. παραιτοῦμαι. 52. αἰτηθέγγτων Bell, αἰτημάτων Hunt and Edgar. 69 1. πρῶτον 72. 1. δέοι. 75. 1. ὑμετέρων. 79. 1. καταπαύοιτε. 80. αὐθάδιον Bell, αὐθ(ημερ)όν Oliver. 81. 1. οἶον. 82. 1. ἵνα. 86. 1. λυμαίνωνται. 87. 1. οἷς. 95. ἀπθόνων (= ἀφθόνων) Schubart. 103. πώησομαι written above the line. 104. 1. οἰκείας ἡμῖν. 105. 1. ἐταίρωι.

Translation

Proclamation of Lucius Aemilius Rectus

Since, because of its numbers, not all the populace was able to be present at the reading of the most sacred letter which is so beneficent to the city, I have thought it necessary to publish the letter so that each one of you may read it and wonder at the greatness of our god Caesar and be thankful for his goodwill toward the city.

In the second year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus the Emperor, on the 14th day of the month Neos Sebastos.

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus the Emperor, pontifex maximus, holder of the tribunician power, consul designate, to the city of Alexandria, greeting.

Tib. Claudius Barbillus, Apollonius son of Artemidorus, Chairemon son of Leonidas, M. Julius Asclepiades, C. Julius Dionysius, Tib. Claudius Phantias, Pasion son of Potamon, Dionysius son of Sabbion, Tib. Claudius Archibius, Apollonius son of Ariston, C. Julius Apollonius, Hermaiscus son of Apollonius, your ambassadors, presented me with the decree and spoke at length about the city, bringing to me little by little a strong leaning toward that goodwill for you, the affection which, you well know, had for many years been stored up in my heart and on which you could still count, for you are by disposition loyal to the Augusti, as I know from many instances, and particularly from your devotion to my own family, which has been returned. Of this, to pass over other instances and mention the latest, the best witness is my brother, Germanicus Caesar, who addressed you in rather heartwarming terms. For this reason I have gladly received the honors you have given me, although I have no great taste for such things. Firstly then, I allow you to keep my birthday as a sacred day as you have requested, and I permit you to erect in their several places the statues of me and my family; for I see that you are anxious to establish on all sides memorials of your

reverence to my family. Of the two golden statues, the one of Pax Augusta Claudiana, which I was inclined to refuse, since it seemed rather excessive, shall be set up at Rome, as my most honored Barbillus suggested and entreated, and the other shall be carried in processions on name-days in your city in the manner you think best, and a throne shall be carried with it, according to your request. It would perhaps be absurd for me to allow such great honors and to refuse the creation of a Claudian tribe and the dedication of groves after the Egyptian custom, and I therefore allow these too. If you wish, you may also erect the equestrian statues of Vitrasius Pollio my procurator. I allow you also to set up the four-horse chariots which you wish to set up at the entrances to your country, at the place called Taposiris in Libya, at Pharos of Alexandria, and a third at Pelousion in Egypt. But the establishment of a high-priest and temples of myself I decline, not wishing to be offensive to my contemporaries and in the belief that temples and the like have been set apart in all ages for the gods alone.

About the requests which you have made from me, my decision is this. To all those who have been registered as ephebes up to the time of my principate I guarantee and confirm their Alexandrian citizenship with all the privileges and benefits enjoyed by the city, with the exception of any who, though born of slave-parents, have made their way into your ephebate, and it is also my will that all privileges which were granted to you by emperors, kings, and prefects before my time shall be confirmed, in the same way that the god Augustus confirmed them. It is also my will that the *neokoroi* of the temple of the god Augustus in Alexandria should be chosen by lot in the same way as those of the god Augustus in Canopus. In proposing that the offices be trieteric, you seem to me to have decided wisely, for your magistrates will behave more moderately during their term of office for fear of being called to account for abuses of power. About the Council, what your custom was under the old kings, I cannot say, but that you did not have one under the emperors before me, you are well aware. Since this is a new matter now laid before me for the first time and it is uncertain whether it will profit the city and my affairs, I have written to Aemilius Rectus to examine the question and report to me whether the Council should be established, and, if it should, what form it should take.

With regard to the responsibility for the disturbances and

rioting, or rather, to speak the truth, the war, against the Jews, although your ambassadors, particularly Dionysius son of Theon, in a spirited confrontation made many efforts in your behalf, I have not wished to make an exact inquiry, but I harbor within me a store of immutable indignation against those who renewed the conflict. I merely say that, unless you [immediately] stop this destructive and obstinate mutual enmity, I shall be forced to show what a benevolent ruler can be when he is turned to righteous indignation. Even now, therefore, I conjure the Alexandrians to behave gently and kindly toward the Jews who have inhabited the same city for many years, and not to dishonor any of their customs in their worship of their god, but to allow them to keep their own ways, as they did in the time of the divine Augustus and as I too, having heard both sides, have confirmed. The Jews, on the other hand, I order not to aim at more than they have previously had and not in future to send two embassies as if they lived in two cities, a thing which has never been done before, and not to intrude themselves into the games presided over by the *gymnasiarchoi* and the *kosmetai*, since they enjoy what is their own, and in a city which is not their own they possess an abundance of all good things. Nor are they to bring in or invite Jews coming from Syria or Egypt, or I shall be forced to conceive graver suspicions. If they disobey, I shall proceed against them in every way as fomenting a common plague for the whole world. If you both give up your present ways and are willing to live in gentleness and kindness with one another, I for my part will care for the city as much as I can, as one which has long been closely connected with us. Barbillus my friend, as I can witness, has always been your champion with me and has now conducted your case with the greatest zeal, and the same is true of my friend Tiberius Claudius Archibius. Farewell.

Commentary

London Papyrus 1912, with many orthographical errors, presents the edict of the prefect Aemilius Rectus and the very important epistle of Claudius to the *polis* of the Alexandrians, i.e., to the *astoi* plus the Jews, who had a privileged position but not first-class citizenship. For a similar covering of the word *polis*, the reader may compare the Athenian usage explained in *Marcus Aurelius* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 13 [1970] 62).

The epistle starts with the list of first-class Alexandrian am-

bassadors and with courteous remarks including a reference to family ties. In line 21 the words ὑπαγόμενοι μοι δῆλον ((ζ)ῆλον Schubart) πρὸς τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ((ὕ)μᾶς Bell) εὐνοίαν were still translated by Tscherikover “directing my attention to your goodwill toward us,” but he admitted the difficulty with μοι δῆλον. Since Claudius uses the first person singular in referring to himself and to his family (τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον), Bell’s later interpretation of the phrase εἰς ἡμᾶς as a misspelling of εἰς ὑμᾶς is surely the right one. Similarly Schubart’s simple emendation to (ζ)ῆλον can be accepted as not too far from the pronunciation, since zeta was pronounced either ds or sd. Furthermore, the preposition πρὸς is more natural after the noun ζῆλον than after the participle, and the participle has to have a direct object. The passage, therefore, continues (ζ)ῆλον πρὸς τὴν εἰς (ὕ)μᾶς | εὐνοίαν ἦν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων, εὖ {ε}ῖστε, παρ’ ἐμοὶ τεταμειυμένην ἔ[τι] | εἶχε(ε). The Alexandrians were to understand that Claudius hung between an old affection and a new indignation. The ambassadors had worked on him to move him in the right direction, to shift the balance away from the recent indignation to the old *studium erga populum Alexandrinum*.

The ambassadors are not eleven but twelve in number. Should one read in line 19 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀρίστονος as one name (so Bell) or as a garble of two names? With a Roman *gentilicium* no patronymic was necessary or customary. Therefore, one infers the loss either of the name of the son of Ariston or of the cognomen after Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος. That the latter is the case becomes clear from line 108, where Tib. Claudius Archibius, who should be an ambassador, is mentioned as a zealous advocate of the Alexandrians. In line 76 another particularly active ambassador named Dionysius son of Theon receives recognition. Is he Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διονύσιος or Διονύσιος Σαββίωνος? Bell identified him with C. Julius Dionysius because of the Julius Theon known from the inscription *OGIS* 682, but again he can hardly be a Roman citizen so that it is certainly easier for one reader to identify him with Dionysius son of Sabbion. Was Θέωνος a mistake for Σαββίωνος or was the father Σαββίων ὁ καὶ Θέων (a common Greek name normally replacing an outlandish name)? Since the ambassadors are not listed alphabetically or with the Roman citizens first, they are perhaps in the official order of (new) tribes, as if the Alexandrian tribes, no longer five in number, produced one ambassador each.

On the possible connection between Claudius's friend Barbillus (lines 16, 36, and 105) and the successful procurator Ti. Claudius Balbillus, who became prefect of Egypt A.D. 55–59, see A. Stein, *PIR*² C 812; H. G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain* (Paris, 1960) No. 25; A. and E. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon* (1949) 90–92. The procurator may have been the son of the Alexandrian ambassador. On the ambassador Chaeremon (line 17), see H. R. Schwyzer, "Chairemon," *Klassisch-philologische Studien*, Heft 4 (1932).

In line 27, after referring to the loyalty of the Alexandrians toward his house and the marks of esteem and affection from his house toward the Alexandrians, Claudius cites a well-known example, the behavior of his brother Germanicus, who addressed them in *γνησιωτέrais φωναῖς*. The thought behind this is the relation of parent and offspring. A benefactor who deserves well of a city is hailed as *υἱός* of the city (L. Robert, *REA* 62 [1960] 309–311). A son who loves his parent and does him credit is a *γνήσιος υἱός*, and a child who disgraces or neglects the parent is repudiated as *νόθος*. These words have not the same color as do their usual renderings in modern languages of a Christian society. For instance, the grave monument of an old man at Athens, *IG* II² 13150, says, "For sixty years [I lived with my wife], from whom I obtained children who showed me affection and did me credit," [ἐ]ξ ἧς ἔσχα τέκνα γνήσια κοῦχι νόθα. Claudius means that Germanicus addressed them in terms which showed his affection and did the Alexandrians quite an honor. For the speech of Germanicus at Alexandria, see No. 295. For a wide-ranging study of the word *γνήσιος*, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 218–222.

The honors accorded to him by the Alexandrians are accepted or refused in lines 29–51. He allows them to celebrate his birthday, to set up portraits of him and his family, even two questionable statues in gold. Further, he allows an Alexandrian phyle to be named after him, and groves to be dedicated to him.

Lines 34–40: Statues in precious metals suggested divine honors (see K. Scott, *TAPA* 62 [1931] 101–123) and should have been declined as such. Whether the word *φορτικώτερος* in line 37 refers to the implication of divine honors or to the offensiveness of a statue of Nemesis Claudiana, the adjective reflects the language in which divine honors were customarily declined.

Claudius indeed declines high priesthoods and temples (lines 48–51), but he does accept at the urgent request of his friend Balbillus the less obvious honor of gold statues, one to be dedicated at Rome (so Wilcken) as a statue of the Pax Claudiana Augusta, the other to serve at Alexandria. If the latter was another personification, its acceptance is easier to understand than that of a portrait of himself in gold.

C. Vitrasius Pollio (line 43) was prefect of Egypt under Caligula and continued in office under Claudius until the appointment of Aemilius Rectus, whose edict at the head of the papyrus occupies lines 1–13. Why Claudius refers to the ex-prefect as a procurator is not clear. The equestrian statues mentioned in lines 43–44 are more likely to be statues approved, given, or proposed by Vitrasius Pollio than statues representing Pollio. What precedes and what follows are, as Bell noted, paragraphs concerning honors for the emperor himself.

Other honors too are accepted, but the divine honors offered in the form of high priests and temples he unambiguously refuses in a return, after Caligula's pretensions, to the policy of Augustus (Charlesworth, *PBSR* 15 [1939] 1–10).

In lines 52–72 he takes up the requests of the Alexandrians. First, he guarantees the city's first-class citizenship to those who had had the ephebic training, provided that they were not born from slave women and merely passed off as freeborn sons of Alexandrians. A first-class citizen had to be freeborn, but the mother apparently could be a freedwoman.

Lines 62–66, the reduced tenure of municipal office: On this subject information is scarce. Magistracies in Greek cities were usually annual, but some offices were held from festival to festival. For example, the Hellenotamiae in classical Athens were a penteteric board, which by inclusive counting meant a tenure of four years. Also the archon of the Attic Panhellenion held office for four years. Lifelong tenure, common in priesthoods, is seldom encountered in the public sphere except for the kingship. Therefore, it appears that certain posts at Alexandria were probably held for four years and were being reduced to two (rather than three) years. One subject leads to another, and since the previous paragraph dealt with temple officials called *neokoroi*, it is tempting to connect this paragraph with financial officials, especially those of the festivals or temples, but a wider coverage is of course possible.

Lines 66–72, the question of the *boule*: The Alexandrians have

asked for a *boule* and have pointed to the existence of a council in the Ptolemaic Period. Whether the phrase ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων refers to the whole dynasty or to the early kings only can be and has been debated. The custom of the early Ptolemies would have been respectable, not that of the later Ptolemies, and naturally the Alexandrians would have emphasized the custom of the early Ptolemies. The council was an essential element of a traditional Greek city, and its abolition was a very severe punishment. Cassius Dio (51.17.2, τοῖς δ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἀνεῖν βουλευτῶν πολιτεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε) leaves it open whether it was Octavian who abolished the council or a Ptolemy. On this passage and *Vita Severi* 17. 2, *sine publico consilio ita sub regibus*, which has no particular value, see Frank Kolb, *Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Cassius Dio, Herodian und der Historia Augusta* (*Antiquitas*, Reihe 4, Band 9, 1972) 79–89. Among older discussions, see M. Engers, “Der Brief des Kaisers Claudius an die Alexandriner,” *Klio* 20 (1925) 168–178; H. I. Bell, “The Problem of the Alexandrian Senate,” *Aegyptus* 12 (1932) 173–184; P. Viereck, “Noch einmal die βουλή von Alexandreia,” *Aegyptus* 12 (1932) 210–216. What was customary at an earlier period Claudius will not say because he does not know exactly and does not consider it pertinent. He probably knew that some kind of a *boule* existed, but not how much good it once did. Claudius speaks of the establishment of a *boule* as now being proposed for the first time under the Principate. *PSI* 1160 = *CPJud* 150, which implies that an Alexandrian delegation tried to persuade “Caesar” (= Augustus) that a council would be very useful but that “Caesar” refused to commit himself, need not conflict with this statement of Claudius. The request of the delegation may never have reached the archives or may have opposed the abolition of the council or may have been disregarded as before the Roman regime. Claudius indicates that the prefect will look into the utility of the proposal and report. Since the *ius buleutarum* was not granted until the time of Septimius Severus, it is clear that Claudius did not accede to the request even when the prefect reported.

The Jewish question occupies most of the epistle from line 73 on. The Jewish community was very old and privileged. It formed a *politeuma* within the population and enjoyed a kind of second-class citizenship. The hostility between the Greeks and Jews seems to have begun in the time of Julius Caesar and to have increased thereafter partly because the Greeks of Alexandria were sensitive

about their loss of status as an imperial people and because the Jews now courted the Romans. In A.D. 38 the Greeks provoked the Jews with ridicule and outrage, and the riots which followed were a permanent embitterment. In 41 the Jews were the aggressors, and the embassy of the Alexandrian Greeks, who went to Rome to congratulate Claudius on his accession, was probably eager for an investigation, not of all the riots since 38, but of the most recent ones. Claudius, however, is not interested in prolonging the dispute. He wants the quarrel to stop and he threatens both parties.

The chief textual problems of this section come in lines 80 and 92. In line 80 some word has been garbled as ἀνθάδιον, which Bell rightly described as an unrecorded and not very likely adjective. Is it not the adverb ἀνθ(ημερ)όν via ΑΥΘΗΜΟΝ? "If you do not *immediately* stop," etc. The other garble, which Bell read in line 92 as ἐπισπαίρειν, should be approached as if it read ἐπεισπερειν and be explained by metathesis for ἐπεισέρπειν. The sense is "to enter unlawfully in addition" or "to intrude." Surely the sense is not "to burst in" as E. Schwartz's unlikely emendation (*DLZ* 1 [1924] 2093 f.) ἐπ(ε)ισπαί{ρ}ειν, which disregards the rho, would mean. The reader will do well to compare also the common prosaic word εἰσέρπειν with the poetic word εἰσπαίειν when considering the suitability of either verb with a double prefix.

The chief non-textual problem is the significance of the rebuke to the Jews in lines 88–92 for sending out two embassies. Tcherikover has made it likely that one embassy of hellenizing Jews headed by Philo was still in Rome when another embassy of activists appeared after the outbreak of A.D. 41; the second embassy appears to have irritated and outraged Claudius. No one any longer sees a reference to Christianity in lines 96–100.

For a city being ἐκ προγόνων οἰκεῖα of an emperor as Alexandria in line 105 is said to be of Claudius, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 1 (1940) 58 and 2 (1946) 145 f. Contrast the way in which Claudius asserts long concern for Delphi (No. 31 *infra*).

20. CLAUDIUS TO THE SAMIANS, A.D. 41

Samos at the Heraeum. German excavations inventory nos. I 274 and 295. Fragment a preserves the right side but is elsewhere broken away. Fragment b is broken all around. *Non vidi*.

P. Herrmann, *AthMitt* 75 (1960) 94–96, No. 6, with photographs.

20

1 [Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος]
[Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς]
[Γερμανικός, ἀρχιερεὺς]
[μέγιστος, δη]μα[ρχ]ικῆς
5 [ἐξουσίας, ὅ]πατος d
[ποδεδειγμένος] τὸ v B v
[Σαμίων ἀρχου]σι, βουλῇι,
[δήμωι χαίρει]v v "A δ:ia

lacuna

10 [-----]! ENO[---]
[-----]σει v ὅσ[α δέ]
[τείμια οἱ] πρόγονο[ι ὑμῶν]
[ἐδέξαντ]ο καὶ μέχρ[ι ἐμοῦ]
[ὑμεῖς καρπ]οῦσθε β[εβαιῶ]
[ὑμῖν] vac "Ερρω[σθε]

Translation

[Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, pontifex maximus], tribunician [power], consul designate for the second time, to [the archons], Council, [Demos of the Samians, greetings
--

-- all [the privileges] which [your] ancestors [received] and which you [enjoy] up to [now, I] confirm [for you]. Farewell.

Commentary

That the author was Claudius and the year 41 Herrmann recognized from the phrase "consul designate for the second time." That the recipients were the Samians he rightly assumed from the finding place of the inscription and from the length of the lacuna in line 4. The entire restoration he made of fragment a is here retained.

Likewise his interpretation of fragment b is here retained, though with verbal changes—in line 8 *τείμια* for *δίκαια*, in line 11 *ὑμῖν*. Claudius uses the word *τείμια* in his epistle to the Thasians.

21. CLAUDIUS TO HYMNODOI

Hypaepa. Seen at Ödemiş, whence many blocks were transported from Hypaepa as building material. *Non vidi*.

J. Keil, "Zur Geschichte der Hymnoden in der Provinz Asia," *JÖAI* 11 (1908) 101–110 from a poor copy made in 1872 and from a squeeze made in 1906 when more of the surface had disappeared. [G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 1608; F. Poland, *700-Jahr-Feier der Kreuzschule zu Dresden* (1926) 52 ff.; Charlesworth, *Documents*, No. 12 (Col. I, lines 15–20 only).] L. Robert has several times announced a new study of the hymnodoi (e.g., *RevPhil* 85 [1959] 214 with important references). Until now the most important studies were those of Keil and Poland listed above.

We here reproduce only Document B (= Col. I, lines 15–20):

21

- | | |
|----|---|
| 15 | Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σ[εβαστὸς Γερ]
μανικός, αὐτοκράτωρ τ[ὸ β', ἀρχιερεύς, δη]
μαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, [ὑπατος ἀποδεδει]
[γμέ]νος τὸ β', ἀνθύπ[ατος, -----]
[.....]Α ὑμνωδῶν [----- χαίρειν] |
| 20 | [Ἀναγνοῦ]ς τὸ ψή[φισμα -----]
[-----] |

Commentary

Since Claudius appears here as consul designate for the second time, the epistle is securely dated in A.D. 41.

The restorations are by Keil, who restored also πατήρ πατρίδος in line 18, though he knew that Claudius did not yet have this title in A.D. 41, and [τῇ ἐερ]ᾱ ὑμνωδῶν [συννόδω in line 19. These restorations were retained by Lafaye and Charlesworth, but it is prudent to allow for another possibility such as τῷ κοινῷ τῶν | ἐν Ἀσί]ᾱ ὑμνωδῶν. [καὶ θεολόγων.

22. [CLAUDIUS] TO THE [LAERTITAE], A.D. 42 OR LATER

Laertes in Rough Cilicia. Part of a limestone block at Cebel İreş in front of the auditorium or theatre. Height of letters 0.03–0.038 m. *Non vidi*.

G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, "Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1965," *Denkschriften Wien* 103 (1970) 95, No. 71.

22

[Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς, ἀρχι]ερεὺς, δημαρχικῆς
[ἐξουσίας -----], πατὴρ πατρίδος,
[Λαερτεϊτῶν ἀρχουσι βουλῇ δῆμωι ^{vvv} χαίρειν ^{vvv} τ]ῶν κατὰ Ἰούλιον Πολέ
[μονα -----] τὸ τέλος σχόντων
[-----]τι αὐτὸν μεν
[-----]πρ]εσβευτήν
[-----]ησθεῖ![- -]
[-----]

Commentary

Since the inscription was found at the site which the editors identify as ancient Laertes, they restore the recipient as the Demos and magistrates of Laertes, but a different formula is here preferred.

The chief clue to the date is the reference in line 3 to Julius Polemo, whom Bean and Mitford identify with the half Thracian prince Polemo, friend of Caligula, and with the Polemo whom Claudius in A.D. 41 established as a king in part of Cilicia (*PIR*² J 472 and A. A. Barrett, *TAPA* 107 [1977] 8–9). Though Polemo ruled until 63/4, they are inclined to date the epistle to the reorganization of A.D. 41. Since the top of the inscription is preserved and the name of Nero followed by his ancestry would not fit in line 1, the emperor may indeed be identified as Claudius, and the epistle then may be dated to 42 or later because of the title *pater patriae*, which Claudius received in January 42.

See A. A. Barrett, *Historia* 27 (1978) 445, n. 48.

23. CLAUDIUS TO THE THASIANS, A.D. 42

Thasos. A block of white marble from the French excavations now in a storage shed of the Archaeological Museum, where it was examined on 29–30 April 1974. The surface is badly eroded in places and some of the letters seen by Dunant and Pouilloux are now lost, although enough remains to support the usual accuracy of their readings. The block contains three epistles, this

one from Claudius, another from M. Vettius [Marcellus, procurator of Thrace], and in Col. II another, No. 36 *infra*, from Nero.

Chr. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* 2 (Etudes Thasiennes 5. 2, Paris, 1958), 65–69, No. 179 with photograph; [Smallwood, *Documents . . . Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, 371].

23

- Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ [Σεβα]στὸς Γερμανικός, ἀρχιερεὺς, δημαρχικῆς
ἐξουσίας
τὸ δεύτερον, ὑπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τρίτον, αὐτοκράτω[ρ, πατήρ πατρίδος],
Θασίων ἀρχουσι, βουλῇ, δῆμῳ χαίρειν· Ὅπερ [ταῖς πρεσβείαις πάσαις ταῖς
πεμφ]
θείσαις ἀπεφνηάμην, τοῦ[τ]ο καὶ ὑμεῖν λέγω, ὅτι τρ[ὶς] λόγους τῆς ὑμετέρας]
σπο[υ]
5 δῆς καὶ εὐσεβείας ἀποδέχομαι κοινῇ πάντας, τὸν δὲ ναὸν μ[ό]ν[οις] ἐλ[ύ]ναι
τοῖς
θεοῖς κρεῖνων παραιτοῦμαι, τὰς ἄλλας προσειέμενος τειμὰς αἱ πρέπου
σιν ἡγεμόσιν ἀρίστοις· διαφυλάσσω δὲ ὑμεῖν κατὰ τὰ δ[ό]ξαντα θε]ῳ Σεβασ
τῳ πάνθ' ὅσα παρ' αὐτοῦ τείμια ἐ[λάβε]τε π[ερὶ] τῶν] πρ[ό]τ[ερον] ὑπαρ]
χόν[τ]ων ὑμεῖν καὶ τῆς τοῦ σείτου ἐξαγωγῆς· [ἡ δ]ὲ ἀτέλε[ια] μενεῖ καὶ τῳ]
10 ἐπάρχῳ γρ[άφω] ἵνα, εἰ μηδὲν [έσ]τ[ι]ν τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ γρ[απτὸν] ὡς μ[νημη]
περί]
τούτων ὑμεῖν δοθέντων, δηλώσῃ μοι· κα[ὶ] τὰ] ἄλλα κηδόμενόν
με τῆς πό[λε]ως σαφῶς ἴστε· Οἱ τὸ ψήφισμα ἀναδόντες ἐ[μοί]
Φεῖδιππος Δ[ιον]υσοδώρου, [-----]
Μελησιδημο[-----] Ἐρρωσθε]

Restorations: 1 Σεβα[στὸς] Oliver. 2 D/P. 3 ταῖς πρεσβείαις
ταῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν πεμφ D/P, ταῖς π. πάσαις ταῖς πεμφ Oliver. 4
λόγους Oliver; cetera D/P. 5 D/P. 7 τὰ δ[εδογμένα] τῳ θε]ῳ D/P,
δ[όξαντα] θε]ῳ Oliver. 8 ὑπάρ D/P; cetera Oliver. 9–10 Oliver. 11
D/P. 12 πό[λε]ως D/P; ἐ[μοί] Oliver.

Translation

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the second time, consul designate for the third, imperator, [pater patriae], to the archons, Council, Demos of the Thasians, greetings.

What I replied to [all the embassies sent to me] I say to you too, namely that I approve the [verbal expressions] of [your] zeal and loyalty in their entirety, but that I decline the temple, which,

I judge, [is] for the gods alone, though I accept the other honors which are suitable for excellent princes. I preserve for you according to the [decisions] of [the deified] Augustus all the privileges you received from him in reference to what you previously had and especially to the export of grain. [The] immunity [shall remain and I shall] write to [the] prefect so that if there is nothing [on record?] in the prefecture [as to] these (privileges) having been given to you he may let me know. Rest assured that I am considerate of the city in all other ways. The men who delivered the decree [to me were] Phidippus son of Dionysodorus, [— —

Commentary

The inscription, almost illegible, was skillfully copied and edited by Dunant and Pouilloux, who recognized that it was dated in A.D. 42 and concerned first the refusal of divine honors and the acceptance of the honors becoming to good princes, and second, traditional privileges, especially the right to export grain, and that the names in the two last lines were those of ambassadors who delivered the decree. The reader should be warned that while I did examine the stone itself, most of my textual changes were not really the result of autopsy but of later reflection and study of Dunant and Pouilloux's photograph.

The new restoration in line 4 suggests itself because the emperor seems to be thinking in terms of the ancient λόγου-ἔργα antithesis. In line 7 Dunant and Pouilloux have undoubtedly caught the sense, but the wording of the restoration needs to be shortened, and No. 174 offers a parallel for δόξαντα. Their slightly different readings in lines 8–10 seem to have misled Dunant and Pouilloux on the words ἑπαρχος and ἐπαρχεία. The latter does not, I think, mean “province” but the office of the prefect (of the fleet) who immediately controlled export of grain in that region. For similar advice, compare No. 170, line 20.

The most important new reading ἀτέλε[ια for [ἐπ]ιμελὲς φ[— in line 9, because it shows that immunity was the real problem for Thasos, a *civitas libera*. Thasos probably depended on the grain it could import from the mainland, just as Samothrace apparently did. One should read the illuminating discussion of the decree *Samothrace* 2. 1, no. 5 and other inscriptions at Perinthus by L. Robert (*Studi Classici* 16 [1974] 61–88) to appre-

ciate the importance of supplies from Thrace and the Chersonese. The Thasians, living in a free city, would not need the permission of the prefect to export grain from their island, as they would from Thrace.

In line 10 the reading [. . .] ἐν could not be verified on the deteriorating surface.

24. CLAUDIUS TO [ALL?] THE DIONYSIAC ARTISTS, A.D. 43

Egypt. Two papyri. *P. Oxy.* 2476 and *BGU* 1074, rolls of A.D. 288 and 275 respectively, contain the same epistle of Claudius with other imperial constitutions and local documents. They are the roll for Aurelius Hatres (A) and that for Aurelius Apollodidymus (B). Since the restoration of B was much furthered by Rea's publication of A, it is easier to take A first. A is now at London in the British Museum (BM 3059) where it was seen in October 1972.

John Rea, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 27 (1962) No. 2476; new readings in lines 10 and 12 and a correction of the date by Rea, *JEA* 43 (1963) 180; [M. Vandoni, *Feste*, No. 96].

The main roll begins with four imperial constitutions:

Epistle of Claudius in lines 1–4

Extract from an Edict of Hadrian in lines 4–7 (No. **96A**)

Epistle of Septimius Severus in lines 7–11 (No. **212A**)

Epistle of Severus Alexander in lines 11–12 (No. **277A**)

There follow the letter of the society certifying that Aurelius Hatres of Oxyrhynchus had been appointed high priest and had paid the proper amount, a long ratification, a decree of the society and its covering letter to the Council of Oxyrhynchus, and finally the date clause, 26 July A.D. 288. All this need not be republished here.

24A Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ [Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ]
β', ὕπατο[ς] τὸ δ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, [.] τοῖς
[ἀπὸ τῆς] οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνεῖταις
ἱερoneϊκαῖς σ[τεφανείταις καὶ τοῖς τούτων συναγωνισταῖς
χα]ίρειν. Τὰς μὲν ἰκόνας ὃν τρόπ[ον εὖσε]βούμεθα
[μετὰ] τῆς πρεπούσης τιμῆς ἀνιστάνειν ἐπιτρέ
πω, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τ[οῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ δεδομένα ὑμῖν νό]μιμα καὶ

- φιλ[ά]νθρωπα συντηρῶ. Οἱ πρέσβεις ἦσαν Κλαύδιος
 Θ[α]μῦρις, Κλαύδιος Κᾰ́στωρ, Ἀντώνιος [.]αταλειος
 υἱός, Ἀόγιος [----- Τιβερίω Κλ]αυδίω
 Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Ὀυίτελλίῳ τὸ β' ὑπάτοις.
 96A Κεφάλειον ἐκ διατάγματο[ς] θεοῦ Ἀδρια
 5 νοῦ περὶ τῶ[ν] τῇ ----- συνόδῳ δοθεισῶν δωρε]ῶν: ἀσυλείας,
 προεδρίας, ἀστρατί[ας], λιτουργιῶν δημοσίων ἀ[τ]ελεῖ[ας],
 ἀτελῇ ἔχειν ὅσα ἂν ἐπάγωντε
 χρίας ἰδ[ίας] ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων ἔνεκεν καὶ κρατεῖν, μὴ καθι]στάνειν
 [ἐ]γγηγτάς ἀνεισφο[ρ]ίας αὐτῶν, συνθυσία[ς], μὴ
 δέχεσθαι] πρὸς ἀνάγκην ξένους, μὴ
 εἰργεσθαι] μηδὲ ἄλλῃ τινὶ φρουρᾷ]ωθείσῃ θανάτῳ
 212A ὑπευθυ[.] Ἡ ἐπιστολ[ὴ] θεοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ ε]ἰκὸς
 ὑμᾶς τοὺς τὴν ἱερὰν
 σύνο[δον] νέμοντας ἡσθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ εἰς ἐμὲ περιεληλυθέ]ναι
 τὴν τῶν ὄλων κηδεμονίαν καὶ βασι]λειάν διὰ
 ψηφίσματος φα]νεράν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνώ
 μην [----- βουλό]μενος [ό]π[ό]σα
 εἴχετα[ι] ἐξ ἀρ[χ]ῆς ὑπὸ τῶν [πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων]
 δεδομένα ὑμῖν δίκαι
 10 α καὶ [φιλάνθρωπα] ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάττω, προσαύξειν ἐθέλω]ν
 καὶ διὰ τ[ι]μῆς ἀγειν ἀνδρας μουσικ[ῆ] καὶ ταῖς περὶ
 τὸν Διόνυσ]ον θρησκείαις ἀνα
 277A κ[ε]ιμένους. Εὐτυχεῖτε. Θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ὅσα θεῶ Ἀντωνείνω]ι
 πατρὶ ἐμῶ καὶ [θ]εῶ Σευήρῳ πά<π>α μ[ου καὶ τοῖς ἀνωθεν
 προγόν]οις ἐκρίθη περὶ ὑ[μῶν]
 [-----] πολλ[ά]κις ἀ]π[ε]φνηάμην
 κύρια εἶναι. Οἱ καθ' ἐκ[ά]στην [πανήγυριν ἀγωνοθέτα]ι
 πιθαρχ[ῶ]ν ἡσουσιν.

11 πανπω papyrus.

B is now in East Berlin (Staatliche Museen P 10537), where it was seen in September 1972. H. 0.43 m., W. 0.25 m.

Editions: P. Viereck, "Aktenstücken zum griechisch-römischen Vereinswesen," *Klio* 8 (1908) 413–426 and *BGU* 4 (1912) 1074; [Preisigke, *Sammelbuch* 1 (1915) 5225; Charlesworth, *Documents . . . Claudius and Nero*, 6 (epistle of Claudius only); M. Amelotti, *SDHI* 21 (1955) 131–136]. Discussed also by U. Wilcken, *ArchP* 4 (1908) 563 f.

The roll begins with five imperial constitutions:

Epistle of Claudius in lines 1–3

Extract from an Edict of Hadrian in lines 3–5 (see No. 96B)

Epistle of Septimius Severus in lines 5–7 (see No. 212B)

Epistle of Severus and Caracalla in lines 7–8 (see No. **225A**)

Epistle of Severus Alexander in lines 8–9 (see No. **277B**)

There follow a letter from Apollodidymus to the Council of Oxyrhynchus, dated in A.D. 275, the letter of the society certifying that Apollodidymus had paid the proper amount, and a long list of attestations. The complete file need not be published here.

24 B

[Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός, δημαρχικῆς
ἐξουσί]ας τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ γ', αὐ[τοκρ]άτωρ τὸ δ', πατὴρ
πατρίδο<ς> τοῖς> ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσσον
ἱερονείκαις στεφανεῖταις καὶ τοῖς τούτων συναγωνισταῖς χαίρειν. Τὰς μὲν
[εἰκόνας ὃν τρόπον εὐσεβοῦμεθα μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης τιμῆς δνιστάνειν
ἐπιτρέπω], τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ το[ῦ] θ[ε]οῦ Σεβαστοῦ δ[ε]δ[ο]μένα ὑμῖν
νόμιμα καὶ φιλάνθ[ρ]ωπα συντηρῶ. Οἱ π[ρ]έσ[β]εις ἦσαν Κλαύδιος
Φο[.]ος, Κλαύδιος Ἐπάγαθος, Κ[λα]ύδιος Διονύσιος, Κλαύδιος
Θαμῦρις,
[Κλαύδιος Κάστωρ, Ἀντόνιος Παταλειος υἱός, ----- Ἐγράφη]
ἐν Ῥώμῃ Τ[ιβ]ερίῳ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστ[ῶ] καὶ Οὐιτελλίῳ
τὸ β' [ὑπ]άτοις.

Translation

Tiberius (Claudius) Caesar [Augustus Germanicus, tribunician] power for the second time, consul for the third time, imperator for the fourth time, pater patriae, [to all?] the Dionysiac Artists of the Habitable World, sacred victors entitled to crowns and their fellow contestants, greetings.

As for the statues, I allow you to erect them in the way for us to be piously revered with the proper honor. As for the rights and privileges which have been granted to you by the deified Augustus, I maintain them. The ambassadors were Claudius Pho[.]us, Claudius Epagathus, Claudius Dionysius, Claudius Thamyris, Claudius Castor, Antonius [.]ataleius filius, Logius [– – . Composed] at Rome in the consulship of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus and, for the second time, (Julius) Vitellius.

Commentary

In A, line 1 the *nomen* Claudius, which comes between the *praenomen* and *cognomen*, has of course been incorrectly omitted. Claudius had no right to the *cognomen* Caesar but he assumed it.

We have substituted Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς where Rea restored ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος. The title *pontifex maximus*, as in the epistle at Miletus to the Dionysiac Artists, No. 29, is more likely to be missing in the nomenclature than the names Augustus Germanicus. In A, line 1 Claudius is incorrectly styled consul for the fourth time (A.D. 47); in B, line 1 he is correctly styled consul for the third time (A.D. 43). The second tenure of the tribunician power ran from 25 January 42 through 24 January 43, which together with the third consulship dates the epistle in A.D. 43 between 1 January and 24 (so Rea).

The Dionysiac Artists are divided into the sacred victors and those on the waiting list, as it were, who have not yet been crowned at sacred contests. On B, line 1 the letters between πατρίδο and ἀπό have been omitted. From A, line 1 a word of six letters like ἄπασιν may be assumed for this lacuna together with the final sigma and the lost article τοῖς.

In A, line 2 "the proper honor" implies the avoidance of statues in precious metals and other offensive attributes of divinity.

In A, line 3 the names of the first three ambassadors of B, line 2 seem to have been omitted. In line 3 the praenomen of Vitellius has on A been corrupted to Ἰουλίον and on B omitted.

Wilcken's restoration ἐγράφῃ in B, line 3 may still be retained.

25. CLAUDIUS TO UNKNOWN, A.D. 41–45

Lydia. A complete block of blue marble with letters 0.03 m. high, in the village of Paşaköy. *Non vidi*.

L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948) 61–65 with photograph.

25

[-----]
 [-----]ενβρίων Σουελλίωι Ῥούφω[ι]
 [Ὀστορίωι Σκαπύ]λλα ὑπάτοις. Ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.

The restorations are by Robert.

Commentary

The ancient site has not yet been identified. The epistle, sent from Rome, is dated by two suffect consuls whom Degraasi places

between A.D. 41 and 45. A conjunction may have connected the two names.

26. EDICT OF CLAUDIUS, A.D. 45 or 46

Epidaurus. Two fragments from the top of a stele of white marble are now in the local museum. Both fragments retain part of the moulding at the top but are broken away below and at the sides. While the fragment on the left, not published until 1975, was found in the environs of the sanctuary of Asclepius, the one on the right, more than twice as large, was known in 1833 when the first copies were made; it came from a church in the village of Lygurio.

M. Fraenkel, *IG IV* 1 (1902) 908 from autopsy and collation of earlier copies for the already missing words. The earlier copies were those of Ph. Le Bas, *Expédition de Morée*, 2: 168, n. 6 = *Inscriptions recueillies par la commission de Morée*, 3rd cahier (1837) n. 74, of L. Ross, *Intelligenzblatt der Allgem. Litteratur-Zeitung* (1838) 329, n. 9, and of Welcker and Moustoxydes as reported by C. Keil, *RhMus* 14 (1859) 520.

F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG IV*² 1 (1929) 87; M. Mitsos, *Arch Eph* (1974) 79–83, n. 11, with new fragment and photograph of both pieces. Mitsos curiously disregarded the words or letters which were no longer extant and which were independently attested by four early copyists.

26

[Τιβέρι]ος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερ[μ]ανικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,
δημαρ
 [χικῆς ἐξ] ουσίας τὸ ε', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ια', ὕ[πατος δ]πο(δεδειγμένος) τὸ δ',
πατὴρ πατρίδος, λέγει. Καὶ []
 [... ..]τέλης καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις [... ..] προσῆλθόν μοι δηλοῦντε[ς
ὅτι]
 [... ..] τοῖς Ἀσκληπιοῦ [το]ῦ Ἀ[πό]λλωνος τὰ ἀπο[-----]
 5 [-----]ν μετὰ παν[τ]-----] ὑπ[-----]
 [-----]νηστρα[-----]
 [-----]P[-----]
 [-----]

At the end of line 2 Ross's reading KAI is supported by Le Bas's reading KA and by the continuation on the new fragment.

Translation

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Germanicus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the fifth time, imperator for the eleventh time, consul designate for the fourth time, pater patriae, says with authority. Both — — — —teles and the ambassadors — — — approached me, explaining [that at the expense?] of Asclepius son of Apollo the — — —

Commentary

While C. Keil, who first recognized that the emperor was Claudius, dated the document in A.D. 46, Fraenkel, who identified it as an edict and made a complete restoration of the heading, preferred to restore reference to the fifth tenure of the tribunician power but left the date open as to A.D. 45 or 46. The new fragment contributes the numerals of the tribunician power (V) and of the most recent imperial salutation (XI) without quite deciding between the end of A.D. 45 and January 46 for the date. The new fragment also explains the phrase τοῦ Ἀ[πό]λλωνος, now lost but once read by others on the old fragment. It is the patronymic of Asclepius. The emperor accepts the later tradition that Asclepius was the son of Apollo and not of Ischys, just as his informants had used the patronymic. The reference in line 4 may have been to estates or monies of Asclepius, e.g., τέλεσι] or χωρίοις] τοῖς Ἀσκληπιοῦ. A god's patronymic (as in Apollo son of Zeus at Miletus) might occur when the sanctuary had to assume the expense of public office in the absence of a rich candidate.

**27, 28, 37. ROLL OF A.D. 194 FOR ROVING ATHLETE
HERMINUS CALLED MORUS OF HERMOPOLIS**

Egypt. Now at London in the British Museum (Plate 1).

F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* 3 (1907) 214–219, *P. Lond.* 1178; U. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* (1912) 156; Charlesworth, *Documents . . . Claudius and Nero*, 7 and 8 (lines 8–31 only); Hans Gerstinger, “Das Faustkämpferdiplom des Boxers Herminos,” *Festschrift des Instituts f. Leibeserziehung a. d. Univ. Graz* (Graz, 1954) 48–63 (*non vidi*). Additional discussion: U. Wilcken, *ArchP* 4 (1908) 555 f., with contributions from Grenfell and Hunt; E. Kalinka, *Aus der Werkstatt des Hörsaals* (Innsbruck, 1914) 9 (*non vidi*); H. Gerstinger, “Zum ‘Faustkämp-

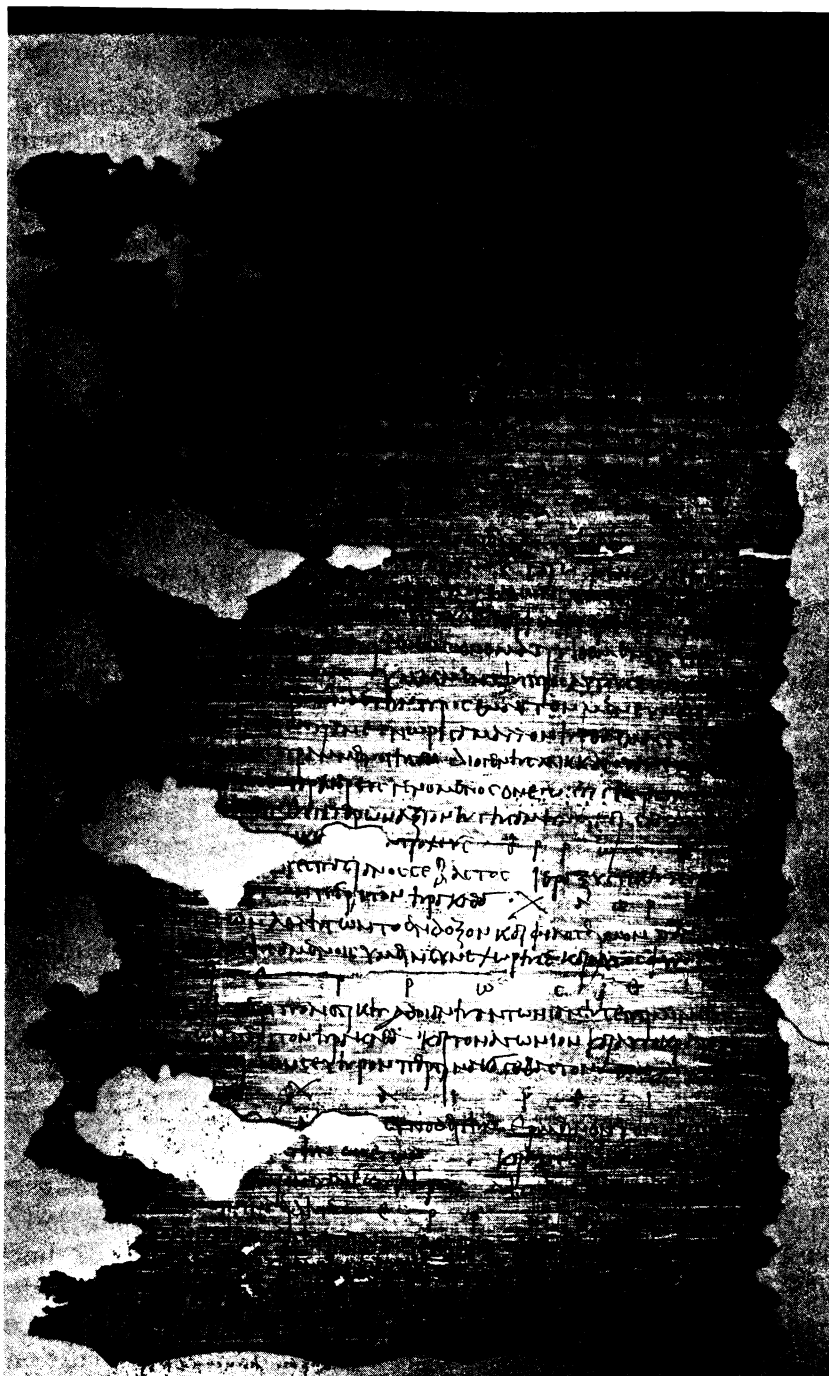


Plate 1. Nos. 27, 28, 37.

ferdiplom' des Boxers Herminos alias Moros aus Hermopolis Magna aus dem Jahre 194 n. Chr. (Pap. Graec. Londinensis 1178)," *AnzWien* 91 (1954) 57–61; C. A. Forbes, "Ancient Athletic Guilds," *ClPhil* 50 (1955) 238–252; M. Amelotti, "La posizione degli atleti di fronte al diritto romano," *SDHI* 21 (1955) 138–144; H. W. Pleket, "Some Aspects of the History of the Athletic Guilds," *ZPE* 10 (1973) 197–227, especially 208.

The abstract, written in a rough hand and glued to the top of the roll, gives the name of the athlete and a copy of his certificate of membership. The main roll, written more neatly, contains imperial letters to the guild, followed by the diploma certifying the man's own membership in the Guild of Roving Athletes, and then records when and where he paid his dues, with enumeration of the officers of the guild and their titles. The main roll contains three imperial letters, to wit:

27. Epistle of Claudius, dated in A.D. 46 (lines 7–15)

28. Epistle of Claudius, dated in A.D. 47 (lines 16–31)

37. Epistle of Vespasian, undated (lines 32–36)

The athlete could show the roll to local authorities, if his privileges were withheld. The reader, it seems, was expected to be impressed by a lot of names and high-sounding titles. Actually the imperial letters seem to have been rather stupidly selected from the available files, because they do not list the privileges: they merely show the regard in which Claudius and Vespasian held the guild. Lines 50–102 need not be reproduced here, though they are full of interest for students of ancient athletic clubs. Lines 1–49 exhibit the character of such a roll and contain what is essential for our purposes. They read:

27

Ἑρμείνος ὁ καὶ [Μῶρος] Ἑρμοπολείτης πύκτης

Ἡ [ί]ε[ρά] ζυστική περιπολιστική Ἀδριανῆ Ἀντωνιανῆ

Σεπτιμυανῆ [σ]ύνοδος τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδου χαίρειν.

Γινώσκετε ὃν[τ]α ἡμῶν συνοδείην Ἑρμείνον τὸν καὶ Μῶρον

5. Ἐ[ρ]μοπολείτη[ν πύκτη]ν ὡς ἐτῶν ννν καὶ ἀποδεδωκότα τὸ κα
τὰ τὸν νόμον [ἐντά]ξιον πᾶν ἐκ πλήρους [δ]ηνάρια ἑκατόν.

Ἐγράψαμ[εν οὖν] ὑμεῖν ἵνα εἰδῆτε. Ἐρ[ρ]ωσθε.

Τιβέριος [Κλ]αύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικός, ἀρχιερεὺς
μέγ[ιστο]ς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ζ, ὑπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος

10 τ[ὸ] δ, [αὐτ]οκράτωρ τὸ ιβ, πατὴρ πατρίδος, συνόδ[ω] ζυστικῇ

- [περιπολιστικῇ] vacat χαίρειν vacat
 Τὸν πεμ[φ]θέντ[α μο]ι ὕφ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ Βρεταννῶν νείκῃ χρυ
 σοῦν σ[τέφ]α[ων] ἡδέως ἔλαβον σύμβολον περιέχοντα τῆς ὑμετέ
 ρας πρὸς με εὐσεβείας. vacat Οἱ πρεσβεύοντες ἦσαν Τιβ. Κλ. Ἑρμάς,
 15 Τιβ. Κλ. Κύρος, Δίων Μικκάλου Ἀντιοχεύς. vacat Ἑρρωσθε.
- 28 [Τιβέριος Κ]λαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς[ς]
 [μέγιστος], δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ζ, ὕπατος τὸ γ, αὐτοκρά
 τωρ τὸ ιη, πατὴρ πατρίδος, συνόδῳ ξυστικῇ περιπολιστικῇ
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑρακλέα vacat χαίρειν vacat
- 20 Ἐν [ψηφίσμα]σι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀποδοθεῖς[ί] μοι δυσὶν
 [εὐχαριστοῦντες] ἐμ[α]ρ[τω]ρεῖτε ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Γαίῳ Ἰουλίῳ Ἀντίοχῳ
 τ[ῷ Κομμαγηνῆς] βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Πολέμωνι τῷ Πόντου, ἀνδράσι
 τειμίῳις μο[ι καὶ] φίλοις ὡς πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ φιланθρωπία χρήσαι
 το πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἡνίκα τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι τιθεμένους ὑπ' αὐ
 25 [τ]ῶν ἐπετέλουν ἀγῶνας, ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐχαριστίας
 ἀπεδεξάμην, ἐκείνων δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν μὲν εὖνοϊαν, πε
 ρὶ δὲ ὑμᾶς φιλανθρωπίαν ἐγνώρισα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθαύμασα. Οἱ τοῖς
 ψηφίσμασιν ἐνγεγραμμένοι ἦσαν Διογένης Μικκάλου Ἀντιοχεύς
 ὁ ἐνγιστὰ τῆς συνόδου ἀρχιερεὺς γενόμενος, ὃν ἐγὼ καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων
 30 π[ολιτείας μετ]ὰ δυεῖν θυγατέρων ἀξίον ἡγησάμην εἶναι, Σανδογένης
 [----- M]ικκ[άλου] Ἀντιοχεύς. vacat Ἑρρωσθε. vacat
- 37 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Οὐδεσπασιανὸς Σεβαστὸς ἱερᾷ ξυστικῇ περιπο
 λιστικῇ συν[νόδ]ῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑρακλέα vacat χαίρειν vacat
 [Εἰ]δὼς ὑμῶν τῶν ἀθλητῶν τὸ ἐνδοξον καὶ φιλότειμον πάντα ὅσα
 35 [θεὸ]ς Κλαύδιος Αἰτῆσαμένοις ὑμεῖν συνεχώρησε καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάττειν
 [π]ροαιροῦμαι vacat Ἑρρωσθε vacat
 Ἡ ἱερὰ ξυστικὴ περιπολιστικὴ Ἀδριανὴ Ἀντωνιανὴ Σεπτιμιανὴ
 σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑρακλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀγώνιον καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα
 Καῖσαρα Α. Σεπτίμιον Σεῦηρον Περτίνακα Σεβαστὸν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς
 40 [αὐτῆς συνό]δου χαίρειν vacat
 [Γεινώ]σκετε] ὅτα [ἡμῶν] συνοδείτην Ἑρμεῖνον τὸν καὶ Μῶρον
 [Ἑρμοπολείτην πύ]κτην ὡς ἐτῶν vacat καὶ ἀποδεδωκότα τὸ κατὰ
 τὸν νόμ[ον ἐν]τάγιον πᾶν ἐκ πλήρους δηνάρια ἑκατόν. Ἐγράψα
 μεν οὖν ὑμεῖν ἵνα εἰδῆτε vacat Ἑρρωσθε vacat
- 45 [Ἐγὲν]ετο ἐν Νεαπόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ τῆς μῆ πενταετηρίδος
 [ἀγῶ]νος ἀγομένου τῶν μεγάλων Σεβαστῶν Ἰταλικῶν Ῥωμα[ί]ων ἐπὶ
 ὑπάτων Α. Σεπ[τ]ιμίου Σεῦηρου Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ τὸ β καὶ
 Κλωδίου Σεπτιμίου Ἀλβεῖνου Καίσαρος τὸ β, πρὸ ἰ Καλανδῶν Ὀκτω
 βρίων vacat

10 τα. 26 ἐπεδεξάμην.

The text is based on Kenyon and Bell as improved by Grenfell

and Hunt (Wilcken) and Gerstinger and verified by us. In line 17 read ὑπατος τὸ γ (not ς). In line 21, where Kenyon and Bell read]εμ[, Grenfell and Hunt read]εν.ν [πο]ιεῖτε, which Kalinka expanded to [ἐπειδὴ κεχαρισμ]έν[ο]ν [πο]ιεῖτε, which Bell rightly did not accept (see *Berichtigungsliste*, 1: 289). Gerstinger read from the photograph in Kenyon's Catalogue]εμ[.]ρ[.]ρειτε, which, he says, leads to ἐμαρτυρεῖτε and so suggests [εὐχαριστοῦντες or εὐχαρίστως] ἐμ[α]ρ[τυ]ρειτε, but because of awe for Wilcken, who had followed Grenfell and Hunt, he did not put it in the text. The photograph, which we reproduce with the kind permission of the British Library Board, supports Gerstinger. In line 23 Gerstinger restored μοι instead of μοι.ν. In line 26 a new reading ἀπεδεξάμην for ἐπεδεξάμην is supported by a formula (A. Wilhelm, *AnzWien* 65 [1928] 129–137, and L. Robert, *RevPhil* 41 [1967] 55).

Translation of lines 8–49

- 27 Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Sarmaticus (sic), pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the sixth time, consul designate for the fourth time, imperator for the twelfth time, pater patriae, to the Guild of Roving Athletes, greetings. The gold crown sent to me by you on the occasion of the victory over the Britons I was glad to receive. It constitutes a sign of your regard for me. The ambassadors were Tib. Claudius Hermas, Tib. Claudius Cyrus, Dion son of Miccalus of Antioch. Farewell.
- 28 [Tiberius C]laudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Sarmaticus (sic), pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the seventh time, consul for the third time, imperator for the eighteenth time, pater patriae, to the Guild of Roving Athletes Devoted to Heracles, greetings. In your two simultaneously delivered decrees you [gratefully] testified in my honor for C. Julius Antiochus the king [of Commagene] and for Julius Polemo the king of Pontus, valued friends of mine, because they showed every attention and kindness in dealing with you, when they were putting on games being performed in my name. I approved of you for being grateful to them, and of them for their loyalty to me. A kindness to you has come to my knowledge rather than surprised me. They whose names had been recorded in your decrees were Diogenes son of Miccalus of Antioch, the most recently made high priest of the

Guild, whom I myself considered worthy, along with two daughters, of Roman citizenship, Sandogenes [son of — —, Dion (?) son of] Miccalus of Antioch. Farewell.

- 37 Imperator [Caesar] Vespasianus Augustus to the sacred Guild of Roving Athletes Devoted to Heracles, greetings. Recognizing the proud distinction of you, the athletes, I too intend to safeguard all the privileges that deified Claudius granted to you at your request. Farewell.

The sacred Hadrianic, Antoninian, Septimian Guild of Roving Athletes to those from the same society, greetings. Know that Herminus called Morus, of Hermopolis, boxer, (blank) years old, is a member and has paid in full the fee 100 denarii according to the rule. We have written for your information. Farewell.

Done at Naples of Italy at the forty-ninth quadrennial festival, at the Great Augustan Italic Roman Games, in the consulship of L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus for the second time and of Clodius Septimius Albinus Caesar for the second time (= A.D. 194), on the twenty-second of September.

Commentary

The titles of Claudius are carelessly given with the epithet Sarmaticus which he never held (P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser* [*Hypomnemata* 23, 1969] 36). This is an obvious anachronism, to the student a warning. The third, not the sixth, was the consulship meant in line 17. The first epistle of Claudius merely accepts with thanks the golden crown which the society has offered to him. The second epistle approves the behavior of the society in praising the kings Antiochus (*PIR*² J 150) and Polemo (*PIR*² J 472), the latter of whom reappears in No. 22. The ambassadors, when not Roman citizens, are named with their ethnics. The grant of Roman citizenship to an ambassador and his two daughters is interestingly advertised as to a man who had recently served as high priest in the imperial cult.

29. CLAUDIUS TO THE DIONYSIAC ARTISTS, A.D. 48

Miletus. Now in East Berlin in the Pergamum Museum where it was examined in September 1972. H. 0.49 m.; W. 1.10 m.; Th. 0.29 m. The letters are 0.025 m. high and the left margin is 0.095 m. wide. Numerals have a line over them.

A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet* (Berlin, 1914) 381–383, No. 156; [R. Cagnat and M. Besnier, *Année ép.* (1914) No. 210; Charlesworth, *Documents*, No. 9].

29

[Τι]βέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμ[ανι-]
 [κ]ός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ η', ὑπατος τ[ὸ δ'],
 αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ιε', πατὴρ πατρίδος, τειμητῆς,
 τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερoneίκαις καὶ τεχνεί
 5 ταις χαίριν. Μεμνημένους ὑμᾶς, ὧν παρεσ
 χόμην διαφυλάξας τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ Σε
 βαστῶν καὶ τῆς συνκλήτου δεδομένα δίκαια,
 ἀποδέχομαι καὶ πιράσσομαι αὔξιν αὐτὰ εὖ
 σεβῶς διακιμένων ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν οἶ
 10 κον. τοῦτο δέ μοι παρέστησεν Μάρκος Οὐαλέ
 ριος Ἰουνιανὸς οἰκιακός μου, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐ
 πήνεσα οὕτως διακείμενον πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
 [Ἐρρωσθε?.]

Translation

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, tribunician power for the seventh time, [four] times consul, imperator for the fifteenth time, pater patriae, censor, to the Dionysiac Artists and Sacred Victors, greetings. That you recall what I did for you in preserving the rights granted by the Augusti who preceded me and by the senate I commend you and shall try to increase them since you are loyally disposed toward my house. M. Valerius Junianus, who belongs to my household, called this to my attention. I praised him too for being so well disposed toward you. [Farewell].

Commentary

Claudius inherited the cognomen Germanicus from his father.

For the early history of the Dionysiac Artists, who began as a society at Athens and of whom branches in Hellenistic kingdoms followed, see G. Klaffenbach, *Symbolae ad historiam collegiorum artificum bacchiorum* (Diss. Berlin, 1914), chap. 1; F. Poland, *RE* 5 (1934) Nachträge 2473–2517. The Dionysiac Artists consisted not only of actors but also musical artists. The reader will find a survey of the old material in F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen*

Vereinswesens (Leipzig, 1909) 129–147. For other epistles connected with the Dionysiac Artists, see Nos. **24**, **96**, **97**, **212**, **225**, and **277**.

Sacred victors in athletic games (see H. W. Pleket, *ZPE* 10 [1973] 206) are mentioned more frequently than those in musical contests, but there seems to be no valid reason for considering sacred victors in athletic games as part of the Dionysiac Society here addressed by the emperor.

30. CLAUDIUS TO THE MYTILENEANS, A.D. 47–50

Mytilene. Known only from a copy made by Cyriacus of Ancona.

G. Kaibel, *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 2 (1875) 5 and 16, No. XVIII; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG XII* 2 (1899) 63; [G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 43; Charlesworth, *Documents*, No. 13].

30

Τι. Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Γερμανικός, ἀρχιερεύς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξου-
σίας, ὑπατος [τὸ] τέταρτον, αὐτοκράτωρ [-----]
Μυτ[ι]ληναίων ἄρχουσι [βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. Τὰν ὑμετέραν πρὸς]
τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον <εὐ>σέβειαν [-----]
[-----]

4 ΔΙΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ.

Commentary

Since Cyriacus did not indicate lacunas, the beginning of line 4 may have been lost, but we have followed Hiller's restoration of line 3.

The consulships of 47 and 51 limit the date.

31. CLAUDIUS TO THE DELPHIANS, A.D. 52

Delphi. Nine fragments which join as four pieces. Five of the nine fragments, namely Inv. Nos. 2178 + 2271 + 3883 + 4001 and 2311 were seen by the writer in 1971 in the upper lapidarium of the museum in Room 10. The other pieces could not be located. Bourguet, Pomtow, Rüschi, Oliver, and especially Plassart studied and copied the stones themselves.

E. Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis*, 63 f., edition of four fragments;

A. J. Reinach, *REG* 20 (1907) 49; A. Deissmann, *Paulus: Eine kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Skizze* (Tübingen, 1911, 2nd ed. 1927) Appendix I and frontispiece containing photograph of all four fragments; A. Brassac, "Une inscription de Delphes et la chronologie de Saint Paul," *Revue biblique* N.S. 10 (1913) 36–53, with three more fragments and with photograph; H. Pomtow and F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ (1917) 801 D; E. Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia* (Milan, 1958) 74–78, No. XXII; A. Plassart, "L'inscription de Delphes mentionnant le proconsul Gallion," *REG* 80 (1967) 372–378 with complete bibliography, and *FD* 3.4 (1970) 26–32, No. 286, a basic edition of nine fragments with photographs of all and with new readings; J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 239 f.

31

Τιβέρ[ιος Κλαύδιος Καῖς]αῖρ Σ[εβαστ]ός Γ[ερμανικός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξου]
σίας [τὸ IB, αὐτοκράτωρ τ]ὸ ΚΓ, π[ατὴρ π]ατρί[δος, Δελφῶν τῇ βουλῇ
χαίρειν].

Πάλ[αι μὲν τ]ῇ π[όλει τῇ] τῶν Δελφ[ῶν ἦν ο]ὐ μόνον εὐνοῦς ἀλλ' ἐν φιλίᾳ
συνε]

χῆς, δεῖ δ' ἐτήρη[σα τῇ]ν θρησκεί[αν τ]οῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου· ἀλλ'
ὁμως]

- 5 νῦν λέγεται καὶ [πολ]ειτῶν ἔρη[μο]ς εἶναι, ὥ[ς μοι ἄρτι ἀπήγγειλε Α. Ἰού]
νιος Γαλλίων ὁ φ[ίλος] μου κα[ὶ ἀνθύ]πατος. [ἐγὼ δὲ πιστεύω τοὺς Δελφοὺς]
ἔτι ἔξειν τὸν πρ[ότερον κόσμον ἐντελ]ῆ, ἐ[ὰν ὑμεῖν δόξῃ ποτὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλ]
λων πόλεων καλ[εῖν] ἐλευθέρους εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν ὡς νέους κατοίκους καὶ]
αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέ[πειν] ἐκγόνους τε τὰ] πρ[εσβεία] πάντα ἔχειν τὰ τῶν Δελ]
10 φῶν ὡς πολε[ίταις ἐπ' Ἰση καὶ ὁμοίᾳ· ε]ἰ μὲν γάρ τι[νες ξένοι ὡς πολεῖ]
ται μετωκίς[αντο εἰς τούτους τοῦ]ς τόπους, κρ[-----]
[το]ύτους [-----]ν πάντως ε[-----]
[-----]σθη· διτινε[ς δὲ -----]
[-----]ι καὶ τὸ συναῦ[ξιν]-----]
15 [-----] ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνα[-----]
ἀνα[-----] φ]ημι [Τ]οῖς μέντ[οι -----]
εἰς τῶν [-----]ῖάσε ἐντέλλομαι, ἵν[α -----]
κατὰ προ[σῆκον πάντων] τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γεγραμ[μένων μηδὲν] ἐριστὸν ἦι]

¹ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος τιμητῆς Deissmann, cetera Bourguet. 2 ὕπατος τὸ ἐ Deissman, Δελφῶν τῇ πόλει χαιρεῖν Pomtow (*SIG*³ [1917] 801 D), τῇ βουλῇ Oliver, cetera Bourguet. 3 Πάλ[αι μὲν Deissmann, πάλ[ιν τ]ῇ π[όλει τ]ῶν Δελφ[ῶν προθ]υμ[ότατα χαιρ]ειν Bourguet, πρόθ[υμο]ς γενόμενος Deissmann, πρόθ[υμο]ς ἐγεν-

ὁμην Pomtow, καὶ εὖνους ἐξ ἀρ] | χῆς Hiller von Gaertringen, εὐτύ]|χησα Deissmann, π[όλει τῇ]τῶν Δελφ[ῶν ἡ ο]ὑ μό[νον εὖνους ἀλλ' ἐφρόντισα τῆς τύ]|χης Plassart, ἦν ο]ὑ μό[νον εὖνους ἀλλ' ἐν φιλίᾳ συνε Oliver. 4 ἀεὶ δ' ἐτήρη[σα Hiller, ἐ[πε]τήρη[σα τῇ]ν θρησκει[αν Bourguet, τ]οῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου Deissmann, ὅσα δὲ Pomtow, Ἐπεὶ δὲ Plassart, ἀλλ' ὁμως Oliver. 5 [πολ]ειτῶν Deissmann, ἔρη[μο]ς εἶναι ὥ[ς μοι ἄρτι ἀπήγγειλε Plassart. 6 Λ' Ἰού]νιος Γαλλίων ὁ φ[ίλος] μου κ[αὶ ἀνθύ]πατος [Ἀχαΐας Bourguet; ἐγώ, ἐλπίζων τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν Oliver, βουλόμενος τοὺς Δελφούς Plassart, ἐγώ δέ πιστεύω Oliver. 7 ?πρ[ότερον ?όρισμόν, ἄλ]|λων Bourguet, τὸν πρ[ότερον κριθέντα ὀρισμόν] τῶν δὲ ἄλ]|λων ἐ[αν Reinach, κόσμον ἐντελ]ῇ ἐ[πικελεύομαι ὑμᾶς, Plassart, ὑμεῖν δόξει ποτὲ Oliver. 8 κα[ὶ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Δελφῶν Reinach, καλ[εῖν εἰς τοὺν Δελφούς νέους κατοίκους καὶ] Plassart, καλ[εῖν ἐλευθέρους εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν ὡς νέους κατοίκους καὶ Oliver. 9 ἐπιτρέ[πεσθαι Reinach, ἐπιτρέ[πω Deissmann, Δελ]|φῶν Pomtow, ἐπιτρέ[πειν.....] πρεσβεῖα πάντα ἔχειν τὰ τῶν Δελ]|φῶν Plassart, ἐκγόνοις τε τὰ Oliver. 10 πολε[ίταις γεγονόσιν Ὅσοι Plassart, πολε[ίταις ἐπὶ ἴση καὶ ὁμοίᾳ] ἐ[ἰ μὲν γάρ τι]νες ξένοι Oliver, ὡς πολεῖ]|ται Plassart. 11 μετῴκισ[αντο εἰς τοὺτους τοῦ]ς τόπους, κρ[ίνω Plassart. 12-17 Plassart. 18 γεγραμ[μένων Brassac, cetera Plassart.

Translation

Tiberius [Claudius] Caesar Augustus [Germanicus, tribunician] power [for the twelfth time, imperator] for the twenty-sixth time, pater patriae, [to the Council of the Delphians, greetings]. For a long while [I have been] not only [well disposed] toward the city of the Delphians [but unwavering in my friendship], and [I] have always protected the cult of [the Pythian] Apollo. [But nevertheless] it is now said that [Delphi] suffers from a dearth of citizens, as [L.] Junius Gallio, my friend the proconsul, [has recently reported, I am confident that she] will still retain the [old glory intact, if someday you decide] to invite [to yours from] other cities [people of free background as new settlers and] allow them [and their descendants to have all the] rights and privileges as Delphic citizens [on a fair and equal basis]. For if some [strangers] had transferred [to these] parts [as citizens] — — — — — — — — — — order so that — — — — — [nothing] of what is written therein [be] subject to dispute.

Commentary

The epistle is dated between 25 January and 1 August of A.D. 52. Its importance to many lies in the mention of Seneca's brother, L. Junius Gallio Annaeanus, as governor of Achaëa, because Gallio (*PIR*² J 757) was the governor before whom the Jews at Corinth accused St. Paul (Acts 18.12–17). As A. J. Reinach pointed out in the *Bulletin épigraphique* (*REG* 20 [1907] 49, n. 1), this inscription fixes the date of St. Paul's visit to Corinth. Moreover, it throws light on conditions in Roman Greece.

The length of all the lines emerges from the restoration of line 1. The minimum length is certain, the exact length probable. If one omits with Bourguet and Plassart reference to the title *pontifex maximus* (compare No. 29), the other lines are more easily restored. On the word *θησκαία* (line 4), see the comparative material collected by L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris, 1938) 226–235, and No. 2 *supra*.

The emperor reminds the recipients of his long affection and concern for Delphi and then deals with a problem called to his attention by Gallio, who is still proconsul. Delphi is suffering from depopulation, as Plassart recognized from a new reading of an old fragment. The emperor thereupon encourages the recipients to invite new settlers to Delphi, as Plassart recognized. The language at this point (line 7) should not be that of command and the verb *ἐντέλλομαι*, which Plassart suggested, is too strong. The recipients must surely have been the Delphians themselves, as Pomtow recognized, because the Amphictyons, who controlled the sanctuary, did not control the city. The emperor may have addressed the Council alone rather than the whole city, and with the use of either the second or third person in lines 7 and 8. Plassart's suggestion that the addressee was Gallio's successor as governor of Achaëa does not seem to be supported by the rest of the text (Oliver, *Hesperia* 40 [1971] 239 f.). At the end of line 3 the constancy of the emperor's affection for Delphi was worth emphasizing in view of the interruption of his affection for Alexandria (see No. 19).

In line 8 the dignity of the city required settlers of good birth and standing: that is, freedmen were not likely to be recommended. One of the best known poems under the Julio-Claudian emperors was the lament of Crinagoras for Corinth, which had been resettled with freedmen. This epigram, *AP* 9.284, begins:

Οἷους ἀνθ' οἷων οἰκήτορας, ὦ ἐλεεινή, εὔραο. Had it been necessary, Gallio, who resided at Corinth, would have reminded Claudius.

32. UNKNOWN TO DIONYSIAC ARTISTS AT SIDE

Side. Three contiguous fragments of a marble slab discovered in the Turkish excavations. The left edge and rough back are preserved, but the slab is elsewhere broken away.

G. E. Bean, *The Inscriptions of Side* (Ankara, 1965) 48–51, No. 148, with a good photograph on Pl. 18.

32

συνόδῳ ἱερᾷ θυ]

μελικῇ τῶ[ν ἐν Σίδῃ περὶ τὸν]

Διόνυσον τ[εχνειτῶν ἱερώνει]

κῶν στεφ[ανῶν νν χαίρειν ν]

"Ὅσα καὶ τῶ [Διονύσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλ]

5 λοις θ[εοῖς -----]

δίκαια [-----]

τῇ συ[νóδῳ -----]

γνω[-----]

γεν[-----]

[-----]

Commentary

Restorations of the prescript, especially line 2, are those of D. J. Geagan *per epistulas* on the analogy of No. 90. Bean recognized mention of the Dionysiac Artists in line 2 and the possibility of the epistulary formula in line 3. Restorations retained in lines 4, 5, and 7 are among those he suggested.

33. NERO TO THE ALEXANDRIANS, A.D. 55

Papyrus of unknown provenience, now at Genoa, *P. Genova* 10, Inv. 8562 verso.

A. Traversa, "Un rescritto di Nerone," *Hommages à Marcel Renard* (Collection Latomus 102, 1969) 2:718–725 with a good photograph; J. Bingen, *Cd'E* 49 (1969) 151–152; M. Amelotti

and L. Migliardi, "Nerone agli Alessandrini," *SDHI* 36 (1970) 410–418 with a less perfect photograph but a much better reading, and *Papiri dell'Università di Genova* 1 (Milan, 1974) 25–28, No. 10, with a splendid photograph on Pl. 7.

33

Νέρω[ν] Κλαύδ[ι]ος [Καῖσαρ Σεβα(αστός), θεοῦ] υἱός, Τιβερίο[υ] Καίσαρος
καὶ Γερμανικοῦ
Καίσαρος ἔγγονος, ἀπόγον[ος καὶ φύσει] θεοῦ [Σε]βαστοῦ, Γερμανικ(ός),
ἀρχιε(ρεύς), δημαρχ(ικῆς)
ἐξουσ(ίας), ὑπατ[ο]ς, αὐτοκράτ[ωρ], Ἀ[λ]εξανδρέων τῇ π[ό]λει χ<αί
ρειν>. Περὶ Ποτάμων<ος> τοῦ Βοκκά
καὶ [τ]ῶν υἱῶν αὐ[τοῦ] Α[.]φ[-----] πλεονάκ(ις) ἐκ τῶ[ν]
ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ ἔγνων
5 περὶ ὧν καὶ αὐτ[-----] ὑπ' α[ύτ]οῦ ἀρχ[ῆ]ς διαφυλάτ
τω{ι} κεκρικῶς
ἐντο[λ]ήν κυρίαν [-----] ἐμοῦ κρίσιν [...]ν ὅπερ
ταύτην ἡδῖαν ποιῶ[---]
ἡ ἰκα[-----] καὶ τοῦ νε[ω]τ[έ]ρου Ποτά
μωνος ὅτε ἐγένοντο
ἐπ[-----] π[ροετ]έθη ἢ ἐπι[στο]λῇ δημ
[ο]σία ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ
[-----]

Translation

Nero Claudius [Caesar Augustus] Germanicus, son [of divinity], great-grandson of Tiberius Caesar and descendant of Germanicus Caesar, great-great-grandson of divine Augustus [even by birth], pontifex maximus, tribunician power, consul, imperator, to the polis of the [Alexandrians], greetings.

About Potamon son of Bokkas and his own sons — — — I have often heard from his epistles — — — I maintain since I have judged as a valid command — — — — my decision — — — — and of the younger Potamon when they became — — — —

The epistle was exposed publicly in the agora — — —

Commentary

In line 1, where Amelotti and Magliardi restore Νέρω[ν] Κλαύδ[ι]ος, [θεοῦ Κλαυδίου] υἱός, a different restoration, Νέρω[ν] Κλαύδ[ι]ος [Καῖσαρ Σεβ(αστός), θεοῦ] υἱός, finds strong support

in the name of Nero as it was engraved on the Parthenon at Athens (*IG* II² 3274), Νέρωνα Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικόν, θεοῦ υἱόν. See also A. S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet Glasgow*, lxxxi, for the coins of 54 and 55. Where the papyrus in lines 1–2 has Τιβερίο[υ] Καίσαρος καὶ Γερμανικοῦ| Καίσαρος ἑγγονος, the conjunction καὶ is protected by the parallel in the epistle of Nero to the Rhodians, No. 34. Nero was descended from three emperors by adoption, but he was directly descended as well from the greatest of these, Augustus. In line 2, accordingly, a statement may be restored that of Augustus he was a great-great-grandson also by direct descent (καὶ φύσει). The unusual position of ἀπόγονος is due to the presence of this phrase and to the contrast with the preceding phrase. Amelotti and Magliardi, on the other hand, have for their restoration ἀπόγον[ος Καίσαρος] support in the phrase τῆς δὲ Καί[σα]ρος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, which applies to Augustus in *BGU* 895, 2 (as corrected in *BGU* III p. 8). But it is not an exact parallel, and their restoration does not explain the inversion of order.

As a correction for ἐπὶ in line 3 περί is written between lines above the word.

34. NERO TO THE RHODIANS, A.D. 55

Rhodes. Formerly (before 1895) built into the ruins of a Byzantine church near Koskinou but now in the Archaeological Museum at Rhodes, in the main courtyard near the stairway, where it was examined on 30 January 1974, the inscription is engraved on a slightly tapering block of blue-gray marble, broken away below but preserving top, smooth back and sides. H. 0.77 m., W 0.745 m., Th. 0.185 m. Height of letters 0.018 m. in lines 1–5, 0.014 m. in lines 6–26.

Of the editors only Hiller von Gaertringen and Oliver examined the stone personally.

F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *AthMitt* 20 (1895) 386–395, no. 5 with drawing (except that no extra space should separate lines 2 and 3 and no oblique stroke of an alpha should appear at the beginning of line 4, while lines 11–26 should begin one space further to the left than lines 2–10); W. Dittenberger, *SIG*² (1898) 373; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ (1917) 810; Abbott and

Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 54; R. Cagnat, *IGRR IV* (1927) 1124; [Charlesworth, *Documents*, Nero 1]; Smallwood, *Documents* . . . *Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, 412b.

34

- ['Εφ' ἰ]ερέως Διογένης, πρυτανίων τῶν σὺν
Μενεκλεῖ τῷ Ἀρχαγόρα, γραμμα[τε]ύοντος
βουλᾶς Νεικασιμάχου Διαφάνου, καθ' υ(ἰοθεσίαν δὲ) Ἀρχεδάμ(ου),
ἐπιστολὰ ἀποσταλεῖσα ὑπὸ Νέρωνος νν
- 5 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Πεταγειτνύου κζ ννννν
[[Νέρων]] Κλαύδιος, θεοῦ Κλαυδίου υἱός, Τιβερίου Καίσα
ρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος ἔγγονος, θε
οῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀπόγονος, Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανι
κός, ἀρχιερεὺς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, αὐτοκρά
- 10 τωρ, Ῥοδίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ [δῆ]μῳ χαίρειν vacat
Οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, οὓς ἐπὶ τῇ ψευδῶς ἐπιστολῇ
πρὸς ὑμᾶς κομισθεῖσῃ τῷ τῶν ὑπάτων ὀνόματι
ταραχθέντες πρὸς με ἐπέμψατε, καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ἀ
πέδοσαν καὶ περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐδήλωσαν ὡς ἐνετί
- 15 λασθε αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πανοικίου μου ὑγείας καὶ
τῆς ἐν τῇ ἡγε[μ]ονίᾳ διαμονῆς ἐπιτελέσαι τῷ κατ' ἐ
ξοχῇ παρ' ἡμεῖν τειμωμένῳ θεῷ Διὶ Καπετωλίῳ,
περὶ τ' ὧν ἐπεστάλκετε αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως
δημοκρατίαν διαφερόντων ἐνεφάνισαν διὰ Κλα[υ]
- 20 δίου Τειμοστράτου τοῦ ἀρχιπρεσβευτοῦ, σπου
δαίῳ πάθει τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ποιησαμένων
λόγους, ἀνδρὸς κάμοι ἐπὶ τῷ κρατ[ί]στῳ διὰ τ[ῆ]ν ἀνανέω
σιν τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ δικαίων ὑπαρχόντων γνωρί ν
μου καὶ παρ' ὑμεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις καταριθμου[μέ]
- 25 νου. Ἐγὼ οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας εὐνοϊκῶς πρὸς τὴν [πό]
λιν ὑμῶν διακείμενος [-----]
[-----]

Translation

In the priesthood of Diogenes, during the prytany of Menecles son of Archagoras, when Nicasimachus son of Diaphanes, but of Archedamus by adoption, was secretary of the Council, the epistle sent by Nero Claudius Caesar, Petageitnyos the twenty-fourth.

Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, son of divine Claudius, great-grandson of Tiberius Caesar Augustus and descendant of Germanicus Caesar, great-great-grandson of divine Augustus, pontifex, tribunician power, imperator, to archons, Council, Demos of the Rhodians, greetings.

Your ambassadors, whom you sent to me when you were disturbed by the epistle falsely taken to you in the name of the consuls, both delivered the decree and explained about the sacrifices which you ordered them to perform to the divine Capitolian Zeus who is especially honored among us for my and all my family's health and for my continuation as princeps. Concerning the instructions you had given them in connection with the city's republican constitution they made reports through Claudius Timostratus the chief ambassador, when they presented the arguments in my presence with great feeling, a man known to me too in the best way for the renewal of the rights and privileges he had with us and numbered in your midst among the most distinguished. I for my part have been well disposed toward you from my earliest years – –

Commentary

Dating by the eponymous priest of Helius, the president of the board of *prytaneis* (for whom see F. Gschnitzer, *RE* Suppl. 13 [1973] 766–769, s.v. Prytanis) and the secretary of the Council, the heading, which closes with the month and day of receipt of Nero's letter, occupies lines 1–5. The numeral twenty-seven in line 5, as Hiller explained in a reference to *IG* XII 1, 4, indicates by backward count in the last third of the month Petageitnyos the twenty-fourth day.

The name of Nero has the strange phrase *Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος ἔγγονος*, which more or less recurs in Nero's epistle to the Alexandrians, also of A.D. 55, but not in the later epistle to the Thasians. Dittenberger's commentary to *SIG*² 373 is the best discussion.

The epistle has been dated to A.D. 55 on the justified assumption that line 9 contains a reference to Nero's first tenure of the tribunician power. What was contained in the epistle falsely attributed to the consuls is unknown. On the hyperbaton of lines 11–12 see Dittenberger.

Allied states were allowed to sacrifice to the Capitoline Jupiter.

Nero under Claudius had pleaded for a restoration of the freedom and autonomy of Rhodes. In fact, a Rhodian inscription (*IG* XII, 1, 2) speaks of ἀποδοθεῖς]ας τῇ πόλει τᾶς πατρίου πολιτείας καὶ τῶν νόμων by the [efforts?] of Nero Caesar. A reference to this occurs in the epistle just before it breaks off without telling us anything.

In line 21 Smallwood emends *ποιησαμέν(ου)*, which may be right but is stylistically awkward after *ἐμοῦ*.

35. NERO TO MENOPHILUS OF AEZANI

Aezani. Built into a wall of a field when Hamilton and Le Bas saw it. Now lost. In October 1973 a search was made for it in the Museum at Kütahya and elsewhere without success.

W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor* (London, 1842) 2: Appendix V, No. 16; Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, 3: Inscriptions, No. 855; J. Franz, *CIG* III (1853); Ph. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure . . .*, Explications (Paris, 1870) No. 855; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, No. 9; W. Dittenberger, *OGI* (1905) 475; [G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV [1927] 561]; A. Wilhelm, "Zu griechischen Ehrenbeschlüssen und Briefen," *JÖAI* 24 (1929) 192–193; [Charlesworth, *Documents*, Nero 3; Smallwood, *Documents . . . Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, 390].

35

Ἀπὸ Ῥώμης

Νέρων vacat Μηνοφίλω vacat χαίρειν.

Μενεκλῆς καὶ Μητρόδωρος οἱ υἱοὶ σου ἐλθόν

τες πρὸς με ἅπαντα ἐδήλωσαν ὅσα τε αὐτὸς

5 ἐφιλοτειμήθης πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ὅσα εἰσηγήσω τῇ
πόλει περιέχοντα τὰς ἡμετέρας τιμὰς· ἐφ' οἷς οὐ
μετρίως ἀπεδεξάμην σου τὸ βέβαιον τῆς εἰς με
εὐνοίας καὶ τὸ δεῖ μέλειν σοι προσεπινοεῖν τι τῇ

[-----]αι

10 [-----]ωτε

[-----]ην εἶ

[γ' ἐκ]τὸς ἀναλώματος εἶη σοι ἢ περὶ ἡμᾶς φιλοτειμία

[τοσα]ῦτα ἥδη δεδηλωκότι ὅτι οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἔνε

[κεν τ]αύτης φεῖδεσθαι προαιρῇ. Μενεκλῆς δὲ ὁ

15 [τι ἐτ]οίμως εἶχεν καὶ προσμένειν μοι χρόνον

ὅσον ἂν βο[ύλωμαι -----]

ὃν ἐγὼ δίκ[αιον ἡγούμενος ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ σοῦ]

γῆρως ἀπέ[λυσα τῆς παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ καταμονῆς]

καὶ πρὸς σὲ [ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσα γηροτροφῆσον]

20 τα· ἔγραψα δ[ὲ -----]

ἐπιμελέστα[τα ----- πρὸς τὴν]

πόλιν ὑμῶν[----- ἐγραψα]
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς Α[-----]
 δηλώσας ὥς [-----]
 25 γὰρ εὐνους μο[----- γρά]
 φειν, ἐάν του δ[ἐη-----]
 παρέχεσθαί σοι [-----]
 δέχομαι τὴν α[-----]
 δέ μοι μένει[ν-----]
 30 τεν ἢ μην[-----]

1 Franz. 12 [γ' Oliver, ἐκ]τὸς Wilhelm, [παν]τὸς Franz. 13 [τοσα]ῦτα Wilhelm, [τα]ῦτα Franz. 14 ἐν ἐ|[ορταῖς Franz, ἔ|[νεκεν τ] ἔνε|[κά γε] Wilhelm. 15. ὁ|[τι προθύ]μως Franz, ὁ|[τι ἐτ]οίμως Waddington, ὁ [υὸς Dittenberger. 16–18 Dittenberger. 20 δ[ε Franz. 21 ἐπιμελέστα[τα Franz, πρὸς τὴν Dittenberger. 25–27 Franz. 29 Waddington. 30 Μην[οφιλ-Dittenberger.

Translation

From Rome. Nero to Menophilus greetings. Menecles and Metrodorus, your sons, came to me and explained all that you yourself had done in your noble ambition toward us and all that you proposed to your city, including our statues. I heartily commend the firmness of your goodwill toward me and your constant concern to add some new invention to [my honor -----] if [only] your ambition for us might be without expense to you who have already made clear in so many cases that not even for the sake of your own do you intend to be sparing in this (In your ambition for us). Menecles [said that he] was ready to remain with me as long as I might desire [----- considering] it right that he [take care of your] old age, [I released him from his obligation in Rome] and [I ordered him] to return to you [in order to do it]. I wrote [---

Commentary

The epistle is very interesting along with No. 26 of Claudius to the Roving Athletes, because it shows the care which the emperor or rather his advisers took to foster a *clientela* in the eastern provinces, important individuals as well as cities. The epistle has the air of personal relationship rather than government business. Menophilus does not hold an official position. And the sons never erased Nero's name.

For the ἀποδέχομαι formula of line 7 see Wilhelm, *AnzWien* 65 (1928) 129–136. In *JÖAI* 24 (1929) 192 f., he collected parallels for the verb προσεπινοεῖν of line 8 and explained lines 12–14.

36. NERO TO THE THASIANS, A.D. 64/5 OR LATER

Thasos. On the same block as No. 22 found in the French excavations and now in the storage shed of the Archaeological Museum, where it was reexamined on 29–30 April 1974.

Chr. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* (Etudes Thasiennes 5, Paris, 1958) 75–76, no. 184 with photograph.

36

[[Νέρων]] Κλαύδιος [Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός, θεοῦ] <νιός>,
 vv Τιβερίου Καίσαρος [Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καί vv]
 σαρὸς [[. . .]], θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ [ἀπόγονος, Γερμανικός, ἀρχιερεὺς],
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας [τὸ ι.'], ὑπατ[ος τὸ .', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ –, πατὴρ
 πατρίδος],
 5 Θασίων ἀρχουσ[ι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν]
 ἀποδεχόμενος [-] [-----]
 [-] [-----]

1 [[Νέρων]] Κλαύδιος [Θεοῦ Κλαυδίου] Dunant and Pouilloux, [Θεοῦ Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός aut [Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός, Θεοῦ <νιός> Oliver. 2 [[νιός]] Dunant and Pouilloux, vv Oliver, cetera Dunant and Pouilloux. 3 [[ἔγγονος]] Dunant and Pouilloux, ἀπόγονος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός Dunant and Pouilloux, ἀρχιερεὺς Oliver. 4 [τὸ ι.], ὑπατος τὸ E, αὐτοκράτωρ, ἀρχιερεὺς Dunant and Pouilloux, πατὴρ πατρίδος Oliver. 5 Dunant and Pouilloux.

Translation

[[Nero]] Claudius [Caesar Augustus Germanicus, son of divinity, descendant] of Tiberius Caesar [Augustus and Germanicus] Caesar, [great-great-grandson] of divine Augustus, [pontifex maximus], tribunician power [for the –th time, – times] consul, [imperator for the –th time, pater patriae], to the archons, [Council, Demos] of the Thasians, [greetings].

Approving [– – –]

Commentary

As Dunant and Pouilloux pointed out, the inscription contains part of an epistle from Nero to the Thasians, datable in Nero's eleventh or later tenure of the tribunician power.

The nomenclature is not quite normal. Nothing seems to have been erased at the beginning of line 2, which was, however, indented two spaces (three as measured against the next line). In line 3 the erasure, where Dunant and Pouilloux rightly expected ἔγγονος, extends for only three and a half spaces, hence rather *νιός* in error for ἔγγονος. This leads to the inference that the word *νιός*, being omitted in line 1, where the normal nomenclature of IG II² 3274 cannot all be accommodated, was mistakenly engraved in line 3.

Nero to the Hellenes, A.D. 67

See No. 296, *infra*

37. VESPASIAN TO THE OECUMENICAL GUILD OF ROVING ATHLETES

Egypt. Papyrus from Hermopolis, now in the British Museum (*P. Lond.* 1178). A photograph of frame 2 with the epistles of Claudius (Nos. 25–26) and that of Vespasian, is here reproduced on Plate 1 by permission of the British Library Board.

For editions and further publications see under Nos. 27–28.

37

Αὐ[τοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ] Οὐεσπασιανὸς Σεβαστὸς ἱερᾷ ξυστικῇ περιπο
λιστικῇ συ[νόδ]ῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα χαίρειν
[Εἰ]φὺς ὑμῶν τῶν ἀθλητῶν τὸ ἐνδοξον καὶ φιλότειμον πάντα ὅσα
35 [θεὸ]ς Κλαύδιος αἰτησαμένοις ὑμεῖν συνεχώρησε καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάττειν
[π]ροαιροῦμαι Ἐρρωσθε

Translation

Imperator [Caesar] Vespasianus Augustus to the Sacred Guild of Roving Athletes Devoted to Heracles, greetings. Recognizing the proud distinction of you, the athletes, I too intend to safeguard all the privileges that [deified] Claudius granted to you at your request. Farewell.

Commentary

Vespasian, without reference to Nero, attaches his policy to the tradition of Claudius. The first visible letter of line 35 is not an omicron but a sigma, so that Vespasian refers to Claudius as *divus*.

38. VESPASIAN'S CONSTITUTION PROTECTING PHYSICIANS, A.D. 74

Pergamum. Found in 1934 in a modern house in Bergama, it was stored in a round building of the excavations of the lower city, where it was examined on 10 August 1968 and a squeeze was made.

R. Herzog, "Urkunden zur Hochschulpolitik der römischen Kaiser," *SBBerlin* 32 (1935) 965–1019 with photograph (important review by W. Hartke, *Gnomon* 14 [1938] 507–512); N. Festa, *BIDR* 44 (1937) 13–18, unimportant text, Latin translation, and commentary; Riccobono, *FIRA*², 1:73; [McCrum and Woodhead, *Select Documents*, No. 48].

See also V. Arangio-Ruiz, *SDHI* 2 (1939) 597; A. Wilhelm, *Griechische Königsbriefe* (*Klio Beiheft* 48, 1943) 6–7 on line 12; and C. A. Forbes, "The Education and Training of Slaves in Antiquity," *TAPA* 86 (1955), especially 343–353.

38

- [-----]
 [----- ιατρῶν καὶ ιατραλιπτῶν, εἰ
 [----- Ἀσκληπιάδ]αῖς μόνοις ἢ τῶν σωμάτων ἐ
 [πιμέλεια ἀπονενέμ]ηται τοῦ τούτους ἱεροῦς καὶ ἰσοθέ
 [ους ἔνεκα κηρυχθ]ῆναι, κελεύω μῆτε ἐπισταθμεύεσθαι
 5 [αὐτοὺς μῆτε εἰσ]φορὰς ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ.
 [ἐὰν δέ τις ἀνὰ τήν] ἐμὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑβρίζειν ἢ κατεγγυ
 [ᾶν ἢ εἴργεσθαι? τῶ]ν ιατρῶν ἢ παιδευτῶν ἢ ιατραλεῖ
 [πῶν τινὰ τολμήσῃ], ἀποτισάτωσαν οἱ ὑβρίσαντες Διὶ Κα
 [πετωλίῳ * Ἄ· δ]ς δ' ἂν μὴ ἔχη, πιπρασκέσθω, κατ' αὐτῷ
 10 [θεῶϊ καθιερούσ]θω ἀνυπερθέτως τὸ ἐπιτίμιον ὃ ἂν
 [τάξῃ οἱ ἐπὶ ταῦτα κ]ατασταθεὶς ἑπαρχος· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐ
 [ὰν φεύγοντα λάβ]ωσιν, ἀγέτωσαν αὐτὸν ὅπου ἂν αἰρῶν
 [ται, καὶ μὴ κωλύεσ]θωσαν ὑπὸ μηδενός. ἐξδὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς
 [ἔστω καὶ συνόδου]ς ἐν τοῖς τεμένεσι καὶ ἱεροῖς καὶ
 15 [ναοῖς συνάγειν ὅ]που ἂν αἰρῶνται ὡς δούλους· ὅς δ' ἂν

[αὐτοὺς ἐκβιάζητα]ι, ὑπόδικος ἔστω δήμῳι Ῥωμαίων
 [ἀσεβείας τῆς εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῶν Σεβαστῶν. Αὐτοκρά
 [τωρ Καῖσαρ Οὐεσπα]σιανὸς ὑπέγραψα καὶ ἐκέλευσα
 [προτεθῆναι ἐν λε]υκώματι. Προετέθη ἔτους Ξ μηνὶ
 20 [Λύῳι ., ἐν Καπετωλί]ῳι πρὸ ἕξ κα(λανδῶν) Ἰανουαρίῳι

There follows a Latin constitution by Domitian.

1 [ιατ]ρῶν Herzog. 2 [περ ἄρα τοῖς Ἀσκληπιάδα]ις Herzog,
 [καὶ οὐ τοῦτοις ἀλλὰ [ιατρο]ῖς Festa. 3 Herzog. 4 [ους
 προσαγορευθ]ῆναι Herzog, [ους ἔνεκα κηρυχθ]ῆναι Oliver. 5 Her-
 zog. 6 [εἰ δέ τινες ὑπ'] ἐμῇν ἡ. Herzog, [ἐάν δέ τις ἀνὰ τήν] ἐμῇν
 ἡ. Oliver. 7 [ἂν ἢ ἄγειν τινὰ τῶ]ν Herzog, [ἂν ἢ εἵργεσθαι?
 τῶ]ν Oliver. 8 [πτῶν τολμήσουσιν] Herzog, τινὰ τολμήσει Oliver.
 9–11 Herzog. 12 ἐ | [ἂν λαθόντα ἀνεύρ]ωσιν Herzog, ἐ|[ἂν οἰ-
 κέτην Festa, ἐ|[ἂν φεύγοντα λάβ]ωσιν Wilhelm. 13–19 Herzog.
 20 Wilcken apud Herzog.

Translation

— of physicians and medical assistants, if the [charge] of our bodies has been [assigned to the Asclepiadae] alone [because] they were proclaimed holy and godlike, I order that [they] not have others quartered upon them [nor] be asked to contribute to extraordinary levies. [If anyone throughout the] territory of my rule as emperor [should have the criminal audacity] to mistreat or, until security is raised, to arrest [or imprison any] of the physicians or instructors or medical assistants, those who have mistreated them shall pay to Jupiter Capitolinus [10,000 denarii]. Whoever does not have that much shall have his property sold and the fine, whatever the prefect appointed [for these matters may fix], shall be [dedicated] to the [god] forthwith. Similarly if they [catch him absconding] they shall bring him to court wherever they choose and shall not be [impeded] by anyone. And [it shall be] permissible to them [to hold gatherings] in precincts, sanctuaries and [temples] wherever they choose and be inviolate. Whoever [does them violence] shall in Roman law be liable [to a charge of impiety toward] the house of the Augusti.

I, [Imperator Caesar] Vespasian, have signed the order and commanded [its publication] on a whitened board.

It was published in Year 6, month [Loos, on the Capitol] on December 27.

Commentary

Vespasian's name is sufficiently preserved in line 18 to make the author certain, and the sixth year (line 19) brings us to A.D. 74. Though on consultation with Wilcken Herzog interpreted the postscript as proving that the constitution was neither an epistle nor a subscription, the phrase ὑπέγραψα does seem to identify the constitution as a subscription. Herzog, moreover, properly cited *Digest* 50.4.18.30 (from Arcadius Charisius): *Magistris, qui civilium munerum vacationem habent, item grammaticis et oratoribus et medicis et philosophis, ne hospitem reciperent, a principibus fuisse immunitatem indultam, et divus Vespasianus et divus Hadrianus rescripserunt*. This too identifies the form used by Vespasian as a rescript, not an edict.

Wilcken and Herzog rejected the possibility of a subscription because of the absence of the word *Rescripsi*. Its place, however, is taken by ὑπέγραψα. The typical subscription of the post-Flavian period had not yet developed and had not yet led the emperor to use epistles and edicts rather than subscript replies to petitions of unusual importance. Later such questions were transferred from the office of the *a libellis*, where a more routine treatment prevailed. Even now the tone of this important constitution would be right for an edict, and the text received at Pergamum may well have been in the Greek language as in an epistle.

In line 6 the phrase ἀνὰ τὴν] ἐμὴν ἡγεμονίαν (rather than τῶν ὑπ'] ἐμὴν ἡγεμονίαν, as Herzog restored it), comparable to what Dio-Xiphilinus (77.9.5) reports in indirect discourse of Caracalla's πάντα τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ and to the direct words of No. 260 where Caracalla in the first edict of *P. Giss.* 40 says, νῦν ἅπαντας καὶ ὅσ]άκις ἐὰν ὑ[π]εισέλθ[ωσ]ιν εἰς τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀνθρώπους [καὶ ἄλλοι, indicates that Vespasian issued the edict, not as *censor*, but as *princeps* (ἡγεμὼν).

The constitution not only recognized that the Asclepiadae constituted a *collegium licitum* but it protected them in a Roman court. The *koinon* of Asia or one or more cities of Asia had not invented but recently proclaimed the sanctity of the Asclepiadae. Since a special status for these physicians and instructors was in the public interest, the Roman government had probably been asked to support the local courts by parallel action. The reader may find similar cases in the Roman declarations protecting Greek endowments collected in J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (=

Trans. Am. Philosoph. Soc., 48.3, 1953), chap 7. The matter had been referred to the emperor, who did take parallel action by specifying the exact grounds under which an action could be granted in a Roman court and the penalty which could there be assessed. The purpose of the constitution was to close an avenue of escape for a malefactor who might evade the jurisdiction of a local court by reason of his Roman citizenship or influence elsewhere. It is an example of Roman law serving as the international law of the Greek or Graeco-Roman world and taking the place of royal and Amphictyonic law in this respect.

The constitution is not, as Herzog thought, a *magna charta* of universities, but it stands, as Herzog recognized, in the tradition of international agreements on ἀσυλία. Herzog's conception of the lost beginning with references to the contributions of *grammatici* and *oratores* to civilization is in our opinion mistaken and must not be perpetuated *exempli gratia* or for any other reason. Nor were references to Vespasian's imperial acclamations, consulships, and office of *censor* needed in the prescript.

The ἱατραλείπται (line 1) used friction and anointment in special ways. There is, of course, no exact translation, but they assisted the physicians. See besides Herzog, L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 167–170.

For the background of the phrase ἱεροὶ καὶ ἰσόθεοι in line 3, Herzog aptly cites passages from the Hippocratic Corpus.

In line 4 the lost infinitive, which might be restored κηρυχθ]ῆναι with reference to their graduation from training or to a recent local decree, should not be interpreted as if it were a perfect, present, or future infinitive. It needs the preposition ἐνεκα to connect it with the verb ἀπονενέμ]ηται.

In line 6 it is not necessary to refer to the possible oppressors in the plural, although Vespasian uses the plural in the clause beginning in line 8. In line 12 the oppressor is mentioned in the singular. In line 6 the restoration εἰ δέ τινες with a plural and no particle ἄν forces Herzog into assuming with a future indicative πολμήσουσιν (line 8) the certainty of violation. The restoration of a generalizing singular introduced by ἐάν in line 6 has a great advantage.

In line 2 Herzog's diplomatic transcript suggests]αῖς as the first three letters. If this reading, which cannot be verified on the squeeze or in the photograph, is correct, the restoration Ἀσκληπιάδ]αῖς will command rather than invite support. Her-

zog, however, was so uncertain that he both dotted and bracketed the alpha. Other restorations are conceivable, but the sense would still presumably be a limitation of recognition to a small group as one of clearly qualified physicians. Such a group before the second century after Christ were the Asclepiadae of Cos alone, and *CIL* VI 8895 = *ILS* 1842 to *L. Arruntio Semproniano Asclepiadi, imp. Domitiani medico*, should be cited here. The reputation of the physicians trained at Cos went back for centuries. The Gortynian decree at Cos, *ICret* IV 168, first published by Laurenzi, *Clara Rhodos* 10 (1941) 34–35, no. 3, provides an impressive example of the reliance placed upon that source of good physicians. Whether or not the request for support reached the emperor through the Commonalty of Asia, the prime movers were probably the Coans rather than the Pergamenes.

**39. UNKNOWN TO [ARSINOE (PTOLEMAIS EUERGETIS)]
AND THE HELLENIC CATOECIC COMMUNITY OF THE
ARSINOITE NOME, A.D. 79 or 55**

Egypt. Papyrus now at Milan, *P. Med.* inv. 70.01 verso, of the first century.

O. Montevecchi, "Nerone a una polis e ai 6475," *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 5–33 with photograph; idem., *Akten des XIII. Internat. Papyrologenkongresses* (Münchener Beiträge 66, 1974) 293–299 with photograph.

39

Col. I

	[ἐ]κ δὲ τῶν ἀπολειπομέ[ν]ων
	δύο, τόν τε ναόν σου παρητή
	ῥάμην, δειὰ τὸ θεοῖς μόνοις
	ταύτην τὴν τειμὴν ὑπ' ἀν
5	[θ]ρ[ώ]πων δεικαίως ἀπονέ
	[με]σθαι, καὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν στέ
	[φαν]ον <ὄν> ἐπέμψατε χαρισθή
	[σομ]αί, μὴ βουλόμενος ἐν ἀρ
	[χῆ τ]ῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπειβα
10	ρῆ[ιν ὕ]μᾱς ὡς ὅσα δὲ εἴχε[τε]
	ὁμ[οῦ τοῖς] ἐξακισχιλίους τε
	τ[ρακοσίοις] ἑβδομήκοντα

[πέντε] παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ
 αὐ[τοκρ]ατόρων λαβ[όντες]
 [-----]

Col. II

καὶ κυνῇ πάντων ὑμῶν καὶ κα
 τὰ μέρος ἐκάστου, καὶ ἀνηβρίστους
 καὶ ἀνηπερεάστους διαφυ[λ]άσιν
 ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ κ[α]ὶ ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ μου
 5 ἐβουλήθη· ὃ μαρτυρο<ῶ>ντας ὑμᾶς
 ἐφ' ἅπασιν οἷς παρέσχηκεν τῇ τε
 πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἑξακισχιλίοις τετρα
 κοσίοις ἑβδο[μῇ]κοντα πέντε
 ἐπαινῶ καὶ ἀ[πο]δέχο[μαι]. Οἱ πρεσ
 10 βεύοντες [ἦσαν Αἰ]ακίδας Πτολεμαίου',
 Ἀντήνωρ [...], Νειβύτας
 Νειβύτου, Πο[λυκρά]της Δειδύμου,
 [Δειον]ύσιος [ς -----], Θεμίσων
 [-----]

Col. I: 2 σου (lege μου). 3 διὰ. 5 δικαίως. 7 <ὄν> ἐπέμψατε Oliver, ἔπεμψά γε Montevectchi. 8 [σομ]αί Oliver, [σεσ]θαί Montevectchi. 9–10 ἐπιβαρεῖν. 11 ὁμ[οῦ τοῖς] Oliver, οἱμ[εῖς] (= ὑμεῖς) οἱ ἑξακισχιλίοις] Montevectchi. 12 {ς} Montevectchi. 14 αὐτοκρατόρων.

Col. II: 1 κοινῇ. 2 ἀνυβρίστους. 3 ἀνηπερεάστους διαφυλάσσειν. 5 μαρτυροντες pap. 9 ἀ[να]δέχο[μαι] Montevectchi. [Δειον]ύσιος Oliver,]ύσιον[Montevectchi.

Translation

— — but of the two remaining offers, I declined that of a temple because this honor is rightly assigned by men to the gods alone; and as for the gold crown (which) you sent, I shall gratefully remit it, for at the beginning of my principate I do not wish to burden you. All that together with the 6475 you received from the emperors before me and had [— —

— — of all of you in common and of each individually, and to preserve you from injury and molestation, as also my deified father desired. Since you bear witness to all that he provided for the city and the 6475, I praise and command you.

The ambassadors [were] Aeacidas son of Ptolemaeus, Antenor son of — — —, Nibytas son of Nibytas, Polycrates son of Didymus, — — — — —, Themison — —

Commentary

O. Montevecchi identified the city as Ptolemais Euergetis and collected the evidence on the Hellenes known as the 6475, who were descended from the early Greek settlers of the Arsinoite nome. A group called Old Arsinoites is attested at a later date in Nos. 105 and 242. To the same city (and not to Ptolemais in Upper Egypt) she assigns *OGIS* 668 = *IGRR* I 1302 of 60/1, which she emends in another article (*Aegyptus* 51 [1971] 215–216) and which should be mentioned here because it is a dedication to Nero by the city and the 6475.

Montevecchi's argument in favor of Nero as the author of the epistle rests partly on the hand, which she attributes to the middle of the first century, and partly on the ambassador Nibytas, in whom she recognizes the homonym of 72/3 in *P. Lond.* 260. The warm terms of respect for the emperor's deified father, which sound more like Titus, Domitian, or Trajan than like Nero or Seneca, came presumably from a secretary. To the above arguments for the identification with Nero may be added the number of ambassadors, at least six, which points to a period before Vespasian issued an edict limiting the number on any one embassy to three (*Digest* 50.7.5.6).

The refusal of divine honors is one of the common themes of imperial letters, but the refusal of the *aurum coronarium* is very rare (see No. 39, line 3, and Montevecchi).

For the ἀποδέχομαι formula of Column II, see the Index or A. Wilhelm, *AnzWien* 65 (1922) 129–136.

40. DOMITIAN ON REQUISITIONS OF TRANSPORT AND LODGINGS, A.D. 81–83

Epiphaneia (= Hamath in Syria). A large block built into the north wall of the Nuri mosque at Hama.

R. Mouterde and Cl. Mondésert, *Syria* 34 (1957) 278–284 with photograph of a squeeze and with facsimile which G. Tchalenko drew from it; J. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *IGLSyrie* 5 (1959) 1998; G. Woodhead, *SEG* 17 (1960) 755; N. Lewis, "Domitian's Order on Requisitioned Transport and Lodgings," *RIDA* 15³ (1968) 135–142. See also H. W. Pleket, "Domitian, the Senate and the Provinces," *Mnemosyne* 14 (1961) 304–306.

- 1 Ἐξ ἐντολῶν Αὐτοκρά
τορος [[Δομ]]ιτιανοῦ Καίσα[α]
ρος Σεβαστοῦ υἱοῦ, Σεβασ[τοῦ],
πρὸς Κλαύδιον Ἀθηνόδωρον
- 5 ἐπίτροπον: Ἐν τοῖς ἐξαιρέ<τ>οις
καὶ μεγάλης χρήζουσιν φρον
τίδος, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός Οὐε[σ]
πασιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιμελείας τετ[υ]
χέναι γεινῶσκω τὰ τῶν πόλεων φι
- 10 λάνθρωπα· οἷς ἐνατενίσας, ἐκέλευ[σε]
μήτε ὑποζυγίων μισθώσεσιν μεῖτε ξε[νιῶν]
ὀχλήσεσιν βαρύνεσθαι τὰς ἐπαρχείας.
ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὑπερεῖ ἢ οὐ<κέ>τι διορθώσεως
τυχόν, οὐ τοῦτο πεφύλακται μένει γὰρ
- 15 μέχρι νῦν παλαι<ἀ> καὶ εὐτονος συνήθεια,
κατ' ὀλίγον χωροῦσα εἰς νόμον, εἰ μὴ ἰσχύε<ιν>.
κωλυθεῖ δύναμει. ἐντέλλομαι δὴ καὶ σοὶ φροντί[δα]
ποιήσασθαι ὅπως μηδεὶς ὑποζύγιον λάβῃ εἰ [μὴ]
ὁ ἐμὸν ἔχων δῖπλωμα· δδικώτατον <γ>άρ ἐστι[ν],
- 20 ἢ χάριτι τινῶν ἢ ἀξί[ω]<σ>εἰ ἐ<π>ιγραφὰς γείνεσθαι, ὥς [μὴ]
δεὶ ἐξεστὶν διδόναι ἢ ἐμοὶ· μηδὲν οὖν γε[νέσ]
θω ὃ τὴν ἐ<μ>ὴν ἐντολὴν καταλύσει καὶ τὴν συμ[φο]
ρωτάτην ταῖς πόλεσιν γνώμην φθερεῖ· βοη[θεῖν]
γὰρ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀπονόουσιν ταῖς ἐπαρχε[ίαις]
- 25 αἱ μόγεις τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἐξαρκοῦ<σιν>· μηδ[ὲ]
βιάζεσθω τις αὐτὰς παρὰ τὴν ἐμὴν βο[ύ]
λησιν· ὁδηγόν τε μηδεὶς λαμβανέτω εἰ μ[ὴ]
ὁ ἐμὸν ἔχων δῖπλωμα· ἐναποσπωμένω[ν]
γὰρ τῶν ἀγροίκων, ἀγεώργητοι μενοῦ[σιν]
- 30 αἱ χῶραι. σὺ <δ>έ, ἢ ἰδί<ο>ις χρησάμενος ὑπο[ζυγί]
[ο]ις ἢ μισθωσάμενος, κάλλιστα ποιήσῃ[ς]
[---]ΠΕΜ[....]ΠΩ[---]ΑΣΟΙ διπλώματα μετακ[---]
[----]ειας [.....] χρωμε[....]ΑΤΗΓΓΣΕΙΣΓ
[-----]Τ[-----]ΠΠΓ[----]ΠΕΜ[---]
- 1 ἐντολ' ὦ ὲν with omega over omicron or theta. 15 ΠΑΛΑΙΚΑΙ. 16 ΙΣΧΥΕ□.
19 ΑΡ. 22 ΕΙΝΗΝ. 25 ΕΞΑΡΚΟΥΜΗΔΜΗΑ. 30 ΙΔΙΩΣ (Tchalenko and Lewis).

Translation

From the instructions of Emperor Domitianus Caesar Augustus, son of <divine Vespasian> Augustus, to Claudius Athenodorus procurator.

Among the special problems which need great care I note that

the privileges of cities have received attention from my divine father Vespasianus Caesar. Intent upon these privileges, he ordered that the provinces be not burdened with insistent demands for renting of animals or with annoying requisitions of lodgings. But nevertheless, this (order of his), whether through *hybris* or because it had not (yet) received correction, has not been maintained. For up to now an inveterate custom survives, and it will gradually become law if it is not vigorously prevented from gaining strength. So I enjoin it upon you to take special care that no one, unless he is provided with my diploma, seize an animal. For it is most unjust that requisitions take place as a favor to people or because of rank, claims that no one but me is authorized to grant. Therefore let nothing happen that will frustrate this order of mine and destroy the policy most advantageous to the cities. For in their exhaustion it is fair to help the provinces, which have barely enough for their own needs. Let no one force them against my will, and let no one unprovided with a diploma from me get a guide. For when the peasants are diverted from their work, the fields remain untilled. And as for you, you will do best to hire beasts or to employ your own — — —

— — — —

Commentary

The document contains instructions of the emperor Domitian to his procurator Claudius Athenodorus (*PIR*² C 794), whether the instructions were *mandata* that he took with him or received in an epistle after he entered upon the procuratorship. It is doubtless a translation, either prepared locally or at Rome with an eye to publication in the province.

The absence of the *cognomen* Germanicus in the name of Domitian probably places the document in 81–83 (see P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser* [*Hypomnemata* 23, 1969] 43–57).

The background is the so-called exhaustion of Syria, Commagene, and Phoenicia and the attempt of Vespasian to relieve them. Lewis points out that the best parallel lies in the edict of Vergilius Capito, *Hibis* 1. For the burden of Roman requisitions one may compare also Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* (see index); for custom becoming law, Lewis; and for diplomata, H.-G. Pflaum, "Essai sur le cursus publicus," *MemAcInscr* 14 (1940) especially 310–314. See also S. Mitchell, "Requisitioned Transport in the Roman Empire," *JRS* 66 (1976) 106–131.

With the exception of one crux in line 13 and another in line 20 the restorations are by the first editors. In lines 27 and 30 Lewis interprets TE as a misspelling of δέ.

Line 13 offers a problem because of the fourteen letters which have been variously read and interpreted but which appear in Tchalenko's drawing as ΥΠΕΡΕΙΗΟΥΕΠΙΤΙ. Two emendations have been proposed previously, ὑπεῖ[ξ]ει ἢ οὐ ἐπ{π}ιδιορθώσεως τυχόν ("que ce soit ou non par complaisance qu'on ait obtenu une dérogation") by Mouterde and Mondésert and <σ>υνέσει ἢ οὐ κτλ. ("wittingly or not") by Lewis, but neither is free of grammatical and palaeographical difficulties. Without emendation the letters ΥΠΕΡΕΙ can be read as a mispronunciation and misspelling of ὕβρει (cf. F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* ([Milan, 1976] 23, 311). The conjunction ἢ is quite inoffensive and easily intelligible, as is the noun διορθώσεως. The corruption may thus be localized in the letters ΕΠΙΤΙ which precede the noun διορθώσεως. Rather than a misspelled and unneeded second prefix ἐπ{π}ι-, they are the ending of the word οὐ(κέ)τι, misread by the engraver.

One of the peculiarities of this hand is that omicron, round in lines 1–11, is in lines 12 ff. a rectangle that cannot be confused with theta or omega. Hence the error ἰσχύεο for ἰσχύειν in line 16 is understandable. This brings us to the second textual problem, that in line 20, where Mouterde and Mondésert read or emended ἀξι(ώ)σει τὸ γραφὰς, Woodhead ἀξι[ώ](σ)ει τὸ γραφὰς, and Lewis ἀξιῶσ(ει) ἐπιγραφὰς γείνεσθαι. The photograph shows something different to each of us, but to me, ἀξιῶΕΕΙΕΙΓΡΑΦΑΣ. The omega is represented, if at all, only by the bar below the small circle (omega has the form \bigcirc). I could follow Lewis in reading a dotted omega and Woodhead in placing angular brackets around the sigma, as I follow Mouterde and Mondésert in their interpretation of the word as ἀξιῶσει. Lewis seems to me quite right in interpreting the next word as ἐπιγραφὰς but not in editing it as ἐπιγραφὰς. The engraved word looks more like ΕΙΓΡΑΦΑΣ than \square ΓΡΑΦΑΣ, but not like ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΣ.

41. DOMITIAN TO UNKNOWN AT EPHEBUS

Ephesus. Fragment of a marble plaque found along a street south of the upper market, now in the "Domitian Gallery," a

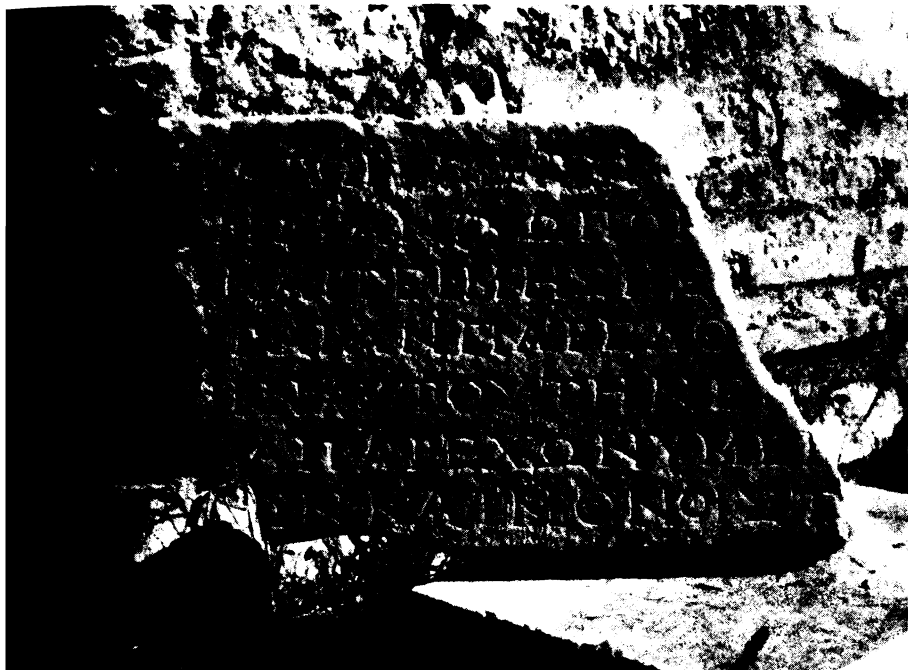


Plate 2. No. 41.

storage chamber, where it was examined in the autumn of 1973 (Plate 2).

F. Eichler, *AnzWien* 102 (1965) 104–105, No. 4; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1967) 508; [*Année ép.* (1967): 473].

41

[Αὐτοκ]ράτωρ Δομιτιανὸς [Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς]
 [–] παρ' ἀνθρώποι[ς – – – – –]
 [–] καὶ τιμῆς ἡξ[ι– – – – –]
 [–] γὰρ ἂν παρελθ[– – – – –]
 5 [ὅπως εἰδῶσ]ιν αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐ[νοίαν – – – – –]
 [– – –] α παρέχων ἡμεῖ[ν – – – – –]
 [– – – –]ων καὶ μόνοις τ[– – – – –]
 [– – – – –]

The name of Domitian has been erased but is slightly visible. The restorations are by Eichler except for line 6 (J. and L. Robert).

42. DOMITIAN TO THE DELPHIANS, A.D. 90

Delphi. Of the four pertinent fragments of an inscribed cornice, Inv. Nos. 2297, 2298, 3653, and 6171, the first three were examined on 7 November 1973 in the Lower Lapidarium (Room 11 of the Museum at Delphi). The fourth was already lost in 1917. For the architectural background see J. Jannoray, *BCH* 68–69 (1944–1945) 75–93, and for the associated texts see *SIG*³ 821.

B. Haussoullier, *BCH* 6 (1882) 452, No. 82, two fragments only; [Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, No. 11]; E. Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis*, 67, added a third fragment (3653) and connected the inscription with the south wall of the temple; H. Pomtow, *SIG*³ (1917) 821C, added a fourth fragment (6171) known to him from O. Mueller's notebook and republished all four; [McCrum and Woodhead, *Select Documents*, 463].

42

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Οὐεσπασια[νοῦ] υἱός, [[Δομετιανός]] Σεβαστό[ς
 Γ]ερμανικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ·Θ·,
 αὐτοκρά[τωρ]
 τὸ ·ΚΑ·, ὑπατος ·τὸ ΙΕ, τειμητῆς διὰ β[ί]ο]υ, πατήρ πατρίδος, Δελφῶν
 ἀρ[χου]σι καὶ τῇ πόλει ὕ χαίρειν ὕ Φύσει δίκαιόν ἐστιν καὶ εὐσεβὲς τὴν
 προθε[σμίαν]
 τοῦ Πυθικοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀκολούθως τοῖ[ς 'Α]μφικτυονικοῖς νόμοις φυλά[ττε]σθαι,
 μηδενὸς μέρους τ[ῶν] ἀρχαίων ἐθῶν παρενχειρουμένου· ὃ ἴν[α] γένη
 ται ἀκολούθως τῇ προαἰρέσει μου· ἔγραψ[α — — — —]ιεν[— — —] ἀνθυπάτω
 ὕν [Οἱ πρεσβευταὶ] ἦσαν Ἐπίνεικ[ος] Εὐδώρου, Ῥούστικος Εὐδάμου,
 οὗς {1} διὰ εὐδο[κίμου]
 5 [πρε]σβείας ἀξίους κρε[ίνω τοῦ ἐφοδίου, εἰ μὴ προῖκα ἐπηγγείλαντο πρεσβεῦ
 date
 σειν — — — —] Ἐρρωσθε ὕ 'Α[πὸ — — — —]

Translation

Imperator Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, son of divine Vespasian, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the ninth time, emperor for the twenty-first, consul fifteen times, censor for life, pater patriae, to the archons and city of the Delphians, greetings.

It is naturally right and devout to observe the period of the Pythian festival according to the Amphictyonic laws without disturbance of any part of the ancient customs. That this may be

done in accordance with my policy I have written to the proconsul [— — —. The ambassadors] were Epinicus son of Eudorus, Rusticus son of Eudamus, whom I regard as having by a reputable embassy deserved [the travel allowance, in case they have not offered to go at their own expense]. Farewell.

Commentary

The emperor assures the Delphians that he is helping to make the festival a success by writing to the proconsul (of Achaea) probably to suspend court hearings, etc. Since Achaea and Macedonia too were senatorial provinces, this may be another case of Domitian's interference, which, however well intentioned and justified, would displease many.

Before the word ἀνθυπάτω in line 4 Bourguet's drawing shows a N, which he left out of the text and which Oliver did not find. Was it τῷ νῦν ἀνθυπάτῳ? The letters ΙΔΙΑ in line 4 were on the fragment now lost and could not be checked in 1973.

In line 3 Bourguet, followed by Pomtow, restored φυλά[σσε]σθαι. In line 4 Pomtow restored [ν πρεσβευταί] and suggested, instead of a third name, οὓς ἰδίᾳ εὐδο[κίμου] at the end. In line 5 Bourguet restored ἀ[πὸ, Pomtow [πρε]σβείας and κρε[ίνετε, Oliver κρε[ίνω, κτλ.

With [πρε]σβείας ἀξίους in line 5 compare No. 184, lines 47–48, Ἀγαθοκλεῖ Ἀγαθοκλέους ἡ διὰ τὰς πρεσβε[ί]ας ἀξιώσ[ις] ἅς πα[ρ] ἔμοι συντελεῖ ν ἀποδοθήσεται δή. And No. 45, Ἀντιγένης, [ὄν τοῦ τῆς] πρεσβείας ἄξιον κρεῖνω ἐφοδίο[ν, εἰ μὴ προῖ]κα ἐπηγγείλατο [πρεσβεῦσειν.

43. DOMITIAN TO THE CHIANS, A.D. 93

Chios. Formerly in the fortress but now lost. A thorough but unavailing search for it was made in October 1973.

G. Zolotas, Ἀθηνᾶ 20 (1908) 236–237, No. 50; G. Lafaye, *IGRR IV* (1927) 931; [McCrum and Woodhead, *Select Documents*, 465].

43

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ]
[θεο]ῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ υἱὸς Δομιτιανὸς]
[Σεβαστὸς] Γερμανικὸς, ἀρχιερε[ὺς μέγιστος],

5 [δημαρχι]κῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ', [αὐτοκράτωρ]
 [τὸ κβ', ὅ]πατος τὸ ι[γ]', τειμητῆς [διὰ βίου],
 [πατὴρ πατρίδ]ος, Χίων ἄρχουσι, βουλῇ, δῆ[μω ν]
 [vacat χα]ίρειν vacat
 [-----]αθην ἡξ[ι]ωσαν τὰ ἀποτι[μῇ]
 [ματα -----]

1–4 Zolotas. 5 κβ' Lafaye; cetera Zolotas. 6–7 Zolotas. 8 ἀποτιμῆματα Oliver, ἡξ[ι]ωσαν τὰ ἀπὸ τῇ[s] Zolotas.

The last visible letter of line 8 appears in the transcript as an iota and was interpreted by Zolotas and other editors unnecessarily as part of an eta. The word is ἀποτιμῆματα, a special kind of security practiced for the protection of wards and dowries, for which the reader may consult the masterly discussion of H. J. Wolff, "Das attische Apotimema," *Festschrift für Ernst Rabel* (Tübingen, 1954) 2:293–333. The first four letters of line 8 could perhaps be read as κ]αθ' ἡν.

44–45. TRAJAN TO THE DELPHIANS ON THE PYTHODORUS AFFAIR

Delphi. From the south wall of the Temple of Apollo (Pomtow) four fragments, Nos. 443 + 1567 and 3954 + 3800, with two imperial letters engraved by the same hand but not necessarily at the same time. These were examined in November 1973 in the Open Air Lapidarium north of the bend in the road.

G. Kaibel, *Hermes* 8 (1874) 416, No. 5 "ad templi peribolum" (fragment 1567 only); E. Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis*, 70, the real *editio princeps* of all four fragments; H. Pomtow, *Hermes* 41 (1906) 372–374, No. 5; A. Henemann, *Der äussere und innere Stil in Trajans Briefen* (Diss. Giessen, 1935) 14–15, Frg. 33–34; E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian* (Vienna, 1939) 49–51; A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 33–37, Nos. 287–288 with photograph.

44. THE EPISTLE OF A.D. 98

44

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱ]ός, Νέρβας Τραιανὸς Σεβα[σ]τὸς
 Γερμανικός, [ἀρχι]

[ερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξο]υσίας τὸ \bar{B} , ὑπατος τὸ \bar{B} , Δελφῶν τῇ π[όλει
χαίρειν]
[Τὴν τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν] καὶ αὐτονομίαν καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ
αὐτοκρατοράω[ν συνκε]
[χωρηκότων καὶ μέχρι νῦν πεφυλα]κότων καὶ αὐτὸς βεβαιῶ, κατὰ μ[η]δεμίαν
ἀφορμὴν βου[λόμει]
5 [νος ὑμεῖν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἐλλείπειν τι ἢ]ς ἐσχέκατε χάριτος. Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἔστησε
κατὰ Πυθοδώ[ρου]
[ὁ Δομιτιανός?, ἐπιστελῶ τῷ] ἀνθυπάτῳ καὶ φίλῳ μου Ἑρηνίῳ Σατορνεῖνῳ
καὶ τῷ ἐπι[τρό]
[πω — — — — — Ῥούφῳ δηλῶσαι] μοι, ἵνα ἐὰν οὕτως ἔχη ὡς ἐγράψατε, τύχη τοῦ
δικαίου Ὁ πρεσ
[βευτῆς ἦν — — — — —, καὶ αὐ]τῷ τῆς πρεσβείας εὐλογον τὸ ἐφόδιον
δοθήτω, εἰ μ[ὴ]
[προῖκα ὑπέσχηται πρεσβεύσειν vacat] Ἑρρωσθε vacat

1 Bourguet. 2 π[όλει χαίρειν Kaibel; cetera Bourguet. 3 [Τὰς τε δωρεὰς καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν] Bourguet, [Τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως Plassart; τὰ δόγμα]τα Plassart, συνκε[χωρηκῶτων Oliver. 4 ὑμῖν εὐνοικῶς συγκεχωρη]κῶτων Bourguet, καὶ μέχρι νῦν πεφυ[λα]κῶτων Oliver, τῶν ὑμῖν πάντα ταῦτα Plassart; [μη]δεμίαν ἀφορμὴν βου[λόμενος Bourguet. 5 [ὑμᾶς ἐλλείπειν τι ἥς πρὸς ἡμᾶς] Bourguet, ὑμῖν δι' ἡμᾶς μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν ἥς] Plassart, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Oliver; Πυθοδώ[ρου Kaibel. 6 ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐπιστελῶ Oliver, ἐνετειλάμην τῷ ἄ]νθυπάτῳ Bourguet; ἐπι[τρόπῳ Kaibel. 7 Ῥούφῳ πάντα πέμψαι] Bourguet, δηλῶσαι] Oliver. 7–8 πρεσ[βευτῆς Kaibel. 8 ἡρέθη Plassart, ἦν Oliver; καὶ αὐ]τ[ῷ Bourguet. 8–9 εἰ μὴ] προῖκα ὑπέσχηται πρεσβεύσειν] Bourguet.

Translation

[Imperator Caesar] Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus, [son of deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician] power for the second time, twice consul, to the city of the Delphians, [greetings]:

[Your city's freedom] and autonomy, which the emperors before me [have granted and preserved up to now], I too guarantee, being in no way willing [that any lessening] of the favor you have had [should befall you in my time]. Concerning the proceedings which [Domitian] started against Pythodorus [I shall write to] my friend Herennius Saturninus [the] proconsul and to the procurator [— — — Rufus to explain them] to me, so that if things are as you described them, Pythodorus may receive justice. The ambassador [was — — —]. Let the proper travel

allowance for the embassy be paid to him, unless [he has promised to make the embassy at his own expense]. Farewell.

Commentary

Among Trajan's titles that of *pater patriae* is missing. We know from Pliny's *Panegyric* 21 that at first he did not accept this title, and on 20 February 98 he did not yet have it (*CIL* XVI 42). Trajan was consul for the second time in 98 and for the third time in 100. The reference "twice consul" thus limits the date to 98 or 99. Trajan presumably obtained the tribunician power for the first time right after his accession on 25, 26, or 27 October of 97, for the second time perhaps in September or late in October 98, and for the third time possibly on 10 December 98 (see M. Hammond, *MAAR* 19 [1949] 45–55). The date of this epistle seems to fall in the autumn of A.D. 98, and of course it is earlier than the second epistle, which was sent after Trajan had accepted the title *pater patriae*.

The Delphians have asked the emperor Trajan not only to guarantee their traditional freedom and autonomy but to assist their fellow-citizen Pythodorus, who had been injured by proceedings started by some authority. The two requests would seem to have been related, because both matters are mentioned in the later letter engraved below, No. 45. The proceedings against Pythodorus, accordingly, threatened the freedom and autonomy of Delphi. Who set them on foot (ἔστησε)?

An archon P. Aelius Pythodorus, who is dated by G. Daux (*Chronologie delphique* [Paris, 1943] 93) to A.D. 119 (likewise by Cl. Vatin, *BCH* 94 [1970] 687 f.) and an earlier archon Pythodorus son of Xenagoras doubtless came from the same family. One or both of them may even be identical with our Pythodorus. The prosecution of Claudius Hipparchus at Athens provides a parallel and strongly suggests that we are dealing with the intervention of Domitian in the internal affairs of a free city. Like Domitian, Trajan too found intervention in the affairs of Greek cities necessary, but he did it differently. He and Hadrian sent them *correctores liberarum civitatum* (*GRBS* 14 [1973] 389–405).

For the restoration of line 4 compare No. 19, line 54, διαφύλασσω τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων πολιτείαν, and No. 37, line 35, ὅσα θεὸς Κλαύδιος . . . ὑμεῖν συνεχώρησε καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάττειν [π]ροαιροῦμαι.

This proconsul, L. Herennius Saturninus (*PIR*² H 126), cos.

100, was the man to whom Plutarch dedicated his book *Against Colotes*. The verb in line 6 was a present or future rather than an aorist because of the subjunctive (τύχη) in the subordinate clause of line 7.

45. THE EPISTLE OF A.D. 99

45

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱός, Νέρβας Τραϊανὸς] Σεβαστὸς Γερμα
 νικός· ἀρχ[ιε]
 [ρεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ·Γ·, ὕπατ]ος τὸ ·Β·, πατήρ
 πατ[ρί]δος, [Δελ]
 [φῶν τῇ πόλει vacat χαίρειν vacat]νν[vacat]
 [-----] αὐτονομία[.]
 5 [-----]το τῶν πρεσ
 [βε -----]ης ζημία[-----]θως καὶ τοῖς ν
 [-----]Ἐρεννί]ου Σατορνεῖνου [τοῦ τότε γενομένου] ἀνθυπάτου τῆς
 [Ἀχαΐας καὶ Ῥ]ούφου τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου Ὁ πρε[σβευτῆς ἦν Γ. Ἰο]ύλιος
 Ἀντιγένης,
 [ὄν τοῦ τῆς] πρεσβείας ἄξιον κρεῖνω ἐφοδίο[ν, εἰ μὴ προῖ]κα ἐπηγγέλατο νν
 10 [----ε]ἰδὼν Νοβembeρίων ἀπὸ Ἀντίου [Ἐρρῶσθαι] ὑμᾶς βούλομαι νννν

1 ἀ[ρχιερεὺς Kaibel; cetera Bourguet. 2 [ρεὺς μέγιστος Kaibel; δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ' Bourguet; ὕπατ]ος Kaibel; [Δελφῶν] Bourguet. 3 [τῇ πόλει χαίρειν] Bourguet. 4 τῇν] αὐτονομία[ν Bourguet. 6 [βεντῶν, τ]ῆς ζημία[ς, ἀκολου]θως Bourguet. 7 [κηρύγμασιν (vel [γράμμασιν]) . . . Ἐρεννί]ου Σατορνεῖνου [τοῦ κρατίστου Bourguet, [τοῦ γενομένου] Groag, [τοῦ τότε γενομένου] Oliver, [τοῦ φίλου μου καὶ] Plassart. 8 [Ἀχαΐας καὶ . . . Ῥ]ούφου Bourguet, καὶ Ῥ]ούφου Plassart; Ὁ πρε[σβευτῆς Ἰο]ύλιος Ἀντιγένης Bourguet, πρε[σβευτῆς ἡρέθη Γ. Ἰο]ύλιος Plassart, ἦν Oliver (AJA 75 [1971] 450). 9 [ᾧ δοθήτω ὅτι τῆς] Bourguet, [ὄν τοῦ τῆς] Oliver; ἐφοδίο[ν εἰ μὴ προῖκ]α Bourguet, ἐφοδίο[ν Oliver. 10 [πρεσβεύσειν. Πρ. ε]ἰδὼν Bourguet; Ἐ[ρρῶσθαι] Bourguet.

Translation

[Imperator Caesar Nerva Trajan] Augustus Germanicus, [son of divine Nerva], pontifex [maximus, tribunician power for the

third time], twice [consul], pater patriae, [to the city of the Delphians, greetings].

----] autonomy [-----] damage [-----] of [Herennius] Saturninus, [at that time the] proconsul of [Achaëa, and] of Rufus the procurator. The ambassador [was C.] Julius Antigenes, [whom] I consider worthy of [the] travel allowance [for the] embassy, [in case he did not] volunteer (to go) at his own expense. November [— — before the] Ides, from Antium. I wish you [farewell].

Commentary

The date falls between 6 and 12 November of A.D. 98 or 99. Bourguet, Groag, and Plassart restored a reference to Trajan's third tenure of the tribunician power because the epistle was sent from Antium and Trajan is not supposed to have returned to Italy as early as November 98. By November 99, however, L. Herennius Saturninus was no longer governor of Achaëa, as Groag points out; hence Groag restored in line 7 a reference to "the ex-governor of Achaëa," but the validity of the report depended not on his status as an ex-governor but on the fact that at the time of the report he was governor.

This epistle pertains to the subject(s) treated in the preceding letter. C. Julius Antigenes twenty years later was Delphian ambassador to Hadrian (No. 62).

46. TRAJAN TO THE ALEXANDRIANS, A.D. 98

Oxyrhynchus. Papyrus of the Egypt Exploration Society, now stored in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (Plate 3).

P. J. Parsons, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 42 (London, 1974) 76–78, No. 3022.

46

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱὸς Νέρβας Τραιανὸς]
 [ᵂ Σεβαστὸς Γ]ερμαν[ικός, δ]ρχ[ι]ερεῦ[ς] μέγι[στος ᵂ]
 [δημαρχικῆ]ς ἐξουσί[α]ς τὸ β, ὑπάτος, Ἀλέξ[ανδρέ]
 [ων τῇ πόλει χ(αίρειν)]ᵂ Καὶ τ[ῇ]ν τῆς πόλεως ἡ[μῶν ἀπο]
 [δεχόμενο]ς ἐξα[ίρε]τον πρὸς τοὺς Σεβ[αστοὺς]
 5 [εὔνοια]ν, καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πα

[τρός μο]ν μεμνημένος ἃς παρέσχεν ὑμῖν
 [.....]ν [έν] ταῖς πρώτ[αι]ς τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ
 [ἐνεκ]α τούτων τῶν δικαίων ἔχων καὶ τὸς
 [π]ρ[ό]ς ἡμᾶς διάθεσιν ἰδίαν, παρεθέμην
 10 ὑμᾶς πρῶτον μὲν ἐμαυτῷ, εἶτα καὶ τῷ
 φίλῳ μου καὶ ἐπάρχῳ Πομπείῳ Πλάντῃ,
 ἵνα μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος προνοῇ
 ὑμῶν τῆς εὐσταθοῦς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς
 εὐθηνίας καὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ καθ' ἕκασ
 15 [τον δι]καίων· ἐξ ὧν εὐδελον οὐ[....]
 [.....] τοῦτο μέγιστον ἔργῳ[ν]
 [..... ν]ομίζοντος τουμ[.....]
 [..... μ]εταλαμβάν[ει]ν [.....]
 20 [-----]μα[-----]
 [-----]ο[-----]
 [-----]

3 ἡμῶν, l. ὑμῶν. 9 ἡμᾶς, l. ὑμᾶς.



Plate 3. No. 46.

Translation

— — — Trajan Augustus] Germanicus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the second time, consul, to the Alexandrians
— —

[Appreciating] your city's extraordinary [loyalty] to the Augusti, and remembering the benefactions which the *divus* my father conferred upon you [previously] in the early days of the reign, and, [as far as] these claims [are concerned], having, I too, a personal feeling for you, I commended you first to myself, then also to my friend and prefect Pompeius Planta, in order that he might see with every care to your undisturbed tranquillity and your food-supply and your communal and individual rights. From which — — — clear — — — this greatest of works — — —

Commentary

The restorations of this courteous epistle are due to Parsons except for the end of line 2, the beginning and end of line 3 (ῥ[μῶν] Parsons, cetera Oliver), and the beginning of line 4. For the lost line before line 1 Parsons's restoration is here adopted with substitution of filiation for Νέρονας as *cognomen*.

The identity of the emperor is assured by mention of the prefect Pompeius Planta (line 11), whom Stein, *Präfekten*, 48–49 and G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 16 (1975) 275 placed in A.D. 98–100. Trajan's second tenure of the tribunician power probably ran from October through 9 December 98, as M. Hammond argued in *MAAR* 19 (1949) 45–55. He was already twice consul, though the second time is not mentioned in line 2.

The restoration of lines 2–4 is the chief textual problem. At the end of line 4, as Parsons pointed out, the word is Σεβ[αστούς], which would extend about three letters beyond the length of lines 5–14. Therefore, Parsons assumed an abbreviation Σεβ[αστ(ούς)]. Since, however, the end of lines 5–14 leaves plenty of room, we can entertain the possibility that line 4 did extend three letters further. That means three letters more also at the end of line 3, after which Parsons had no valid restoration for the lost beginning of line 4. With three letters more in line 3 the formulaic ἀποδέχονται provides the participle needed in lines 3–4. That means two or three letters more also in line 2, where Parsons recognized but could not accommodate what had to be restored. It now becomes possible to restore either

Ἀλεξ[ανδρεῦ|σι χαίρειν] or an abbreviation like Ἀλεξ[ανδρέ|ων τῇ πόλει χ(αίρειν)]. One more letter space would now be required in line 1, which is a shorter line slightly indented at beginning and end.

47. TRAJAN TO AN ISTHMIAN SYNOD, A.D. 99

Corinth. Found in the American excavations and now No. 2642 in the Corinth Museum, where it was examined on 6 May 1974. Height of letters: 0.009 m. in lines 1–3, 0.007 m. in lines 4–13, 0.008 m. in line 15.

D. J. Geagan, “A Letter of Trajan to a Synod of Isthmia,” *Hesperia* 44 (1975) 396–401 with photograph.

47

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσ]αρ, θεοῦ Νέ[ρωνα υἱός, Νέρουας]
 [Τραϊανός Σεβαστ]ός Γερμανικ[ός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος],
 [δημαρχικῆς ἐξου]σίας τὸ τρίτο[ν, ὕπατος τὸ δεύτερον],
 [πατὴρ πατρίδος, τ]ῇ Ἰσθμικῇ σ[υνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν]
 5 [Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν ὧ]ν χαίρειν ὧ[vacat]
 [-----]πειαν οὔτε ὑπο[-----]
 [-----]ν καὶ φυλαττε[-----]
 [-----]σθε οὐν καὶ ὑμ[-----]
 [-----]ς ὅσον τῶν θυσι[ῶν-----]
 10 [----- Ποσε]ιδῶνος ποιεῖσθα[ι-----]
 [Πρεσβευτῆς ἦν -----]ονιος Φιλάδελφο[ς ----- ὃν τοῦ]
 [τῆς πρεσβείας ἀξιο]ν κρεῖνω ἐφοδίο[ν, εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέ]
 [σχηται πρεσβεύσει]ν ὧ Ἑρρῶσθαι ὑμ[ᾶς βούλομαι]
 [] vacat []
 [] ἔρ]ρωσθε vacat []

Translation

[Imperator Caes]ar [Nerva Trajan August]us Germanicus, [son] of deified Ne[rva, pontifex maximus, tribunician] power for the third time, [twice consul, pater patriae], to the Isthmian meeting [of the Athletes Devoted to Heracles], greetings.

----- sacrifices ----- [Ambassador was -----]vius Philadelphus [of -----, whom] I judge [worthy of the] travel allowance

[for the embassy, in case he has not undertaken to go on the embassy at his own expense. I wish] you health.

Commentary

Geagan's restorations are here retained for the most part, but he restores Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν in lines 4–5 and explicitly rejects Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν because he thinks that the Athletes were organized oecumenically, whereas the Dionysiac Artists, he thinks, were still in local synods. Still the restoration of a reference to athletes seems to fit the space better. In No. 188 the word σύνοδος seems to mean “gathering” rather than “guild” or “society,” and that would be the sense here.

The epistle is dated to Trajan's third tenure of the tribunician power (10 December 98 through 9 December 99). On the victory epithet Germanicus, see P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser* (*Hypomnemata* 23, 1969) 58–70.

48. TRAJAN TO THE SMYRNEANS, CA. A.D. 100

Aphrodisias, from the Archive Wall. The following text of this unpublished inscription was kindly provided by Joyce Reynolds. For other documents from the Archive Wall, see Nos. 1, 69, 211, 218, 219, 278, 279, 281, 282, and 284.

[Edited by Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* [London, 1982] 113–115, no. 14. K.C.]. Summarized and interpreted by J. M. Reynolds, *Vestigia* 17 (1973) 120.

48

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραιανὸς Σμυρναίοις vacat

Οὐδένα βούλομαι ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων ἀναγκάζεσθαι εἰς ὑμετέραν λει
τουργίαν, καὶ
μάλιστα ἐξ Ἀφροδισιάδος, ἐξηρημένης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐπαρχείας,
ὥστε μήτε

εἰς τὰς κοινὰς τῆς Ἀσίας μήτε εἰς ἑτέρας λειτουργίας ὑπάγεσθαι, Τιβέριον
Ἰουλιανὸν Ἀτταλον

5 ἀπολύω τοῦ ἐν Σμύρνη ναοῦ καὶ μάλιστα μαρτυρούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος.
Ἐγραψα δὲ περὶ

vacat τούτων καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Βάλβῳ τῷ φίλῳ μου καὶ ἀνθυπάτῳ vacat

Translation

Imperator Caesar Trajan to the Smyrneans:

I want no one from the free cities to be coerced into undertaking a liturgy for you, and particularly not from Aphrodisias, since the city has been excepted from the provincial formula, so as not be drawn into the common liturgies of Asia or into others. I release Tiberius Julianus Attalus from the temple service at Smyrna and particularly when he has testimonials by his own ancestral city. I have written concerning all this to Julius Balbus, my friend the proconsul.

Commentary

Trajan's titles are not given, but Q. Julius Balbus, cos. 85 (*PIR*² J 199), is known to have been proconsul of Asia in 100. Trajan's policy in respect to the free cities was to maintain or vindicate their advantages and freedom.

The Smyrneans have tried to make Julianus Attalus of Aphrodisias undertake a financial liturgy at the temple of the *koinon* of Asia at Smyrna, where he apparently resided. The emperor releases him primarily on the legal ground that he is a citizen of a free city, especially one that enjoys special immunities, but he points out also that Julianus Attalus had testimonials for services performed at Aphrodisias, hence was no evader. The coercion seemed not only illegal but unfair.

49. TRAJAN TO THE PERGAMENES, A.D. 114–116

Pergamum. Found November 1885 near the Traianeum and now in the Pergamum Museum in East Berlin, where it was examined in September 1972.

Th. Mommsen, *CIL* III Suppl. (after 1885) 7086, with suggestions by W. Dittenberger and a drawing; M. Fränkel, *IPerg* 2 (Berlin, 1895) 203–208, No. 269 with drawing; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 390, No. 73; G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 336; A. Henneemann, *Der äussere und innere Stil in Trajans Briefen* (Diss. Leipzig, 1935) 9–11, Frg. 27; Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 450. [Mentioned by Lafascade, *De epistulis*, as No. 15].

Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1451; P. Herrmann, *IstMitt* 25 (1975) 157.

In its entirety Fränkel No. 269 contains a number of documents which need not be reproduced here: to wit, part of a Greek epistle perhaps from the proconsul of Asia (this was a covering letter for a *senatus consultum*), a local date by high priest in Greek, then a Latin *s.c. factum de postulatione* (which raises the contests connected with the temple of Zeus Philios and the emperor Trajan to the rank of the contests in honor of Rome and Augustus), then a Latin document with a Greek heading [Κεφάλαιον ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐντολῶν (this part of the *mandata* assures the same prizes for the newly elevated contests as for those in honor of Rome and Augustus). The last extant document in the collection is the epistle of Trajan to Pergamum, which reads as follows.

49

- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱ]ὸς Νέρουας Τραϊανὸς Ἄριστος ^{VV}
 [Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Δακικὸς, ἀρ]χιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς
 25 [ἐξουσίας τὸ Ἰ., αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ., ὑπα]τος τὸ [πατὴρ πατρίδος
 [vacat Περγαμηνῶν ἀρχουσι, βουλῇ]ι, δῆμωι χαίρειν vacat
 [Ἐλθούσης πρὸς με πρεσβείας ὑμῶν ἀποδεξά]μενος αὐτῆς τό τε ἀξίωμα ^V
 [καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα, περὶ πάντων ὅσα ἐν αὐ]τοῖς ἡξιώσατε συνκατεθέμην
 [----- μ]ετ᾿άσχοιτε· ἐπιτρέπω οὖν ὑ
 30 [μεῖν -----]λόντων ἐν ἀγοραίοις
 [-----] τῶν θεωρίων ὠρισμένον
 [-----] ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπο
 [-----]

23–26 Mommsen. 27 [ἐλθούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ πρεσβείας ὑμῶν ἀποδεξά]μενος Dittenberger in *CIL*, [ἐλθούσης ὑμῶν πρεσβείας Fränkel. 28 [καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν ἐνεδείξασθε Dittenberger, τὰ συγγράμματα περὶ πάντων ἃ ἐν αὐτ]οῖς Fränkel, ὅσα Oliver. 30 ὑ [μῖν Mommsen.

Translation

[Imperator Caesar] Nerva Trajan Optimus [Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, son of divus Nerva], pontifex maximus, tribunician [power for the –th time, emperor for the –th], six times consul, pater patriae, to the archons, council], demos [of the Pergamenes], greetings. [An embassy of yours having come to me], I approved its request [and the regulations] and agreed [concerning all that]

you wanted [in] them. — — — you may obtain a share. Therefore, I permit you — — — — in market — — — of the spectacles, fixed — — — I see also the — — — —

Commentary

The date depends on the presence of *Optimus* and the absence of *Parthicus* in Trajan's name. F. Lepper (*Trajan's Parthian War* [Oxford, 1948] 34–53) assigns the official conferring of the title *Optimus* to the autumn of 114 and that of *Parthicus* to February 116.

As Fränkel notes, it is also to be expected that this epistle in answer to a request concerns the Traianeia and that the reference to market people in line 30 suggests an interest in guaranteeing a plentiful supply of food through a lifting of the import tax at the festival season. Hadrian's epistle at the Piraeus, No. 77 *infra*, may be compared.

The discovery of an inscription at Miletus with a parallel dossier on the establishment of the *Διδύμεια Κομμόδεια* in honor of Commodus supports here the thesis of Mommsen, Fränkel, Johnson, and Magie that the extract from Trajan's *mandata* began [*Cum secundum meam* (not *eius* as K. M. T. Atkinson, *RIDA* 9 [1962] 267, maintained) *c*] *onstitutionem* and that an imperial constitution prepared the way for a *senatus consultum* (see P. Herrmann, *IstMitt* 25 [1975] 157). A. Iulius Quadratus (*PIR*² J 507 and further Chr. Habicht, *AltPerg* 8.3, 41–43, No. 20 commentary) established an iselastic *agon* and obtained Trajan's permission for this new penteteric festival, Traianeia Diphileia.

50–53. TRAJAN TO CLAUDIANUS [— — —] AT PESSINUS, A.D. 114–116

Pessinus. Now lost. Two badly worn fragments of an inscription with letters 0.03 m. high. Fragment a was copied at Balahisar (Pessinus) by Perrot, Ramsay, and Sterrett, fragment b at Sivrihisar by Körte, Ramsay, and Sterrett.

G. Perrot, *Exploration de la Galatie* (Paris, 1862) 214, No. 109 (fragment a only); A. Körte, *AthMitt* 22 (1897) 44, No. 25 (a and b); [Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, No. 12; Cagnat and Lafaye, *IGRR* III (1906) 228]; A. Hennemann, *Der äussere und innere Stil in Trajans Briefen* (Diss. Giessen, 1935) 12–14, Frgs. 29–32; W. H. Buckler, "Les lettres impériales de Pessinonte," *RevPhil* 63 (1937) 104–


111 and 404 from copies by W. M. Ramsay and J. R. S. Sterrett made in 1883 and with Ramsay's Greek text and drawings.

50

a

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱὸς Νέρ]ουας Τρα[ιανὸς]
 [Ἀριστος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Δακικ]ὸς υἱ Κλαυδια[νῶ υἱ]
 [---- vacat χ]αίρειν vacat
 [-----]υς πάλαι γε[----]
 5 [-----]αι σε καὶ τὸν [υ]ιό[ν σου]
 [----- ι]σταμένους ἔχω [...]
 [----- ι]μφειβλατώρῃα δύο [...]
 [-----]α τέσσαρα ἔλαβον [...]
 [----- Ἐρρῶσθαί σε βούλ]ομαι υἱ Πρὸ τῇ Καλανδῶν []
 10 [vacat -----] Ἀπ' Ἀντίου vacat
 vacat
 51 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Νέρουας Τραια]νὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμαν[ικὸς]
 [Δακικὸς Κλαυδιανῶ --- χ]αίρειν. Σὲ γεγ[ονότα ---]
 [-----]

b

52 [-----]
 [...]ε  τὸν σύνεθ[ρ -----]
 Ἐρρῶσθαί σε βούλ[ομαι -----]
 Καλανδῶν Ὀκτωβρί[ων]
 53 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Νέρουας [Τραιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερ]-
 5 μανικὸς Δακικὸς υἱ Κλαυδι[ανῶ ----- χ]αίρειν
 Τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός μ[ου -----]
 σοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν πεμπομέ[ων ----- ἀποδε]-
 χόμενος ἔλαβον ἡδέω[ς -----]
 τριμίτων ζεύγη δύο [- -----]
 Ἐρρῶσθα[ί σε βούλομαι]

In No. 50 both Körte and Ramsay restored a short line 1 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Νέρ]ουας Τρα[ιανὸς] and a short line 2, of which Ramsay's, the better version, reads [Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικ]ὸς Κλαυδια[νῶ . . .]. The long lines with new restorations in 1–2 are by Oliver. The other restorations are by Ramsay and Buckler.

In Nos. 51–53 the readings and restorations are those of Ramsay.

Translation

50. [Imperator Caesar] Nerva Trajan [Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, son of divus Nerva, to] Claudianus — — — greetings.

— — — long ago — — — you and [your] son — — — I have — — —
two cloaks with clasps — — — I [gladly] received four — — — — I
[wish] you farewell.

Tenth day before the Calends [of — —] from Antium.

Commentary

These four epistles from Trajan are all addressed to an individual and probably come from a wall engraved at the order and expense of the unknown recipient Claudianus [— — —], a local grandee, not a merchant, perhaps a relative of Cominius Claudianus (*PIR*² C 432).

On block b the emperor's name in the second epistle (No. 53) begins one space out in the left margin. We may assume a similar spacing at the beginning of each epistle in the series.

The immediate problems are the order of the two blocks and the form of the emperor's name with or without filiation. On block b (No. 52) the phrase Ἐρρῶσθαί σε βούλομαι begins at the left edge (which was not preserved). Since it may have been, and probably was, an accident that in two epistles of block b the formula began at the left edge, the presentation of texts from a (Nos. 50 and 51) should not start from any such premise.

On block b the second epistle (No. 53) omits the filiation from the emperor's name. Does that imply the omission of the emperor's filiation from all the other epistles? Probably not, but it certainly raises the question in each case. The second epistle of block a (No. 51) has a long line, even when we restore it without the filiation. The length of this line poses a difficulty for an editor of the preceding first epistle (No. 50) of block a. Does the first epistle have a shorter line than the second, or is the heading of the first epistle longer than that of the second epistle? The lines on any one block, not always but normally, are about the same length. Therefore it may be inferred that the heading of the first epistle of block a is longer than that of the second; in fact it is longer partly because the heading of the first includes the filiation while that of the second does not, and partly because also some epithet or *cognomen*, omitted in the heading of the second epistle, has made the heading of the first unusually long. The latter could be the epithet Ἀριστος which Trajan used for a while in 114 and then discontinued. One may perhaps explain the presence and absence of filiation in the emperor's name on the assumption that Claudianus, an Easterner, had no great

Commentary

The epistle on Fragment A appears to be the first in a series because the letters of lines 1–5 are slightly larger than those of lines 6–9 and those on Fragment B, which accordingly belongs below Fragment A. The length of line 2 on Fragment A is more or less accurately measurable because of formulas. Whether it began with *δος* or with *Περγαμη* is unknown. Since line 1 must have contained the element *pater patriae*, the epistle did not emanate from Nerva.

On Fragment B it is probable that a third epistle began at the beginning of the second line. Given the approximate length of line known from the imperial titles of Fragment A, we can restore Trajan's titles and eliminate Nerva, whom Fränkel considered a possible author.

There is also a Fragment C, *undique mutile*, which reads] *συνεπι*].

On 10 August 1968 the following unpublished fragment of an inscription, which perhaps presented an epistle of Trajan, was noted in the round building which serves as a lapidarium of the excavations in the lower city. The squeeze then made is about 0.15 m. high, 0.30 m. wide, with letters 0.012 m. in lines 1–4, 0.015 m. in line 5, and 0.01 m. high in lines 6–7.

[...]ΙΣΤΗΝΗΜ[-----]
 'Επρέσβενεν Πομπώ[νιος -----]
 'Ερρώσθαι ὑμᾶς [βούλομαι]
 Πρ(ὸ)ς Καλ. Μαρτίων ἀπ[ὸ --]
 vacat
 5 [-]ιος Μένανδρος ἀρχιερε[ὺς]
 vacat
 [-----] τήν στήλην Ε [- - -]
 vacat
]ΛΟΥ[

56. UNKNOWN (HADRIAN?) TO THE LYNCESTAE

Heracleia of the Lyncestae. The inscription was copied at Bitola (Monastir) by an anonymous correspondent who published the text in the Athenian daily *Παλιγγενεσία*, 11 March 1894. All texts are based on reproductions of this copy. The writer looked for the stone in August 1970 without success, and both Jaro Šašel

and Fanoula Papazoglu concur in the belief that the stone is now lost.

M. Demitsas, Ἡ Μακεδονία (Athens, 1896) 270–271, No. 247; much better P. Perdrizet, *BCH* 21 (1897) 161–162; M. Holleaux, “Epigraphica,” *REG* 11 (1898) 273–278 (= *Etudes* I 271–275); Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, No. 146; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 339, No. 79; N. Vulić, *Spomenik* 77 (1934) 31–33, No. 4; L. Robert, “ANTANOI,” *REG* 47 (1934) 31–36 (= *Opera minora selecta* 1:296–301); J. Å. O. Larsen, “Roman Greece” in T. Frank, *Ec. Survey*, 4: 458, n. 23 (text and translation). See also F. Papazoglu, *Les cités macédoniennes à l'époque romaine* (Skopje, 1957) 198–199 (in Serbo-Croatian) and *Héraclée* 1 (Bitola, 1961) 20 (Musée National de Bitola, in French). [Mentioned by Lafoscade as No. 146. K.C.]

56

[-----]

[--]οἱ λειτουργεῖωσαν· οἱ δὲ κεκτημένοι μόνον ταῖς τῇ

[κτῆσει ἐ]πιβαλλομέναις λειτουργίαις ὑπεύθυνοι ἔστωσαν· τίνα

[δὲ δεῖ τρ]όπον στόρνυσθαι τὰς ὁδοὺς, κοινῶι διατάγματι ἐδήλωσα·

[κε]λεύω καὶ Ἀντανούς συντελεῖν ὑμῶν εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα,

5 τὸ τρίτον συνεισφέροντας· ἡ δὲ συνεισφορὰ γενέσθω ἀπὸ

τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ὄντων Ἀντανῶν εὐτυχεῖτε vacat

Πρὸ γρ̃ καλανδῶν Ἰουνίων, ἀπὸ Δυρραχίου.

1 οὗτ]οι Larsen. 2 [κτῆσει Larsen, [πόλει ἐ Perdrizet. 3 δὲ δεῖ τρ]όπον Perdrizet, τὸν] τροπὸν Vulić. 4 κε Perdrizet.

Translation

-- shall perform the liturgy. But those who have acquired privileged land shall be subject only to the contributions incumbent upon their [estates]. How the roads are to be paved I have set forth in a general edict. I order the Antani too to share in the cost by paying one-third of the expense; and their share of the special levy shall be collected from the Antani who are in Macedonia. Farewell.

May 20, from Dyrrhachium.

Commentary

The fact that the epistle refers to the writer's κοινὸν διάταγμα on the subject of road building (compare the emperor's *generalis epistula* in *Digest* 11.4 and the καθολικὸν διάταγμα in *JRS* 57

[1967] 139) supports the view that this is an imperial letter as Perdrizet said, rather than an epistle of the proconsul of Macedonia as Holleaux, identifying the *κοινὸν διάταγμα* with the governor's *edictum provinciale*, claimed. In the second century after Christ, furthermore, Epirus was an independent province ruled by a procurator, and an epistle from Dyrrhachium in Epirus could hardly be an epistle of the governor of Macedonia.

The road served a military purpose, which suggested to Rostovtzeff (*SEHRE*, 2nd ed. 357) the authorship of Trajan and to N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* (Oxford, 1972) 1:76–77, a date in the latter half of the second century after Christ. It was composed apparently by an emperor who had no co-ruler. Perdrizet thought the emperor might have been Hadrian. In fact, Hadrian or Antoninus Pius seems a more likely identification than Trajan because of the closing formula *Εὐτυχεῖτε*, and the traveler Hadrian seems more likely than the sedentary Antoninus Pius because the epistle was dispatched from Dyrrhachium. There is no note of urgency.

The recipients of the letter are surely the Lyncestae, as Holleaux recognized. The expenses are to be borne two-thirds by the Lyncestae and one-third by the Antani. Robert, finding them in an inscription of Stobi in the *Synecdemus* 638 of Hierocles, recognized that the Antani were located between Heracleia and Stobi.

For the *κεκτημένοι* Larsen cites (in addition to *SIG*³ 633, line 73 and 888, line 15) the *ἐνκεκτημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι* of Dimitzas, No. 58 at Beroea, but he considers the term at Heracleia more inclusive and refers it to all intruding landowners. One may now compare also the Hadrianic *ἐνκεκτημένοι* at Coronea in Boeotia (No. 110) and those at an unknown ancient city in the Strymon valley in A.D. 158 (No. 156). “Apparently,” says Larsen, “the local authorities have requested permission to impose high assessments upon them . . . but have been told that they can impose only so much as properly falls upon the estates.” It is a pity that we cannot check the reading, for the stone may have read οἱ δ’ ἐ[ν]κεκτημένοι.

For the participles in line 2 Robert cites *JÖAI* 13 (1910) Beiblatt 77, ἡ Ἀμυζονέων πόλις τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῇ μέρος τοῦ Τράχωνος τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατεσκεύασεν, and συνει]σφέροντες in the Pergamene Astynomic Law, *SEG* XIII 521, lines 29–35.

“The contents of the letter suggest the following sequence: First, the issuance of a general edict concerning the repair of

roads; second, an inquiry from the local authorities on at least three points, the assessments of the *κεκτημένοι*, some details in the method of paving, and the participation of the Antani, whose territory probably was not adjacent to the roads in question; third, the rescript sent in reply (our document) which rules against the Lyncestians on the question of the *κεκτημένοι*, in favor of them on that of the Antani, and which refers them to the general edict for the methods of paving. The roads in question must be the Egnatian Way and connecting roads" (Larsen).

57-60. PERGAMENE INSCRIPTION WITH EPISTLES OF TRAJAN AND HADRIAN

Pergamum. Seventeen fragments of a white marble plaque with raised margins were found in the Gymnasium of the Neoi, the Theatre, and perhaps elsewhere. The first seven were formerly stored in the Greek school but are now lost. At least I was unable to find them in 1968 or 1973.

G. Earinos, *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς* (1876) 2.1: 43-46, Nos. 160-164, five isolated fragments; M. Fränkel, *IPerg* 2 (Berlin, 1895) No. 273, the five fragments plus two more, all with two joins making five pieces and published as parts of the same inscription [mentioned by Lafoscade as Nos. 13 and 34 but not reproduced]; H. Hepding, *AthMitt* 32 (1907) 286-291, No. 15 (all sixteen fragments) and 35 (1910) 414-415, No. 6 (with a new piece of fragment N); [G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 350, 351].

57-60

		]}Q[
		]}AT[
		]}ΘEO[
		]}INΩΣ[
5	[-----]	ΩNHN[-----
57		Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ,]
	[θεοῦ Νέρωνα υἱός, Νέρουας Τραιανὸς Ἀριστος Σεβαστὸς Γε]ρμανικὸς[
		Δακικὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δη]
	μαρχικῆς [ἐξουσίας τὸ ..., αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ..., ὑπατος τὸ ..], πατὴρ π[ατρίδος,	
		τοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ]
	νέοις χαί[ρειν -----]	στον μέρ[ος ----
		----- εὐ]

- χαριστουν[-----]ΟΙΦΙΛΟΥΠ[-----]
 10 θος τῆς χα[ρ-----]ον ὑμεῖν Ι[-----]
 58Α τὰς φιλοτε[ιμίας ----- εὖ]γοιαν. Α[ὐτοκράτωρ
 Καῖσαρ θεοῦ]
 Τραιανοῦ Π[αρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τραιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβα]στός,
 δημ[αρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, συ]
 νόδωι τῶν [ἐν Περγάμωι ----- νέων χαίρειν. Ἐκ τ]ε τῶν γρα[μμάτων
 καὶ διὰ τοῦ πρεσβεύ]
 οντος Κλ[αυδίου Κύρου τὴν χαράν, ὅσης ἐφ' ἡμεῖν ὡμολογεῖτ]ε μετεिल्[φέναι,
 59 ἡγούμην σ]ημεῖα δ[ν]
 15 δρῶν ἀγαθ[ῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Π[αρθι
 κοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα
 υἱωνός, Τρ[αιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς
 ἐξουσίας τ]ὸ ις', ὅπα
 τος τὸ γ', Π[εργαμηνῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή]μῳ χαίρειν.
 [-----] Ἀντωνίῳ
 Πολέμῳι [-----]ων. Ἐπρέ[σβευσον
 Νυ]μφίδιος
 60 καὶ Ἰούλι[ς ----- οὗς τοῦ ἐφοδίου κρεῖνω δξίους. Α]ὐτοκράτω[ρ Καῖσαρ
 θεοῦ Τρ]αιανοῦ
 20 Παρθικοῦ [υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τραιανός Ἀδριανός] Σεβαστός, [ἀρχιε
 ρεὺς μέγιστος, δη
 μαρχικῆς [ἐξ]ου[σίας τὸ ..., ὕπατος τὸ γ', πατὴρ πατρίδ]ος, Περγαμη[νῶν
 τοῖς] ἄρχο[υ]σι καὶ τῇ
 βουλῇ καὶ [τ]ῷ δή[μῳ χαίρειν. -----]ΕΟΙΣΑΥΤΟ [...]ήσεσθε
 καὶ τὰς αἰτί
 ας δι' ἃς ἐφυλα[-----]ΡΕΥΣΑΣ[.....μ]ηδὲν
 ταραχῶδες
 χρῆσθαι τῇ Ι[-----] Ἰο]νκος ὁ
 25 Εὐτυχεῖτε [-----] ἐπίτροπός μου.
 [-----]ΙΟΡΟΣ, ἐπιψηφισαμέ
 νου Τι. Κ[λ]αυδί[ου ----- τῇ]ς ἀρχῆς μὲν κατέ
 στησαν [-----μ]ετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκρά
 τορες τ[-----]ηγεῖται τὰ τοῦ με
 γίστου[-----]μα Τραιανοῦ ννν
 30 Ἀδριαν[νοῦ -----]δος αὐτῇ συνδιη
 τημέν[-----]Ε ἔργου βιαίου
 ΜΗΔΕΝ[-----].. Π[.]ΡΟ καθὼς
 καὶ ὕπ[-----] ἡμῶν με
 [-----] .. ΩΝΕ

35 [-----]..

lacuna of unknown extent

fragment *f*

]AM[

]ΑΣΙΝ[

]ΑΕΣΦΑ[

]ΕΥΤΥ[

]ΑΤΟΥΤ[

-]ν αὐτοκρ[ατ -----] προ[

vacat

[ἐπι]μεληθέν[των]

vacat

] 'Ερωτιανοῦ, [Θ]εοδώρου, Τελεσφόρου, Τερπάν[δρου

[τ]ῶν γραμματέων

fragment *l*

,Α

,ΕΡ

ΦΙΣΤ

,ΑΕΣ

5

ΤΙΟΝ

,ΚΑΘΙ

,ΑΡΕ'

,

fragment *m*

ΦΕ

ΤΕ

ΥΜΝ

,ΕΙΣΙ

5

,ΤΡΑ

ΕΧΟ,

,ΝΕ

,ΕΒΑ

ΠΑΤ

fragment *n*

Ω

ΝΤΩ

,αι περι Τ

έ]πετέθη τω[

5 Περ]γαμηνῶν τῇ[

τῶν] γέων ἐλεοχρεΐ[στι

έ]λάμβανεν τὴν[

δ]ναγκαῖον δὲ κρεΐ[νας

] λογιστοῦ τὴν[

10 τῇ]! βουλῇ καὶ τῶ[ι δῆμῳ

] τος τὸ Ε'''Α[

] παραληψ[

-Ω''

-

fragment *p*

2/

ΦΟΙ.

'ΘΕΟ

ΑΡΧ'

10

,ι

fragment *o*

,ι

ΥΙ

-Ο Ι,

-ΟΙΣ

5

,ΙΜ-

Τραϊ] \ΝΟΥι [Παρθικοῦ υἱός

δημαρχικῆς ἐξ]ΟΥΣΙΑΣ

ΕΙΣΩΣ

ΓΑΙΚΑΠ

ΔΕΗΧΑ

'ΜΑΕΙ'

-Τ

Commentary

The inscription contains imperial letters and other documents or records. The first four lines could, but need not, belong to an imperial letter. No. 57 from Trajan to the Neoi begins in line 5 and ends without a farewell in line 11. It dates from a time before Trajan received the epithet Parthicus in 116 and after he

began to use Optimus in 114. In line 10 it seems to mention the μέγεθος τῆς χάριτος. In line 9 there is a participle εὐχαριστοῦν[τ- or an adjective εὐχαρίστου, and in line 11 references to goodwill and φιλοτιμίαι (favors) occur.

In lines 11–15 No. 58A, known also from another copy (58B), from Hadrian to the Neoi likewise ends without a farewell, but the farewell, indispensable in an epistle, is preserved on the other copy. The epistle dates from A.D. 117 shortly after Hadrian's accession and will be discussed under 58B.

In lines 15–19 No. 59, from Hadrian to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Pergamenes, dates from the sixteenth year of Hadrian's tribunician power, the year which began on 10 December 131 or 25 February 132 or 8/9 August 132 (see M. Hammond, *MAAR* 19 [1949] 55–57). In line 17 it is easier to assume omission of the title *pater patriae* than of the address to the archons. The ambassadors are mentioned in lines 18–19 in order to make them eligible for the travel money (ἐφόδιον), but the restoration of line 19 is not clear. There are three possibilities: If we assume four ambassadors, there was no space for more than the names of the ambassadors; if we assume three ambassadors, there was space also for the farewell formula Εὐτυχεῖτε (omitted in the preceding epistles, lines 11 and 15); if we assume two ambassadors and the omission of the farewell formula as in lines 11 and 15, the certification may be restored, though the exact wording may not have been οὗς τοῦ ἐφοδίου κρεῖνω ἀξίους. The epistle had something to do with the famous sophist Antonius Polemo, for whom see G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969) 120–123 *et passim*, who, however, does not seem to mention this inscription.

In lines 19–25 No. 60, from Hadrian to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Pergamenes, dates from 132 or later. A sigma in line 21 reveals the presence of the element *pater patriae*. Since the epistle follows one in which the emperor was already thrice consul, the same numeral may here be supplied after reference to the consulship, because Hadrian stopped with three. Not much remains of the epistle's content except for a reference to the procurator Juncus, who is usually identified with the procurator Aemilius Juncus known from a lead tessera at Berytus: *Année ép.* (1903) 116 (cf. *Hesperia* 36 [1967] 52 f.). The senator Aemilius Juncus in No. 112 at Coronea is then his son.

Of the five still unplaced fragments (L, M, N, O, P) of the inscription the most important is fragment N with its references,

first to the ἐλαιοχρεῖ[στία or ἐλαιοχρεῖ[στιον of the Neoi, secondly to a *logistes*.

The reconstruction of the monument and restorations in the text are due to Hepding, though Fränkel recognized the formula of lines 15–18; but in lines 6, 12, and 17 I have substituted different versions of the same formula and have suggested a *viaticum* formula for line 19.

58B. HADRIAN TO THE PERGAMENE NEOI, 12 NOVEMBER

117

Pergamum. Found near the Traianeum and later (1876) reported as stored in the Armenian church in Pergamum. It never came to Berlin, and the author was unable to find it on the site in 1973.

C. Curtius, *Hermes* 7 (1873) 37–39, No. 11; G. Earinos, *Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς* (1876) 2:2–3, No. 85; J. Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian* (Vienna, 1881) 17–18 and 104, No. 1; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*¹ (1883) 283 and [*SIG*² (1901) 384]; M. Fränkel, *IPerg* 2 (Berlin, 1895) 212 f., No. 274 with drawing; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, No. 17; [W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig, 1907) 59; G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 349]; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ (1917) 831; C. A. Forbes, *Neoi* (Monographs Amer. Philol. Assoc. 2, 1933) 38–44; [Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 61].

58 B

	Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
	Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ
	Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός,
	θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνός,
5	Τραϊανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός
	δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
	συνόδῳ τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ
	νέων χαίρειν.
	Ἐπιγνοὺς ἔκ τε τῶν γραμμά
10	των καὶ διὰ τοῦ πρεσβεύον
	τος Κλαυδίου Κύρου τὴν χα
	ρὰν, ὅσης ἔφ' ἡμεῖν ὠμολογεῖ

		τε μετεληφέναι, ἡγούμην σημεῖα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι.
	15	Εὐτυχεῖτε.
πρὸ γ' Ἰδῶν Νοεμβρ ἀπὸ Ἰουλιῶ πόλεως		Κλαύδιος Κῦρος ἀπέδωκα τοῖς περὶ Οὐλπίον Ἀσκληπιά δην γραμματεῦσι τῶν νέων.
	20	Ἐπὶ γραμματέων Μ Οὐλπίου Ἀσκληπιάδου Λουπιανοῦ, Φλαοῦίου Σεκούνδου, Ἄλυσος τοῦ Ἄλυσος Κελεριανοῦ.

Translation

To Good Fortune. Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divine Traianus Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, tribunician power, to synod of the Neoi at Pergamum, greetings. Noting from your letter and through your ambassador Claudius Cyrus the great joy you openly feel in our succession, I consider such sentiments to be indicative of good men. Farewell.

[Marginal note] 11 November from Juliopolis.

I, Claudius Cyrus, delivered it to the secretaries of the Neoi, Ulpius Asclepiades and colleagues. In the term of the secretaries M. Ulpius Asclepiades Lupianus, Flavius Secundus, Halys Celerianus son of Halys.

Commentary

Another copy of the epistle was included with other documents of interest to the Neoi of Pergamum on No. 58A, but this copy was part of an inscription commemorating a great event in the life of Claudius Cyrus.

As Dürr recognized, the epistle was dispatched from the Juliopolis in Bithynia in November 117, but as Weber noted, on 11 (not 12) November. The town lay on the road from Ancyra to Nicomedia. Hadrian had, as Dürr said, the tribunician power for the first time; hence it was A.D. 117.

The title of the synod of the Neoi is longer in 58A than in 58B. The title in 58A may have indicated a connection with Heracles or with the gymnasium or with athletic contests. The ambassador Claudius Cyrus who conveyed the synod's congratulations and compliments to Hadrian had the same name as the ambassador from the Guild of the Roving Athletes to Claudius

(No. 27, line 15). The cognomen was unusual, and it is tempting to see in the ambassador of the Neoi a grandson of the ambassador to Claudius. It may be that the athletes came out of the environment of the Neoi and retained a close connection, even for generations. The interested reader will consult H. W. Pleket, "Zur Soziologie des antiken Sports," *Meded* 36 (1974) 57–87, especially 76–79.

61. HADRIAN AT DELPHI

Delphi. Three fragments of a block from the wall of the Temple of Apollo are now in the storeroom of the Museum at Delphi, where the first two were seen in 1971. Nos. 2220 + 3887 and 6802.

A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 300 with photographs on Pl. 10.

61

[*Ἀὐτοκράτωρ Κ*]αῖσα[*ρ, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρβα*]
 [*υἱώνος, Τραιῖ*]ανός *Ἀδ[ριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος]*,
 [*δημαρχικῆς*] ἐξουσία[*ς τὸ -----*]
 [*χαίρειν* ^{vvv}]vv *Μαλ*[-*-----*]

Lacuna of uncertain extent

--*]*σπ[*---*
 --*]*ς *Μελισ*[*---*
 --*]*ετοσ[*---*
]^{vvv}[

The restorations are by Plassart.

62. HADRIAN TO THE DELPHIANS ON THEIR FREEDOM AND AUTONOMY, A.D. 118

Delphi. Four fragments of a block from the wall of the Temple of Apollo are now in the storeroom of the Museum at Delphi, where they were seen in 1971. Nos. 2207, 2265, and 1565 + 4428. A sliver is now missing from the right side of 1565.

C. Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis*, 72–73; A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 66–69, No. 301 with photographs. See also J. H. Oliver, *AJA* 75 (1971) 450, on lines 5–6.

62

[*Α*]ὐτοκράτ[*ωρ Καῖσαρ*], θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱ[*ίός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱώνος,*
Τραια]

νὸς Ἀδ[ριανὸς Σε]βαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγισ[τος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β̄,
 τος τὸ [β̄, Δελφῶν] τῇ πόλει ^{vv} χαίρειν ^{vvv} [Ἦσθην, ἐντυχὼν τοῖς περὶ τῆς
 λεως γ[ράμμασι το]ῖς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπεσταλμέν[οις, ὅτι μὲν -----]
 5 [- - - - -, ὅτι] δὲ ἡ ἀρχαιοῦτος καὶ ἡ εὐγέν[εια τῆς πόλεως εὐγνώστοι μοι εἰ]
 [σὶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ], οὐχ ἦκι[στ]α δὲ ὅτι φανεράν [ἀπεδείξασθε τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ
 [μίαν ὑμῶν, συνηδόμ]ενοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ διαδέξ[ασθαι με τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήν,
 δὲ θεὸν δ[οῦναί μοι τὰ] ἀγαθ[ὰ] παρακαλοῦντε[ς· δι' αὐτῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως
 τε ἐλευθε[ρίαν καὶ τὴν αὐ]τονομίαν καὶ τὰ[ς] παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρα
 10 δωρεὰς β[εβαιῶ καθάπερ αὐ]τὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ [πατρός μου θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ
 πρεσβευ[τῆς Ἰουλίου Ἀντιγέ]νης· Εὐτ[υχεῖτε
 ἐτηρήθη. Ἦν δ]

1-2 Bourguet. 3 [β' Δελφῶν Bourguet; Ἥσθην ἐντυχῶν τοῖς
περὶ Oliver, Ὑ[μεῖς μὲν ἐπηγγείλατέ μοι τὰ τῆς πό]. 4 γ[ράμμασι
Oliver, π[ρεσβεῖα Plassart, ὅτι μὲν το]ῖς Bourguet; ἐπεσταλ-
μέν[οις γράμμασι Bourguet, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ Plassart. 5 ὅτι]
δὲ Bourguet, ὅτι μὲν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὧ]δε Plassart; εὐγέν[εια τῆς
πόλεως Bourguet; τῆς ὑμετέρας Plassart, εὐγνωστοί μοι εἰ |σιν
Oliver. 6 ἐκ παλαιοῦ Oliver, ἀνεμνήσθη μοι Plassart; ἥκι[στ]α
Bourguet; ἀπεδείξασθε τὴν προθυ Bourguet, τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ προθυ
Plassart. 7 [μίαν ὑμῶν συνηδόμ]ενοι Bourguet; διαδέξ[ασθαι με
τὴν ἀρχὴν Bourguet, τὴν πατρῶαν ἀρχήν, τὸν Plassart. 8
δ[οῦναί μοι πάντα] ἀγαθ[ά] Plassart, τὰ] Oliver, Ἀ[πολλων
Πύθιον] ἀγαθὰ Bourguet; Δι' ὃ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως Plassart, δι'
ᾧ Oliver, τὴν Bourguet. 9 ἐλευθε[ρίαν καὶ τὴν αὐ]τονομίαν Bour-
guet, τὰ[ς ὑμῖν ἀεὶ συγχωρουμένας] Bourguet; τὰ[ς ὑμῖν πάλαι
συγκεχωρημένας] Plassart, τὰ[ς παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ (vel προτέρων)
αὐτοκρατόρων] Oliver. 10 [βεβαιῶ καὶ ἅπαν]τα καὶ ὑπὸ το[ῦ
θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ δοθέντα] Bourguet, β[εβαιῶ καὶ τὰ δοθέν]τα καὶ
ὑπὸ τοῦ [θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ πρεσβεῖα] Plassart, καθάπερ αὐ]τὰ καὶ
ὑπὸ τοῦ [πατρός μου θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ ἐτηρήθη Ἦν δ] Oliver. 11
πρεσβευ[τῆς Bourguet; ἦν Γ' Ἰούλιος Ἀντιγέ]νης Plassart;
Εὐ[χχεῖτε Tempus et locus Bourguet.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divine
Trajan Parthicus, [grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus,

[tribunician power for the second time], consul for the [second] time, to the city [of the Delphians] greetings.

[I was pleased when I read] the letter about the city received from you [— — —], and [because] the antiquity and nobility [of the city are well known to me from far back], and not least because [you made your zeal for me] clear [when you were congratulating me] upon [my] succession [to the ancestral office] and were calling upon the god [to grant me the] blessings. [Therefore I guarantee the] freedom and autonomy [of your city] as well as the gifts [from the emperors who preceded me, just as they were maintained] also by [my father], the [divine Trajan]. Ambassador [Julius Antige]nes. Farewell.

Commentary

The epistle is dated to the year 118 because the emperor is already consul for at least the second time and because a request to guarantee a city's freedom and autonomy comes, if at all, early in any reign. If the epistle were composed in A.D. 117 before Hadrian was consul for the second time, the heading would have omitted the phrase τὸ [., actually preserved in line 3.

For the beginning of the reply as restored in line 3 compare Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in No. 196, line 55: Ἡσθημεν τοῖς γ[ρ]άμμα[σ]ιν ὑμῶν ἐντυχόντες.

In lines 5 and 6 Plassart's interpretation ἡ ἀρχαιότης καὶ ἡ εὐγέν[εια τῆς πόλεως τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀνεμνήσθη μοι] was influenced, we suspect, by the words ἀνάμνησιν τῆς παλαιᾶς ὑμῶν εὐγενείας in the fragmentary inscription published by P. M. Fraser, "Hadrian and Cyrene," *JRS* 40 (1950) 77–87 (text reproduced as No. 121), but the situation is quite different. Hadrian hardly needed to have someone remind him of the antiquity and status of Delphi. On the *eugeneia* theme see L. Robert, *Centennial Volume of the American Numismatic Society* (New York, 1958) 582, n. 7; see also J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius*, 136, and Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaic* 233.

In lines 6–7 Bourguet correctly identified the occasion as that of the congratulations upon the new emperor's accession. In line 8 Plassart's excellent restorations established the continuity, which still escaped Bourguet. Compare the phrase in *IG* V, 1, 1451, εὐχαριστοῦντες τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ αἰτούμενοι τὰ ἀγαθὰ, for the imperial house.

In line 9 the preferred restoration is a phrase found in No.

199, an epistle of Septimius Severus. See also Cassius Dio, 66.19.3: *βεβαιῶν πάντα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων αὐτοκρατόρων δοθέντα τισίν*.

In line 10 Bourguet and Plassart visualized a separate reference to gifts of Trajan, but Trajan had no particular reputation as a benefactor of Delphi, and the restoration, being stilted, arouses misgivings. Rather Hadrian is cautiously attaching himself to Trajan's policy. For the verb, see Cassius Dio 67.2.1: *τηρῶν πάντα τὰ πρὸς τε ἐκείνων καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων δοθέντα τισίν*.

63. HADRIAN TO THE DELPHIANS, A.D. 118

Delphi. Crown of a large rectangular monument, No. 2292, of uncertain emplacement but probably from near the Temple of Apollo.

B. Haussoullier, *BCH* 6 (1882) 452 f., No. 84; Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis*, 76–78. [Mentioned by Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 11, as No. 18.]

A. Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 3 (1900) 44; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 78; A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4, 69.

63

[*Αὐ*]τοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα
[*υἱ*ω]ώς, Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστ[ος]
[*δημα*]ρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β, ὕπατος τὸ β, ἀποδεδειγ[μέ]
[νος τὸ] γ, Δελφῶν τῇ πόλει χαίρειν. Καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρ[χαίον]
5 [τῆ]τα τῆ]ς πόλεως καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατέχοντος α[ὐτῆ]ν
[θεοῦ θρη]σκεῖαν ἀφορῶν, ἡγοῦμαι δικαίως ὑμᾶ[ς] --
[--]

Bourguet's edition, which we reproduce, followed for lines 1–3 Haussoullier and for lines 4–6 Lafoscade. 4–5 *ἀρ[χαίαν] δόξαν* Wilhelm. 6 *ἀτρέ]κειαν* Wilhelm.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divus Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divus Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the second time, consul for the second time, designate for the third, to the city of the Delphians,

greetings. With deep respect for the city's antiquity and for the worship of the [god] who protects [her], I consider that you [— —] just [— — —]

Commentary

On the old Ionian word *θηρησκειά*, which became common elsewhere from the Augustan period on, see L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris, 1938) 226–235 and *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 132 f., also *Bull. ép.* (1961) No. 199 and (1963) No. 225.

64. FIRST EPISTLE OF HADRIAN TO THE ASTYPALAEANS, A.D. 118

Astypalaea. The epistle of Hadrian was engraved below the epistle of Augustus to the Cnidians, No. 6, on a marble slab formerly in the Kastro but now broken and partly destroyed. For details see introduction to No. 6.

L. Ross, *Inscriptiones graecae ineditae* 3 (Berlin, 1845) No. 313; better M. Dubois, *BCH* 7 (1883) 405–407; with further improvement A. Wilhelm, *AEM* 20 (1897) 66–67; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG XII* 3 (1898) 175; A. von Domaszewski in W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig, 1907) 69.

Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 16; *IGRR IV* 1031c, *SIG*³ 832; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, No. 75; Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 449a. See also R. Bernhardt, *Imperium und Eleutheria* (Diss. Hamburg, 1971) 190, n. 5; Follet, *Athènes*, 48–50 on the inaugural date of Hadrian's first and second tenure of the tribunician power.

64

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Π[αρθικοῦ]
 υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τραϊανός [Ἀδριανός]
 Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημ[αρχικῆς]
 [ἐ]ξουσίας, ὑπατος τὸ β', Ἀστυπαλ[αέων τοῖς]
 5 [ἀρχο]υσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὧ χαίρειν ννννν
 [Καὶ πα]ρὰ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ ὑμῶν Πε[τρωνίου]
 [Ἡράκω]ντος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσμα[τος ὑμῶν]
 [ἔμαθον] ὅπως ἤσθητε διαδεξαμέν[ου ἐμοῦ]
 [τὴν πατ]ρίδα ἀρχήν· ἐπαινέσας δ[ὲ ὑμᾶς]

10

[καὶ ἀλλ]ηθῶς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑ[μῖν βεβαί]
[-----]

1 Dubois. 2–5 Ross. 6 πα[ρὰ Ross; [Καὶ, Περωνίου Wilhelm. 7 [Ἡράκω]ντος, ὑμῶν Wilhelm; ψηφίσμα[τος Ross. 8 [ἔμαθον] Wilhelm; διαδεξαμέν[ον ἐμοῦ Dubois. 9 init. Dubois, ὑμᾶς Domaszewski. 10 init. [καὶ πεπο]ιθῶς Hiller, [καὶ εἰ ἀληθ]ῶς Domaszewski; 10–11 ὑ[μῶν Dubois; ὑ[μῖν ὁ πατήρ μου ἔδωκεν, αὐτήν κατακυρώσας Domaszewski, βεβαί – – Oliver.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Trajan [Hadrian] Augustus, son of deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of deified Nerva, tribunician power, consul for the second time, to the archons, council, and demos of the Astypalaeans, greetings. [I learned both] from your ambassador Petronius [Heraco] and from [your] decree how delighted you were with [my] succession to [the] ancestral office. I praised [you and I indeed guarantee] your freedom [– –

Commentary

The epistle is dated by consulship and tribunician power between 1 January and 31 December (rather than 9) of A.D. 118. The ambassador's name was Petronius Heraco (cf. No. 68) as Wilhelm saw. There is no space for the embarrassing τοῦ which Domaszewski unnecessarily restored and others retained at the end of line 6. Domaszewski thought that the Astypalaeans lost their freedom under the Flavians and recovered it from Trajan, but the inscription does not say so. On the contrary, it is a formula guaranteeing the continuance of freedom (cf. Nos. 117 and 159).

65. SECOND EPISTLE OF HADRIAN TO THE ASTYPALAEANS, A.D. 118

Astypalaea. The stele, which Hiller von Gaertringen says Legrand caused to be removed from the church of the Panagia, is now lost. At least I found no fragment of it on 17 June 1971 when I made a search in the Kastro (Castello) and in the shed near the *demarcheion*.

E. Legrand, *BCH* 15 (1891) 630 f., No. 2 (possibly the only

edition based on autopsy); W. Dittenberger, *SIG*² (1898) 385; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* XII 3 (1898) 176 and *SIG*³ (1917) 832; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, No. 19; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 397, No. 76; G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 1032. Further discussion: A. von Domaszewski in W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig, 1907), 70; J. A. O. Larsen, in T. Frank, *Ec. Survey*, 4:458, n. 28; Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950) 1470, n. 4.

65

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικ[οῦ]
 υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τραιανός Ἀδριανός
 Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς
 ἐ<ξ>ουσίας, ὑπατος τὸ β', Ἀστυπαιαίων
 5 ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν.
 Ἐντυχὼν ὑμῶν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ὅτι μὲν ἀπο
 ρεῖν φατέ καὶ οὐ δύνασθαι τελεῖν τὸ ἐπαγγελ
 τικὸν ἀργύριον ἐμάνθανον, οὐ μὴν ὁπό
 10 σον τε τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐκ πότε φέρειν αὐτὸ ἥρ<ξ>ασ
 [θε -----]

1 Legrand. 4 ΕΙΟΥΣΙΑΣ stone, correction by Legrand. 9 ἐκ πότε Dittenberger, ἔκ ποτε Legrand, ε(ι) ποτε Kaibel (*IG* XII, 3, 176); ΗΠΙΑΣ stone, ἥρ<ξ>ασ | [θε Legrand.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power, consul for the second time, to the archons, council, and demos of the Astypalaeans, greetings.

As I read your decree, I learned that on the one hand you declare your lack of funds and inability to make the money offering, not how much this was nor how long ago you had begun to pay it — — — — —

Commentary

Legrand considered but rejected the possibility that the ἐπαγγελτικὸν ἀργύριον was the *aurum coronarium*; Domaszewski, however, convinced everyone that it was indeed. Larsen holds that these were a continuation of contributions made in the first century. Magie thinks that they had promised it but subsequently found that they could not pay it and had to ask for a reduction.

TWO RELATED EPISTLES OF HADRIAN AT ASTYPALAEA

Astypalaea. Three non-contiguous fragments appear to belong to a single inscription. One from the top, formerly in the Castello (Kastro) at Astypalaea but now lost, was published by E. Legrand, *BCH* 15 (1891) 636, No. 15, then better by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* XII 3 (1898) 206 from his own copy and a squeeze, which is still in Berlin. [G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 1034.]

W. Peek found on Astypalaea and recognized with the help of the Berlin squeeze two more fragments, of which the one with part of lines 5–9 was seen by the writer in the storeroom near the *demarcheion* in June 1971. The writer does not agree with Peek that all three fragments belong to one epistle. Rather the inscription consists of two epistles, one to the Rhodians(?), who received a copy of a *senatus consultum* which the emperor had more or less invited, and from the same time a second epistle addressed to the Astypalaeans on the same subject. If this analysis is correct, the first two fragments belong to the epistle to the Rhodians.

66. HADRIAN TO THE [RHODIANS?], A.D. 128 OR LATER

W. Peek, *AbhLeipzig* 62.1 (1969) 36 f., No. 84, with a drawing.

66

	Αὐτοκράτωρ Ὡ Κα[ῖσαρ]
	θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρ[θι]
	[κο]ῦ υἱός, [θεοῦ Νέρου]
	[α υἱωνός, Τραιανός Ἀ]
5	[δριανός Σεβ]αστός, ἀρχ
	[ιερεὺς μέγ]ιστος <
	[δημαρχικῇ]ς ἐξουσί
	[ας τὸ ι', ὅ]π[α]τος τὸ γ',
	[πατήρ πατρίδος, Ῥοδ]ίων
10	[Ὡ τοῖς ἀρχουσι κ]αὶ τῇ
	[βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆ]μῳ Ὡ χαί[ρειν]
	[-----]ὡρ[α] δ[ὲ] π[α]ρ[ε]---
	[-----]Ο[-----]

Commentary

The recipients were not the Astypalaeans because Ἀστυ-παλα]ν(έ)ων would not fill line 9 and would require emendation.

Since a still longer name cannot easily be found, the title *pater patriae*, which Hadrian began to use regularly during his twelfth tenure of the tribunician power, undoubtedly occupied the beginning of line 9. A short ethnic (Ῥοδ]ίων is suggested by geography and the third fragment) seems to have followed.

In line 8 Peek's restoration ιγ' is arbitrary, and in line 9 his restoration [τῶν Ἀστυπαλα]ῶν is surely mistaken, but we have retained his other restorations.

67. [HADRIAN] TO THE [ASTYPALAEANS] ABOUT A SENATUS CONSULTUM

The second epistle, which seems to refer to an epistle to the Rhodians, was engraved below the other. It is represented by Peek's second new fragment.

67

5 [-----]
[.]ον παρὼν [-----]
καὶ γέγονεγ [-----]
ἐπρέξβενε [-----]
ἄφεσιν τῶν [-----]
ὥς εἴσεσθε ἐκ [τοῦ δόγματος],
οὐ τὸ ἀντήγ[ραφον πέπομ]
φα [Ῥοδ]ίοις, δ[νταπεκρίνατο]
[κ]αὶ ἡ [σ]ύνκλ[ητος τῇ αὐ]
[τ]ῇ χ[άρ]ιτι μ[-----]
[-----]

Translation

---] as you know from [the decree] of which I have sent the copy to the [Rhod]ians, also the Senate [opposed this] grant
[---

Commentary

For the procedure in regard to a *senatus consultum*, the reader may compare the epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, No. 192.

Peek's restoration of lines 5-6 and suggestion for lines 7-9 in the commentary are here accepted. In lines 3-4 he restored τῇν] ἄφεσιν τῶν [χρημάτων, perhaps rightly.

68. FOURTH EPISTLE OF HADRIAN TO THE
ASTYPALAEANS, A.D. 129

Astypalaea. Formerly in the Kastro but now lost.

M. Dubois, *BCH* 7 (1883) 406–407; A. Wilhelm, *AEM* 20 (1897) 66–67; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* XII 3 (1898) 177 from his own superior copy. [*IGRR* IV 1033; Smallwood, *Documents* . . . *Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 73.]

68

Ἀὐτοκράτωρ [Κ]αῖσαρ [θεοῦ]
 Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱό[ς],
 [θεο]ῦ Νέρωνα υἱωνός, [Τραία]
 [νός 'Α]δριανός Σεβαστ[ός, ἀρ]
 5 [χιερὺς] μέγιστος, δ[ημάρ]
 [χικῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ ἱγ, ὕπ[ατος τὸ γ],
 [πατὴρ πα]τρίδος ὧ 'Αστυπαλ[αίων]
 [τοῖς ἀρχ]ουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ [καὶ τῶ]
 [δήμῳ ὧ χ]αίρειν ὧ Καὶ τὴν πρε[σβεί]
 10 [αν ὕμῳ]ν ἀπεδεξάμην, δι' ἧς [προσ]
 [ηγور]εὔσατέ με ἐπιβαίνοντα [ἀρτι]
 [τῆς] Καρίας, καὶ τὰ ἐπεσταλμέ[να μοι]
 [ἀπέδω]κεν Πετρώνιος · 'Ηράκ[ων ὧ]
 [Εὐ]τυχεῖτε ὧ Πρὸς ε' Καλ[— —]
 15 ['Απὸ Λαο]δικείας τῆς ἐπὶ Λύκῳ

1–9 Dubois. 10 init. Dubois. 10–11 [προσ | ηγορ]εὔ[σ]ατε Wilhelm. 11–12 [ἐκ] Καρίας Dubois, [τῆς] | Καρίας Wilhelm, [ἀρτι? | τῆς] Hiller. 12–13 ἐπεσταλμέ[να | ἃ ἀπέδω]κεν Dubois, ἐπεσταλμέ[να ἀπέ | δω]κεν Wilhelm, ἐπεσταλμέ[να παρ' ὕμῳ]ν Hiller, μοι Oliver; 'Ηράκ[ων Wilhelm, 'Ηράκ[οντος] Hiller. 14–15 Dubois.

In the last line Dubois restored ἐπὶ Λύκο[υ], but Wilhelm recognized the right phrase, which Hiller then read.

Translation

Imperator Caesar [Trajan] Hadrian Augustus, son of [divine] Trajan Parthicus, grandson of [divine] Nerva, [pontifex] maximus, [tribunician] power for the thirteenth time, consul [for the third time, pater] patriae, to the archons and Council [and Demos of] the Astypalaeans greetings.

I gladly received [your] embassy through which you [saluted] me as I was arriving [just now] in Caria, and Petronius Heraco [gave me] your letter. Farewell. Five days before the Calends [of — — —] from Laodicea on Lycus.

Commentary

For the verb ἀποδέχομαι, see A. Wilhelm, *AnzWien* 65 (1922) 129–136 and *Neue Beiträge* 4 (*SB Wien* 179.6, 1917) 43 ff.

Petronius Heraco served as ambassador to Hadrian on a previous occasion (No. 64 *supra*).

69. HADRIAN TO THE APHRODISIANS ON IMMUNITY
FROM THE TAX ON NAILS, A.D. 119

Aphrodisias, from the Archive Wall. The following text of this unpublished inscription was kindly provided by Joyce Reynolds. For other documents from the Archive Wall, see Nos. 1, 48, 211, 218, 219, 278, 279, 281, 282, and 284.

[Edited by Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982) 115–118, No. 15. K.C.]

Summarized and interpreted by J. M. Reynolds, *Vestigia* 17 (1973) 120–121; see also W. Eck, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 206. [L. Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983) 509–511, K. C.]

69

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός,
 θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός,
 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ',
 Ἀφροδισιέων ἀρχουσι, βουλῇ, δήμῳ χαίρειν ὕ
 5 Τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ αὐτονομίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
 τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμεῖν παρά τε τῆς συνκλήτου καὶ
 τῶν πρὸ ἡμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων ἐβεβαίωσα πρόσθεν,
 ἐντευχθεὶς δὲ διὰ πρεσβείας περὶ τῆς τοῦ σιδή
 ρου χρήσεως καὶ τοῦ τέλους τῶν ἡλῶν, καίπερ
 10 ἀμφισβητησίμου τοῦ πράγματος ὄντος, διὰ τὸ
 μὴ νῦν πρῶτον τοὺς τελῶνας ἐπικεχειρηκέναι
 παρ' ὑμῶν ἐγλέγειν, ὁμῶς, εἰδὼς τὴν πόλιν
 τὰ τε ἄλλα τειμῆς οὐσαν δξίαν καὶ ἐξηρημένην <ν>
 τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐπαρχείας, ἀπαλλάσσω αὐτὴν
 15 τοῦ τελέσματος, καὶ γέγραφα Κλ. Ἀγριππείνῳ
 τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ μου παραγγεῖλαι τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ
 τὸ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τέλος ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the third time, to the archons, Council, Demos of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

Your freedom and autonomy as well as the other rights recognized in your case by the Senate and the emperors who preceded me I confirmed previously. As for the petition by embassy concerning the use of the iron and the tax on the nails, although this matter is a disputed one because it is not the first time that the tax-farmers have tried to make collections from you, nevertheless, knowing that the city is worthy of honor in the other respects and has been excepted from the provincial formula, I release her from the tax, and I have written to Claudius Agrippinus my procurator to warn the one who has contracted for the tax in Asia to stay away from your city.

Commentary

The epistle is dated by reference to Hadrian's third tenure of the tribunician power which may have run from 10 December 118 (or later) through 9 December 119 (or later).

An embassy has protested the attempt of a tax-farmer to collect from Aphrodisias as a violation of the city's free status. A guild of nailsmiths is attested at nearby Hierapolis in an inscription, Judeich No. 133, cited by T. R. S. Broughton in T. Frank, *Ec. Survey*, 4:827. The emperor seems to have made his decision without giving the tax-farmer a chance to argue the case, but he supports the Aphrodisians for sound reasons of policy.

With the structure of this letter one may compare that of No. 44, the epistle of Trajan to the Delphians on the Pythodorus affair, which seemed to threaten the status of that free city. The exception of Aphrodisias from the provincial formula is mentioned also by Trajan in his letter to Smyrna, No. 48, in similar language. The *ab epistulis* no longer resembles, as he did in early reigns, the secretary of any magnate; the office has now been completely institutionalized.

70. HADRIAN TO RAMMIUS MARTIALIS ON CHILDREN OF SOLDIERS, A.D. 119

Egypt. Papyrus from the Fayum, now Staatliche Museen P. 6890 in East Berlin, where it was examined in September 1972. H. 0.22 m.; W. 0.10 m.

U. Wilcken, *BGU* 1 (1895) No. 140 with photograph on Pl. 2; P. Meyer, *ZSav* 18 (1897) 44–47, with text, translation, and commentary; U. Wilcken, *Hermes* 37 (1902) 84–94, with improved

text and commentary; Bruns⁷ (1909) No. 196; Girard, *Textes*, 194–196; Mitteis, *Chrestomathie* (1912) 2:373; A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (1934) 2:213, text and translation; Riccobono, *FIRA*², 1: No. 78; M. David and B. A. van Groningen, *Papyrological Primer* (Leyden, 1946, 3rd ed. 1952) No. 34; [S. Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto* (Milan, 1964) No. 108]; [Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, No. 333].

See also A. Stein, *RevPhil* 11 (1937) 404 and especially *Präfekten*, 207, n. 212, on lines 2–4; A. Berger, *JJP* 1 (1946): 28–33 on lines 23–24; E. Volterra, *Studi A. Cicu* (Milan, 1951) 2:670–672; B. Campbell, “The Marriage of Soldiers under the Empire,” *JRS* 68 (1978) 153–166.

70

- Ἀν[τί]γρ(αφον) ἐπιστ[ολ](ῆς) τοῦ κυρίου μεθ[η]ρ[μηνευ]
 μένης [ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαικ]ῶ[ν]
 (Ἔτους) γ̅ Τραι[α]νοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ [οὐ καὶ]
 [Που]πλίου Δ[α]σσυμίου Ῥου[σ]τικοῦ
 5 [ὑπά]τοις προε[τέθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ(εία) ἐν τῇ π[α]ρεμβολ(ῇ)
 τῇ[ς] χειμασί[α]ς λεγιῶνο(ς) τρίτης] Κυ[ρ]ηναϊκῆς
 κ[αὶ] λεγιῶνο(ς) [β] κ[αὶ] εἰκο[σ]τ[ῆ]ς Δηιοτερειανῆς
 πρίδιε νό[ν]ας Ἀουγο[ύ]σ[τας], ὃ ἐστίν Μεσορῇ
 ἡ ἐν πρινκε[π]ίοι[ς].
 10 Ἐπί[σ]ταμα[ι], Ῥάμμιέ μου, τ[ο]ύτους, ο[ὗ]ς οἱ
 γονεῖς αὐτῶν τῷ τῆς στρατείας δνεῖ
 λα[ν]το χρόνῳ, τὴν πρὸς τὰ πατρικὰ
 [ὑπάρ]χοντα πρόσδοτον κεκωλῶσθαι,
 [καὶ τ]οῦτο οὐκ ἐδόκει σκληρὸν [εἶ]ναι
 15 [τοῦν]αντίον αὐτῶν τῇ[ς] στρατιω[τ]ικῇ[ς]
 [διδα]χῆς πεποιηκότων. Ἡδιστα δὲ
 αὐτὸς προεῖ<μ>αι τὰς ἀφορμὰς, δι' ὧν
 τὸ αὐστηρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ
 αὐτοκρατόρων σταθὲν φιλανθρωπὸ
 20 τερ[ο]ν ἐρμηνεύω. Ὅνπερ τοιγαροῦν
 τ[ρόπ]ον οὐκ εἰσιν νόμιμοι κληρο
 [νό]μοι τῶν ἑαυτῶν πατέρων οἱ τῷ
 [τ]ῆς στρατε[ί]ας χρόνῳ ἀναλ[η]μφθέν
 τε, ὁμῶς κατ[ο]χῇ[ν] ὑ[πα]ρχόντων
 ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέ[ρ]ους τοῦ διατάγμα
 τος, οὐ καὶ τοῖς πρὸς [γ]ένους συγγενέσι
 δίδοται, αἰτεῖσθαι δύνασθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς

30

κρε[ίν]ω. Ταύτην μου τὴν δωρεὰν
καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῖς οὐε
τρανοῖς εὐγνωστόν σε ποιῆσαι δεή
σει, οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ δοκεῖν με αὐτοῖς
ἐνλογεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἵνα τοῦτω χρώνται,
ἐὰν ἀγνοῶσι.

Translation

Copy of [our lord's] epistle translated [from the Latin].

In the third year of Trajan [Hadrian Augustus, when he and] Publius D[asumius Ru]sticus were consuls, it was published [at Alexandria in the] barracks of the winter quarters of the [third] Cyrenaic [legion and of the twenty-second] Deioterian legion, August 4 which is Mesore 21, at headquarters.

I understand, my dear Rammius, that those whom their parents raised as their own offspring at the time of their military service, have been denied access to the paternal property, and this does not seem to be cruel, inasmuch as the (fathers) have acted contrary to military discipline. But with most pleasure I myself take the opportunity which lets me put a more humane interpretation on the rather too strict rule established by the emperors before me. Therefore, although the offspring acknowledged at the time of the military service are by no means legal heirs of their fathers, nevertheless I decide that they too may demand possession of property on the basis of that part of the edict where this right is granted also to the *cognati*. This gift of mine to my soldiers and veterans it shall be necessary for you to publicize, not because I seemingly impute to them misconduct but so that they may use it if they act amiss.

Commentary

The restorations except in lines 2–5 are by Wilcken. A. Stein in n. 212 restored line 2. In line 3 Wilcken read (ἔτους) ἡ Τραι[α]νοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. Stein denied that any trace remained before Τραι[α]νοῦ, but line 3 would not have been indented three spaces as Stein imagined. Though conceivably the preposition ἐπί, of which no trace remains, stood at the beginning, it is easier to accept what Wilcken believed he saw. Accordingly, while at the end of line 3 Stein restored [τὸ γ' καὶ], we restore [οὗ καὶ]. In line 4, where Wilcken restored [Που]πλίου Ἀ[ιλίου τὸ

ᾱ καὶ Ῥου]στικοῦ, Stein's restoration Δ[ασουμίου must indeed be preferred, though unmentioned in the last three editions of the papyrus. In line 5 Meyer proposed ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. This seems too long with Wilcken's restoration of the rest, but the only attractive alternatives are ἐν Νικοπόλει (the exact quarter, which Wilcken in *Hermes* 37 proposed uncertainly as an alternative), or ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. As for line 17 P. M. Meyer (*ArchP* 3 [1906] 69) rightly interpreted προειεναὶ as an error for προίεμαι, a synonym of προβάλλομαι.

References to the two legions are collected by R. Cavenaile, *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 312 f.

The epistle brings information on the presence of these military forces in Egypt in 119, but the main interest of the document lies in the emperor's stern discipline and, at the same time, affectionate concern for the troops. Soldiers were still forbidden to marry, but the unions with concubines were not treated like *stuprum* and the children received limited rights of inheritance.

In line 10 Rammius is the prefect of Egypt, Q. Rammius Martialis (G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 [1975] 283). He was clearly in office when Hadrian wrote to him and even when the epistle arrived. But a translation had to be made, and N. Lewis (*AJP* 76 [1955] 65–67) argues that the date 4 August, given in line 8, can not be taken as surely falling within this governor's term. Still the publication which the emperor had ordered this governor to make did not suffer a long delay, if any.

On the word ἀναλημφθέντες = *suscepti* in lines 23–24 see not only Berger, but also L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (Vienna, 1953) 465, n. 424. The usual translation is “procreated,” but even if the father no longer raised the child from the ground, the phrase still meant that he acknowledged it.

The last two clauses are translated in *Select Papyri* “not to enable me to take credit in their eyes, but in order that they may use this privilege, should they be ignorant of it.” Though this could be right, the contrast seems rather to lie between condoning lack of discipline and helping correct a mistake.

71. HADRIAN TO THE EPHESIAN GERUSIA, A.D. 120

Ephesus. Found in the Great Theatre and taken to London by Wood. Now in the British Museum, where it was seen in the Duveen Basement North on 27 September 1972.

C. Curtius, *Hermes* 4 (1870) 178–181 with a drawing; W. H. Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques de l'Empire romain* (Paris, 1872) 191; J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877) Inscriptions from the Great Theatre, No. 17; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*¹ (1883) 284; E. L. Hicks, *BMusInsc* 3 (1890) CCCCLXXXVI; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*² (1898) 386; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 20; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ 833; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 78; J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 6, 1941) 89–90, No. 7; [Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 452]. See also *ARS*, 180, No. 237.

71

[Αὐτοκράτωρ] Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραι<α>νοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός,
[θεοῦ Νέρουα υ]ίωνός, Τραιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός,
[ἀρχιερεὺς] μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δ',
[ὑπατος τ]ὸ γ', Ἐφεσίων τῇ γερουσίαι χαίρειν.

- 5 [Μέττιος] Μόδεστος ὁ κράτιστος εὐ ἐποίησεν τὰ δίκ[αια]
[ὑμῖν κατα]νείμας ἐν τῇ κρίσει· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐδηλ[ώσατε]
σφ[ετερί]ζεσθαι χρήματα ὑμέτερα, οὐσίας τῶν δεδανισ[μέ]
νω[ν κ]ατέχοντας οὐ φάσκοντας δὲ κληρονομεῖν, τοὺς [δὲ]
καὶ [α]ὐτοὺς χρεώστας ὄντας, πέπομφα ὑμῶν τὸ ἀντ[ίγραφον]
10 τοῦ ψηφίσματος Κορνηλίῳ Πρεῖσκῳι τῷ κρατίστῳι
ἀνθυπάτῳι, ἵνα, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον εἴη, ἐπιλέξηται τινα
ὃς κρίνει τε τὰμφισβητούμενα καὶ εἰσπράξει πάντα
ὅσα ἂν ὀφείληται τῇ γερουσίαι ννν Ὁ πρεσβεύων ἦν
Κασκέλλιος Π[ον]τικός, ὡς τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω, εἴ γε μὴ
15 προῖκα ὑπέ[σχε]το πρεσβεύειν· Εὐτυχεῖτε· Πρ(ὸ) · ε · Κ(αλανδῶν)
Ὁκτοβρίων.

[Γραμματεύοντος Πο]πλίου Ῥουτειλίου Βάσσου.

1 TPAINOY lapis. 1–4 Curtius. 5 [Μέττιος Waddington; δίκ[αις] Hicks, δικ[ασθέντα] Curtius. 6 [ὑμῖν ? Hicks; [καταν]είμας Curtius; ἐδηλ[ώσατε] Curtius. 7–9 Curtius. 14 [Πον]τικός Waddington, [ὑπα]τικός Curtius, [*Ατ]τικός Wood. 15–16 Curtius.

Translation

[Imperator] Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson [of divine Nerva], pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the fourth time, thrice [consul], to the Gerusia of the Ephesians greetings.

[Mettius] Modestus the clarissimus did well in awarding [you] your rights at the trial. Inasmuch as you made clear that many were misappropriating your money, holding estates of those who had borrowed from you and denying that they were heirs and claiming that the same persons actually were debtors (to them), I have sent the copy of your decree to Cornelius Priscus the (new) clarissimus proconsul, in order that if any such case arises, he will select someone who will decide the matters in dispute and will collect all that is owed to the Gerusia. The ambassador was Cascellius Ponticus. Let the travel allowance be paid to him, if he did not promise to serve at his own expense. Farewell. September 27. [In the secretaryship of Pu]blius Rutilius Bassus.

Commentary

The month is September of the year of Hadrian's fourth grant of tribunician power, which expired on 9 or 31 December 119.

Men whose cases were tried in the governor's court had sought to evade the debts incurred by the deceased owners of estates which they inherited. They were accordingly Roman citizens; probably they were non-Ephesians over whom the city itself had little or no control. A policy in support of old religious centers against the encroachment of Roman capitalists may be traced from the *iussus Caesaris* of 30 or 29 B.C. (*AJP* 93 [1972] 190–197) through the protection of the sanctuary at Dmeir by Caracalla. Cf. *Mélanges Daux*, 289–294.

The Gerusia at Ephesus was a college of respected older citizens who represented the ancient traditions of the city and protected particularly the sanctuary and cult of Artemis. The inscription attests a considerable activity in the lending of money, which is most easily understood as money belonging to Artemis. There were many cases of dispute as to who had first claim on the property which secured the loans of deceased debtors. The mere fact that the emperor, who obviously took a great interest in the Gerusia, communicated with it by means of epistles and not by means of *libelli* and *subscriptiones* shows that the emperor saw in the Gerusia a public corporation like a municipal senate. The document offers important evidence on the economic life of Ephesus and on the civic and cultural policy of the Roman government.

Whether created or invested by Lysimachus with control of the newly hellenized Artemisium, the Gerusia had importance in the

third century B.C. By the time of Strabo it had lost much of its influence, but later apparently the Roman government became impressed with what it could do for stability, and from the reign of Trajan through that of Commodus it is well attested. See Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia*, chap. 1.

**72. RESPONSE OF HADRIAN ON UNJUST POSSESSION,
A.D. 121 OR EARLIER**

Tebtunis. The response, cited as a precedent in the report of a later trial, occupies the first nine lines of *P. Teb.* 286.

B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Tebtunis Papyri* 2 (London and New York 1907) 45–47, No. 286; Mitteis, *Chrestomathie* (1912) No. 83; Arangio-Ruiz, *FIRA*², 3:315–317, No. 100.

U. Wilcken, “Zu den Kaiserreskripten,” *Hermes* 55 (1920) 32, n. 1; R. Katzoff, “Precedents in the Courts of Roman Egypt,” *ZSav* 89 (1972) 273–275; W. Williams, “Individuality in the Imperial Constitutions: Hadrian and the Antonines,” *JRS* 66 (1976) 69 f.

72

- ['Ε]κ μέρους ἀποκρίματος θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
 "Ε[τους] ς Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Ἀθῆρ ιζ. Ἀπολλωνίδης
 [π]ρ[ὸ]ς Κλαύδιον Ἀντωνῖν[ο]ν. Μεθ' ἑτερα Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός·
 [Κ]αὶ π[ρ]ώην σοι ἀπεφηνάμην ὅτι τὸ ἐ[π]ίκριμά μου βοηθεῖ [σ]οι
 5 [κ]αὶ [τὴν] Φιλωτέραν δὲ ὀλμαι κρατίστην οὖσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ
 δ[ρίστῳ] ἐμοὶ γνωρίμην οὐδὲν σε ἀδικῆσειν καὶ μάλιστα
 εἰδ[υῖαν] ὅτι νομὴ ἄδικος [οὐ]δὲν εἰσχύει, σὺ δὲ περὶ τῶν
 οὐ ζη[τ]ουμένων ἐνοχλεῖς μοι θέλεις ἔχων τὸν ἐπίτρο
 πον [τ]οῦ {του} δανιστοῦ ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει σοι τὰ σώματα.
 10 Φλαῦιος Ἰουγκεῖνος· Ἀκολούθως ταῖς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
 ἀποφάσσει τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας ἀπολήμψεται
 Ἀπολλ[ω]νίδης παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ κληρονόμου.

Report of later proceedings before Julius Theon follows

Translation

Part of a response by divus Hadrian

Sixth year of Hadrian Caesar our lord, Athyr 19. Apollonides versus Claudius Antoninus. After other remarks Aelius Hadrian: Just the other day I replied to you that my trial decision is of

help to you, and I think that Philotera, being a woman of standing and most favorably known to me, will do you no injustice, especially since she knows that unjust possession is of no avail. But it is you who wish to trouble me about matters which are not in dispute; you have the guardian of the creditor who will return the slaves to you.

Flavius Juncinus: Apollonides, in accord with the pronouncements of our lord, will receive back the slaves and their services from Antoninus the heir.

Commentary

Julius Theon, before whom a later trial was held, concluded with the remark, "For there is no need to inquire into the possession, as we are bound to respect the pronouncements (*ἀποφάσεις*) of the divus Trajan and our lord Hadrian Caesar Augustus which have just been read" (that of Trajan was for some reason not included in the copy).

The office held by Flavius Juncinus in Egypt is unknown. Grenfell and Hunt, supported by Wilcken, identified him with the judge before whom the trial in 121 was held; Mitteis regarded him as an advocate in the later trial. The papyrus seems to reflect three decisions, or four, if one counts that of Trajan. The first decision (*epikrima*) occurred in the case of Philotera before Hadrian. The *apokrima* of Hadrian, which contains both a reference to Hadrian's decision in that trial and also an authoritative statement of law, is itself strictly not a decision. Flavius Juncinus lumps the *epikrima* and the *apokrima* together as *apophaseis*, but the real second decision occurs in the case of Apollonides vs. Claudius Antoninus and is his. A third decision occurs in the case of Ptolema before Julius Theon.

On *apokrimata*, see also A. A. Schiller, *Apokrimata* (New York, 1954) 39–49.

73. PLOTINA AND HADRIAN ON THE EPICUREAN DIADOCHÉ AT ATHENS, A.D. 121

Athens. Four fragments which join as part of a large block of Pentelic marble, broken above and below, are now EM 1040 in the Epigraphical Museum. Those of the upper part were discov-

ered in Greek excavations west of the Tower of the Winds in 1890; the lower part had been found earlier in the Piraeus.

A. Wilhelm, "Ein Brief der Kaiserin Plotina," *JÖAI* 2 (1899) 270–275 with photograph. This edition, based on that of the upper part made by S. A. Kumanudes, *EphArch* (1890) 141 f., and the lower part (*IG* III 49, which Wilhelm himself added) has been reproduced with inadvertent changes by J. Kirchner, *IG* II² (1913) 1099 and from Kirchner again by Smallwood, *Documents* . . . *Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, as No. 442. The upper part has been often reproduced from Wilhelm, e.g., in *CIL* III suppl., p. 2077, no. 12283; *ILS* 2, 2 (1906), 7784; Girard, *Textes*⁶, 196 f.; Riccobono, *FIRA*², *Leges*, 430 f., No. 79; and from Kumanudes in various discussions.

H. Diels, *Archiv f. Gesch. der Philosophie* 4 (1890) 486–491 on the *diadochē*; Th. Mommsen, *ZSav* 12 (1891) 152–154 (= *Ges. Schriften* III 50–52); R. Dareste, *RHD* 16 (1892) 622–624; A. Steinwenter, *ZSav* 51 (1931) 404–408; G. Beseler, *ZSav* 52 (1932) 284–287; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934) 203–207; R. Herzog, "Urkunder der Hochschulpolitik der römischen Kaiser," *SBBerlin* (1935) 984, No. 1; P. J. Alexander, "Letters and Speeches of the Emperor Hadrian," *HSCP* 49 (1938) 160–162 and 174; H. Bardon, *Les empereurs et les lettres latines d'Auguste à Hadrien* (Paris, 1940) 398; *ARS*, No. 238; Follet, *Athènes*, 22 f.

73

[M. Annio Vero II. Cn. A]rrio Augure co[s].

A Plotina Augusta.

[Quod mihi studiu]m erga sectam Epieuri sit. optime scis, d[omi]ne.
5 Huius successioni a te succurrendum |[est. Nunc quia n]on licet nisi ex
civibus Romanis adsumi diad[o]chum, in angustum redigitur eligendi|
[facultas.]

[Rogo] ergo nomine Popilli Theotimi, qui est modo diado[c]hus Ath-
enis, ut illi permitatur a te et Graece|[t]estari circa hanc partem iudi-
ciorum suorum quae ad diadoches ordinationem pertinet et pere-
grei|nae condicionis posse sub[s]tituere sibi successorem, s[i i]ta
10 suaserit profectus personae; et quod Theotimo|concesseris, ut eodem
iure et deinceps utantur futuri diadochi sectae Epicuri, eo magis quod
opservatur,|quotiens erratum est a testatore circa electionem
[di]adochi, ut communi consilio substituatur a studio|sis eiusdem
sec[t]ae qui optimus erit; quod facilius fiet, si e[x] compluribus
eligatur.

[l]mp. Caesar Trainaus Hadrianus Aug. Popillio Theotimo: permitto
Graece testari de eis quae pertinent ad diadochen sectae Epicureae.
Set cum et facilius successorem e[l]lecturus sit, si ex peregrinis quoque

- 15 substituendi facul|tatem abuerit, hoc etiam praesto e(t) deinceps ceteris
[qui] diadochen habuerint: licebit vel im pe(re)greinum vel in civem
Romanum ius hoc transferri.

- Πλωτεῖνα σεβαστὴ πᾶσι τοῖς φίλοις χαίρειν. [Ἔ]χομεν οὐ τυχεῖν ἐσπεύδομεν·
συνκεχώ
ρηται γὰρ τῷ διαδόχῳ, ὃς ἂν μέλλῃ τῆς Ἐπικούρου διαδοχῆς ἀφηγεῖσθαι τῆς
οὔσης ἐν
Ἀθήναις, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρὸς τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀν[ή]κον οἰκονόμημα Ἑλληνικῇ
διαθήκῃ δι
20 ἀτάσσεσθαι καὶ αἰρεῖσθαι εἴτε Ἑλλήνα εἴτε Ῥωμαῖον βούλοιο τὸν προστατῆ
σοντα τῆς
διαδοχῆς. Καλῆς οὖν τῆς ἐξουσίας προσγ[ε]νημένης ἥς ἀξίαν χάριν οφείλομεν
εἰδέ
ναι τῷ ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐεργέτῃ καὶ πάσης π[α]ιδείας κοσμητῇ ὄντι καὶ κατὰ
τοῦτο σε[βα]σμῷ
τάτῳ αὐτοκράτορι, ἐμοὶ δὲ προσφιλεστάτῳ[ι] κατὰ πάντα καὶ ὡς διαφέροντι
κυρίῳ καὶ ὡ[ς] ἀ[γ]αθῷ
τέκνῳ, κατάλληλον ὑπάρχει ἕκαστον τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὴν κρίσιν τῆς
προστατείας τὸν ἄ
25 ριστον αἰεὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοδόξων πειρᾶσθαι ἀντικαθιστάνειν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τόπον
καὶ πλεῖον
νέμειν τῇ τῶν ὄλων ὄψει ἢ τῇ ἰδίᾳ [πρ]ός τινας συνηθεί[αι]. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν
ἤρεσκε μὴδὲ [ἀγα]π[ᾶν] τι
νας μᾶλλον τῶν διαφέρειν δοξάντων κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν λό[γ]ω[ν] τ[ῶν]
[ἡμ]ετέρων καὶ κατὰ
τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν διάθεσ[ιν] τ[ῶν] [ἡθ]ῶν ὑπεροχῇ. Εἰ δ' ἄρα τοῦτο
μὴ γένοιτο, οὐ παρὰ
τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ πράγματος φύσιν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσθένειαν ἢ διὰ τινα
ἄλλην τυχικὴν
30 ἐμπόδισιν, τό γε τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ θρησκευματος βουλευσόμενον καθήκειν
οἶμαι [σ]το
χάζεσθαι τοῦ ἀρέσοντος [κοιν]ῇ πᾶσιν καὶ μὴ τοῦ ἰδίου ἑαυτῷ. Μὰ τὸν Δία δὲ
οὐδὲ νομίζω
τὸν ἀντιλαβόμενον [τῆς] ὠφελείας τῆς ἐκ τῶν λόγων περιγεγενημένης αὐτῷ καὶ
χά
[ριν] ἔχ[οντα] τῷ τοιο[ύτω] συ[ν]αισθηματι αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ ἐπιλογισμῷ χρῆσθαι
τῷ μὴ ἑάσον
[τι] αὐτὸν [παρεξεν]εγκεῖν τ[ὸ] μέγεθος τῆς δωρεᾶς μὴ οὐχὶ οὕτως διατεθῆσεσθαι
ὥστε καὶ
35 — — — — — τὸ τοῦ σεμνώματος τήρημα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου, ὃς περιέχει τὰ
— — — — — καὶ τὴν γνώμην δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς καθηγεμονίας τοῦ σωτῆρος ΗΓ.

[----- πρώτου?] κυρίου καθεσταμένου τῆς σχολῆς ὄντων ἅκατ' ἐκεῖνον [τὸν
καὶ ρὸν? ..]
[----- Ἐπικ]οῦρωι κατὰ τὰλλα ἰδιώματα οὐ κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν[ν-----]
-----μένου ἑτέρων τε πλείονων κ-----

Translation

In the consulship of [M. Annii Verus for the second time
and of Cn.] Arrius

Augur (= A.D. 121)

From Plotina Augusta

[What interest I] have in the sect of Epicurus you know very well, lord. His School needs help from you. [Since, as of now], a successor must be taken from those who are Roman citizens, the choice is narrowly limited. [I ask], therefore, in the name of Popillius Theotimus, who is currently successor at Athens, that it be permitted by you to him both to make a testament in Greek concerning this part of his decisions which applies to the organization of the Succession and to be entitled to appoint as successor to himself one of peregrine status, if the distinction of the person should make it advisable. And that also future successors of the sect of Epicurus thereafter may use the same right which you will have granted to Theotimus, all the more so because, as often as a mistake has been made by the testator concerning the election of a successor, it is the rule for him who is the best man to be substituted by the members of the same sect in a common meeting, a procedure which will become easier if the election is made from a larger group.

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus to Popillius Theotimus.

I permit you to make a testament in Greek concerning those matters which pertain to the Succession of the Epicurean sect, but since he will even more easily choose a successor if he has obtained the option of appointing a successor also from peregrini, this too I guarantee, and it will be permitted to all others who have obtained the succession to pass on this right either to a peregrine or to a Roman citizen.

Plotina Augusta to all the Friends, greetings.

We have now what we were so eager to obtain. For it has been granted to any successor who will lead the School of Epicurus which is at Athens both to make authoritatively every disposition

pertinent to the Succession in a Greek testament and to choose as the future president of the School either a Hellene, if he so wishes, or a Roman. We owe then a debt of gratitude to him who is in truth the benefactor and overseer of all culture and therefore a most reverence-worthy emperor, to me very dear in all respects as both an outstanding guardian and loyal son. With this fine extension of authority that has been granted it is appropriate that each of those who have been trusted with the decision concerning the presidency ever try to appoint in his place the best of the fellow-sectarians and to attribute more importance to his view of the overall interests than to his private congeniality with certain members. In my opinion, therefore, it would be better not to regard any with more affection than those who win recognition as outstanding in the power of our doctrines and, accordingly, in the superiority of their own moral condition. If this were not to occur, not by the peculiar nature of the matter but by our own weakness or through some other accidental impediment, I think it the duty of him who will plan for the society's program to aim at the man who will please all in common and not just at the one who will please him personally. But, by Zeus, I do not at all think that he who once lays hold of the advantage which has come to him from the doctrines and who has gratitude for his joint perception of such, with his habit of living by a fixed principle which would not allow him to abuse the great gift, I think that he will not only not fail to dispose by testament so that — — — the preservation of the dignity of that position — — —

Commentary

The Epicurean School at Athens was known as the Succession of Epicurus, and the head of the community was the Successor of Epicurus. Similar successions and successors are known in other philosophical communities both at Athens and elsewhere (C. G. Zumpt, "Über den Bestand der philosophischen Schulen in Athen und die Succession der Scholarchen," *SBBerlin* 1843, Phil.hist. Abt. 27–119; Diels, *Archiv f. Gesch. der Philosophie* 4 [1890] 486–491; J. H. Oliver, "The Diadochê at Athens under the Humanistic Emperors," *AJP* 98 [1977] 160–178).

The dowager empress Plotina served as intermediary for the successor (*diadochos*) of Epicurus at Athens, Popillius Theotimus, currently attested in no other source, though a homonym, prob-

aby his son (so Diels), appears in *IG II*² 2068 as Athenian citizen and archon. What Theotimus and the other Epicureans desired was a relaxation of the Roman rule that the society had to have a man with Roman citizenship as president and that the testament, by which the Succession was still handed on as in the Hellenistic Period (see Diogenes Laertius 5.51–74), had to be composed as a Roman will in Latin. This was part of a now outdated rigid control by the Roman government, all the more striking when one considers that Athens was juristically a free city, not subject to the governor's *imperium*. One should not, however, interpret the need for the emperor's permission as indicating that the status of a free city was illusory. The property of the Succession had in the principate to be protected not only by Athenian but by international (= Roman) law, especially since local magnates, sometimes irresistible in a city's court, constituted the chief threat. The protection of a Roman court was desired by the community which enjoyed the endowment and the estate; it may be assumed that either the community itself or its protectors had requested from a previous Roman emperor, probably Augustus, as Mommsen suggested, a guarantee of inviolability as in the case of other endowments for a worthy purpose, examples of which have been collected by J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc. 43.4, 1953) 963–980. At whatever date the inviolability of the Succession of Epicurus was promised by a Roman emperor, these irksome controls and the inconvenience of a Roman will had been accepted.

The letters of Plotina to the emperor and to the Friends (the Epicureans at Athens) reveal that the *diadochos* named in his will the member whom he wanted as his successor but that if the choice violated the law or was not included or fell on someone who declined, the choice would be made by the Epicurean community in a special session.

The Greek of Plotina's epistle to the Friends bristles with verbal substantives ending in *-μα*, a characteristic of the style of Epicurus himself according to Wilhelm. For the power of the 'logoi' (line 27) Wilhelm cites the verse of Alexis, known from Athenaeus 13. 610 c, *τοὺς τὰς τῶν λόγων, ὧς φασι, δυνάμεις, κτλ.* One may compare also the prominence of 'logoi' in the *Panathenaic* of Aelius Aristides, especially §328 Lenz (§228 Oliver) where the Hellenes are reminded that they have conquered the world with the 'dynamis' of the Athenians. With line 35, *τὸ τοῦ σεμνώματος*

τήρημα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου, Wilhelm compared the testament of the successor Lycon in Diogenes Laertius 5.70, *συγκατασκευαζέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ γνώριμοι καὶ τοῦ τόπου χάριν*. For the phrase *ὡς ἀληθῶς* in line 22 parallels are noted by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 550.

74. HADRIAN TO UNKNOWN AT ATHENS ON THE SUCCESSION OF EPICURUS, A.D. 125

Athens. Two white marble fragments recut as Byzantine capitals are now in the Epigraphical Museum, a = EM 12386 and b = EM 8395.

J. H. Oliver, "An Inscription Concerning the Epicurean School at Athens," *TAPA* 69 (1938) 494–499 with photograph brought together from *SEG* III 226 and *IG* II² 1097 (= III 30) as parts of the same inscription of at least 27 lines. Fragment a was originally published by A. Wilhelm, "Neue Urkunden der Epikureier," *Attische Urkunden* 3 (*SBWien* 202, 5, 1925) 61–64, No. 18. Follet, *Athènes*, 23–24 restored the first six lines convincingly as from an epistle of Hadrian. [J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 99 (1978) 269–270 restored lines 1–4. K. C.]

74

- a [χαίρειν] vac []
 [Καὶ πάλιν λέγω ὅπερ Ποπιλλῷ Θεοτείμῳ καὶ θεᾷ Πλωτείνῃ τῇ σεμνοτ]άτῃ
 μητ[ρί μου ἀπεφηνάμην, ὅτι]
 [τοῖς δὲ τῆς διαδοχῆς] προισταμέ[νοισ ἐξεῖναι διατάσσεσθαι] περὶ ταύτης
 Ἑλληνι[κῇ διαθήκῃ ἡδέως]
 4 [συγχωρῶ καὶ Ἑλληνα] βούλωντ<a>ι καὶ Ῥω[μαῖον αἰρεῖσθαι ---]
 Ῥωμαίους TATE[-----]
 b [-----]ιν διετάξατο ΚΑ[-----]ΧΗΙΔΙ ὧ τῷ
 σημήν[αντι ταῷ]
 [τα αὐτῇ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἐπικούρου κ[οινῶς. Εὐτυχεῖτε. ---] Μαρτίων ἐν
 Ῥω[μαῖον αἰρεῖσθαι Follet. 5–6 τῷ σχολάρ]χη ιδίᾳ τῷ
 [ρίῳ Ἀσιατικῷ] τὸ β' καὶ Ἀκυλείν[ωι ὑπάτοις]] vacat

2–4 [ἐπειδὴ τῇ σεμνοτ?]άτῃ μητ[ρὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἀεὶ τῆς Ἐπικούρου διαδοχῆς] προισταμέ[νοισ ἐξεῖναι] περὶ ταύτης Ἑλληνι[κῇ διαθήκῃ διατάσσεσθαι καὶ Ἑλληνα] βούλωνται καὶ Ῥω[μαῖον αἰρεῖσθαι Follet. 5–6 τῷ σχολάρ]χη ιδίᾳ τῷ

σημήν[αντί μοι ταῦτα ? καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἐπικούρου κ[οινῇ
Follet. 6–7 Ο[ὐαλερίωι Follet, Ἀσιατικῶι and Ἀκυλείν[ωι
ὑπάτοις Wilhelm. In lines 4, 5, and 6 the stone has lambda for
alpha.

Translation

[Once again I say what I decided for Popillius Theotimus and deified Plotina, my] most [revered] mother, [that I gladly grant that it be permitted to whoever] preside [on each occasion over the Succession to dispose] of it [by a] Greek [testament, whether] they wish [to choose a Hellene] or a Roman [— — —] Romans [— — — — —] disposed [— — — — —] who explained [these matters to her and] to [all the] Epicureans [in common. Farewell. — — —] March at Athens [in the consulship of Valerius Asiaticus] for the second time and of Aquilinus.

Commentary

By shifting the position of fragment b in respect to fragment a, by raising b one line, S. Follet has succeeded in producing some continuity of thought between the two fragments and has isolated the first six lines as from an epistle of Hadrian dated by the consuls of A.D. 125, between 14 February and 14 March.

A vacant space above the text on b probably indicates a short line at the end of the lost heading. The subject is the same as that of No. 73 of A.D. 121, where Plotina (line 22) refers to Hadrian as “most dear to her in all respects both as distinguished lord and as excellent son.” Plotina died in A.D. 122. Hadrian publicizes his continued devotion to her memory when he refers to her as his most [revered] mother. For the clause ὅπερ . . . ἀπεφηνάμην restored in line 2, see the epistle of Claudius to the Thasians, No. 23.

In the second century after Christ there were probably three “Successors” at Athens, one main diadoch for Platonists, Aristotelians, and others, and two for the two sects which held aloof, the Epicureans and Stoics (cf. *AJP* 98 [1977] 160–178).

74 bis. EPISTLE OF HADRIAN TO THE DELPHIANS, A.D. 125

Delphi, nos. 351 and 2326.

[Edited in part by Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis*, 82–83. A complete edition has been prepared by Cl. Vatin, *Delphes à l'époque*

impériale (Diss., Paris) 7–21; cf. A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4, 82–83, and R. Flacelière, *CRAI* (1971) 172–173. Professor Oliver's manuscript did not include this document; he mentioned it in his letter of 23 April 1979 to Dr. Wörrle, who perhaps (it is not clear in the letter) had first brought the document to his attention. The document was included in the Kommission's edition of Professor Oliver's manuscript (see Foreword).

74 bis

- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ] θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Πα[ρθι]
 [κοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ] Νέρβα υἱωνός, Τραιανός
 [Ἀδριανός ἀρ]χιερὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχι
 [κῆς ἐξουσ]ίας τὸ ἔνατον, ὕπατος τὸ τ[ρί]
 5 [τον, τῷ κοι]ν[ῷ τ]ῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ
 [Δελφῶν τῇ] πόλει χαίρειν.
 [Τὰ γράμματα ᾗ] πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπεστείλα
 [τε τά τ' ἐμὰ π]ερὶ ὑμ[ῶ]ν προσήχθη τῇ
 [λαμπροτάτῃ] συνκλήτῳ καὶ ἡ σύνκλη
 10 [τος ἦν ἐνεδεί]ξασθε ἐκ τῶν δογμάτων[ν]
 [σπουδὴν ἐπῆ]υσεν καὶ προσηγόρευ
 [σεν ταῖς λα]μπ[ρ]οτάταις προσηγο
 [ραίαις ὃν ὑμεῖς] πρεσβευτὴν ἀπεδείξ
 [ατε, ὥστε τὴν τειμ]ῇν νεῖμαι αὐτῷ ἥς
 15 [αἱ ἀποστελλ]όμεν[α]ι πρεσβεῖται κα
 [τάξιοι διὰ παντ]ὸς ἡξιοῦντο.

 25 [-----]ν καὶ τὰ πε[ρὶ τοὺς
 [ἀγῶνας? -----] μ]ὲν ἄκυρ[.] ἐγὼ δὲ
 [ταῦτα ἐν καιρῷ δι]ηγῆσομαι παρ' ὑ
 [μεῖν & νῦν πέπρακ]<τ>αι μοι βουλομέ
 [νῳ ἵνα ὑμεῖν εὐδαι]μονία καὶ ἀκμή
 30 [φωλάσσηται].
 [Ἐπρέσβευον Φλ. Ἀρι]στότειμος
 ιμος. Εὐτυ
 [χεῖτε. Πρὸ ὦ]ν Σεπτεμβ
 [ρίων. Ἀπὸ οἰκίας Τιβου]ρτείνης.

I have composed a provisional text based on that of Bourguet

and, for lines 10–16 and 26–30, on that of Vatin (as reported by A. Plassart but with some changes, not all of which are reproduced here); Oliver would restore $\tau\acute{\alpha} \tau' \epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}$ in the lacuna of line 8, if Vatin's reading of the letters after the lacuna should remain the same as Bourguet's. For a definitive text we must await Vatin's edition. K.C.]

75. HADRIAN TO THE DELPHIANS ON AMPHICTYONIC AFFAIRS, FIRST EPISTLE, A.D. 125

Delphi. Sixteen fragments of blocks from the wall of the Temple of Apollo, Nos. 401, 420+487, 575, 639, 811, 1096, 1386, 1587+552, 1633, 1708, 1772, 1854, 3902, 4006, were thought to be in the Upper Lapidarium (Room 10 of the Museum at Delphi). In 1971 all were examined there except 420+487, 575, 639, and 1708, which could not then be found. In November 1973 these too were found in the Open Air Lapidarium north of the bend in the road.

E. Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis*, 74–75 and 78–79; A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4, 70–83, No. 302 with photographs, a much better edition.

See also G. W. Bowersock, *RhM* 108 (1965) 288; G. Daux, *Recueil Plassart* (Paris, 1976) 69–79; R. Flacelière, *CRAI* (1971) 171 f., No. 8.

75

Col. I

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθ[ικοῦ υἱός, Θεοῦ]
 Νερούα υἱωνός, Τραιανός Ἀδριανός [Σεβα]στός, ἀρχι
 ερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐ[ξουσί]ας τὸ · Θ ·,
 4 ὑπατος τὸ · Γ ·, Δελφῶν τῇ πό[λει] ννν χαίρειν.
 Κατὰ τάδε ἔδοξε μοι κ[ο]ινωνεῖν ὑ[μᾶς τῇ]ς Ἀμφικτυ
 ονεΐας καὶ τὸν ἀγῶν[α δι]ατίθεσθ[αι τ]ῶν Πυθί
 8 ων. Ἐπαγγέλλετέ μοι ὅτι ἐξαιτοῦνται τὰς πα
 τρίους αὐτοῖς πρ[ονομίας Θεσσαλοί. Ε]ἰ δὲ ἀγω
 νισταὶ μόνοι οἱ ε[-----]
 προστεθέντες μ[-----] ἀκυ
 ροὶ δὲ ἔστωσαν[-----]
 12 ρων καὶ προῖκα λ[-----] Ὡς]
 μὲν ἔχουσιν ἐν τ[ῇ] νῦν Ἀμφικτυονείᾳ, Δελφοῖς]
 δύο ψῆφοι εἰσιν, [Θεσσαλοῖς σὺν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν]
 δώδεκα < Ἐπεὶ δὲ [τὰς πάλαι ψήφους τῶν ἐθνῶν]

16 τῶν τῇ Θεσσα[λίᾳ ἀνηκόντων αὐθις αὐτοῖς]
 ἔδωκεν ὁ Νέρ[ων - - - - -]
 [. . .]υῖτους καὶ [- - - - -]

20 [- - - - -]μη
 [- - - - -]ν τῶν ἱερο
 [- - - - -]μηδὲ τοῖς
 [- - - - -]σίως ἄν
 24 [- - - - -]ἐδέησαν δὲ
 [- - - - -]ῶ πρόδικος
 [- - - - -]ῇ ἀγωνοθ[εσία ἡ τῶν
 [Πυθίων - - - - -] Θεσσαλοὶ
 28 [- - - - -]ἀπ[οδότω <
 [- - - - -]Ἄπ[όλλω <
 [ν - - - - -]τοις
 [- - - - -]ο

[- - - - -]ἸΑ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]μενο[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ῖρόν[ο]α πολὺ α
 [- - - - -]το]ῦ συνεδρίου κοι
 [νοῦ - - - - -]ὑπο]ψίας αἵτιον
 [- - - - -]Ισ]χυρὰ καὶ με
 [γάλα - - - - -]

π[
 αγαλ[
 σαντ[. .

3902

]α εἰδρυσ[
]κ ἐπὶ τε γ[
]ως προφα[σ
 Δ]ελφοῖς γ[
]ε καὶ το[
 ἀφορ[μὴν τιν[α(?)

Col. II.

[Κα]θ' ἃ μέντοι χρῆ ποιεῖν κατὰ τοῦ[ς] νόμους, [εἰ]σ[τήνεγκαν]
 γνώμην εἰς τὴν λαμπροτάτην σ[ύ]γκλητον εἰσηγη[σάμε]
 νοὶ τὰς ψήφους ἅς πλέονας τῶ[ν] ἄλλων ἔχουσιν Θεσ[σα]
 4 λ[οὶ Ἀ]θηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίο[ι]ς διανεμηθῆναι καὶ ταῖ[ς]
 ἄλ[λαι]ς πόλεσιν, ἵνα ἡ κοινὸν πάντ[ω]ν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ συνέ
 δρ[ι]ον <Εἴ τις ἐκκλητίου γενομ[έν]ης ἢ ἄλλως ἐν Πυλαίᾳ ἐσ
 τε[φ]άνωται, ἄκυρος ὁ ἀγὼν ἔστω κα[ὶ] τῷ νεικήσαντι λελύσθω

- 8 ἡ [ν]εῖκη <Εἰ δ' ἀντιποιοῖτο τοῦ στ[ε]φάνου εἰς Δελοφούς ἐλθὼν
 π[ρ]ότερον καὶ ἀγωνισάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ, στεφανοῦς
 [θαι κ]ελεύω καὶ τὸ ἐπιδέκατο[ν] τῶν τεμμημάτων δ' οἱ δικαζό
 [μενοι παρατέθειν]ται Θεσσαλο[ύ]ς ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ <Τὰ τῶν
 12 [ἀγωνοθεσιῶν ? χρήματα δ]φ' ὧν δι[ανο]μὰς γενέσθαι πυνθάνο
 [μαι, ταῦτα ἀναδοῦνα]ι α[ὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ] ὅς ποτε ἔφηθι διοικη
 [σάμενος κελεύω] <"Ὅσα δ[ὲ] τοῦ θεοῦ χρήματα ἡ]δη διένειμάν τι<
 [νες κελεύω τῷ] θεῷ εἰσπρά[ξαι καὶ τὰ τῶν διανε]ιμάντων ὀνόματα
 16 [ἀνακοινῶσαί] μοι τὴν ταχ[ίστην <Ταῖς δὲ ψήφοις τ]αῖς νῦν χρῆσθ[αι]
 [εἰς τὰ τε ψηφ]ίσματα καὶ τ[ἄλλα δόγματα κα]ι [τὰ σ]υνβόλαια [ἀε]ῖ βο[ύ]
 [λομαι <Οὐ διαλεί]ψω δὲ ἐ[ύσεβων εἰς τὸ]ν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Πύθιον
 [-----]ειον τοῖς Ἀμφικτυ<
 20 [-----] τῷ κεφαλαίῳ προστε<
 [θέντα ----- <Π]ερὶ τῶν ξενίων πόθεν δεῖ
 [ὑμᾶς καὶ ταῦτα ἀναλίσκειν], πότερον ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρῆ
 [μάτων ἢ τῶν τοῦ ξένου ἢ τῆς] αὐτοῦ πατρίδος, περὶ πάντων
 [τούτων ἐν Δελοφί]σι δια[γν]ώ[σσομαι <Ἡκέτωσαν δὲ καὶ Θεσ
 25 σαλ[ῶν εἰς Δελοφούς] οἱ διανείμαντες τὰ χρήματα αὐτοί,
 καὶ τ[οὺς] λογισμοὺς ἔκε[ῖ] <δοθῆναι μοι βούλομαι τῶν
 προ[σηκ]όντων τῷ θεῷ χρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀναλισκομέ
 νω[ν. ἐν δὲ Δ]ελοφίσι κρινῶ <κ[α]ι περὶ ὧν Θεσσαλοὶ ὑμᾶς αἰτι
 [ῶνται, ὡς ἱεροσ]ύλους τινὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτυόνας
 30 ἀ[γαγόντας ὑφ' ὧ]ν κατέχονται, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δῆ
 [μητρος ὅσα οἱ πρεσβευτ]αὶ λέγουσιν <Τοῦ λιμένο
 [ἀμφισβητηθέντος, ἐπεὶ Θεσσα]λοὶ μὲν μὴ προσήκον ἐπερ
 [γάζεσθαι αὐτὸν ὑμᾶς εἴ]πον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνελεῖν τοὺς
 [-----]ων, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀπεδείξατε τριάκον
 35 [τα τάλαντα τῷ θεῷ Οὐ]εσπασιανῷ δόντες ὑπὲρ τῆς χώ
 [ρας ὥστε καὶ τοῦ λιμέ]ρος καὶ τῶν νομῶν ὑμᾶς εἶναι
 [κυρίου μέν, παντα]χῇ δέ, ἐνετ[ε]ιλ[άμην Κλαυδίῳ Τειμο
 [κρ]άτει σ[υναγ]αγόντι τῶν Ἀμφικ[τυονικ]ῶν δογμάτων
 ὅσα ἢ ἐνα[ντί]α ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶν [ἢ νόμοις τοῖ]ς κοιν[ο]ῖς
 40 πέμψαι μο[ι] ἵνα καὶ τούτων τις ἐ[ξέτασ]ις γένηται. Εἰ δ[ὲ]
 Αἰτωλοὶ ψήφους ἔσχον καὶ ταύ[τας ὁ] θεὸς Σε[β]αστὸς
 Νικοπολε[ί]ταις προσέθηκ[εν, καὶ π]ερὶ τούτου διαγνώ
 σμαι <Εὐ[τυ]χεῖτε< ν[] vacat] vacat

Column I: 1–4 Bourguet. 5 κ[ο]ινωνεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς Bourguet, ὑ[μᾶς] Plassart. 6 ἀγών[α] τίθεις[θαι τ]ῶν Bourguet, δι[α]τίθεις[θαι] Plassart. 7 μ[οι ὅτι κατὰ] Bourguet, ἐξαιτοῦνται] Plassart. 8 πρ[ονομίας οἱ μέχρι τοῦ]δε Bourguet, Θεσσαλοὶ Ε]ῖ δὲ Plassart. 9 ἐ[ν] Bourguet. 10 ἄκν] Bourguet. 11 [οἱ ἀγῶνες – – – ἡμε] Bourguet. 12 λ[υέσθω] Bourguet; Ὡς] Plassart. 13 [Ἀμφικτυονεῖα Ἀθηναίους μὲν] Bourguet, τ[ῇ] νῦν Ἀμφικτυονεῖα, Δελοφίσι] Plas-

sart. 14 Θεσσαλοῖς τε καὶ Νικοπολείταις] Bourguet, σὺν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν] Plassart. 15 Plassart. 16 Θεσσα[λίᾳ Bourguet; ἀνηκόντων τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς] Plassart, ἀνηχόντων αὐθις αὐτοῖς] Oliver. 17 Νέρ[ων Bourguet. 24–37 Plassart.

Column II: 1 [Κα]θ' Plassart; [εἰ]σ[ήνεγκα] Bourguet, [εἰ]σ[ήνεγκαν] Plassart. 2 Bourguet. 3 νοι Plassart, cetera Bourguet. 4–9 Bourguet. 10 [τε κ]ελεύω Bourguet, [θαι Oliver, [μὲν Plassart. 11 [μενοι κατέχον]ται Θεσσαλο[ι] Bourguet, [μενοι παρατέθειν]ται Θεσσαλο[ύ]ς Plassart. 12 [ἀγνοηθεσιῶν? χρήματα ἀ]φ' ὧν δι[ανο]μᾶς Plassart, δι[ι' ὑ]μᾶς Bourguet. 13 [μαι καὶ ταῦτα δοῦνα]ι Plassart, [μαι ταῦτα ἀναδοῦνα]ι Oliver; cetera Plassart. 14 Plassart. 15 τὰ τῶν διανειμ[άντων Bourguet, cetera Plassart. 16 Plassart. 17 [τὰ σ]υνβόλαια Bourguet, cetera Plassart. 18 Plassart. 20 χρήματ]α Plassart. 21 Bourguet. 23 [μάτων Bourguet, ἡ ἐκ Plassart, ἡ τῶν ξένου ἡ τῆς Oliver. 24 δια[γν]ώ[σομαι Bourguet, cetera Plassart. 25 [σαλοῖ Bourguet, σαλ[ῶν Plassart; εἰς Δελφούς Oliver. 26 Plassart. 27 προ[σηκ]όντων Oliver, προ[σι]όντων Plassart. 28 [νων, ἐν Δ]ελφοῖς, Κ[α]ὶ Bourguet, ἃ ἐν Plassart, ἐν δὲ Oliver. 29 [ῶνται, ἱεροσ]ύλους Bourguet, ὡς Plassart. 30 ἃ[παγαγόντες ὧ]ν Plassart, ἃ[γαγόντας ὑφ' ὧ]ν Oliver. 31 [μητρος Bourget; οἱ αὐτῶν πρεσβευτ]αὶ Plassart, ὅσα Oliver. 32 [ἀμφισβητηθέντος, ἐπεὶ Θεσσα]λοῖ Plassart, Αἰτω]λοῖ Bourguet. 33 [γάξεσθαι δοκοῦσιν Bourguet; αὐτὸν ὑμᾶς εἶπ]ον Plassart. 34 [Ἀμφικτύονας Plassart, [κριθέντας ὀρισμοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόν]ων Bourguet. 35 Bourguet. 36 [ρας et dubitanter ὥστε τοῦ λιμέν]ος καὶ τῶν νομῶν Bourguet, ὥστε καὶ Plassart. 37 [κυρίους τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τ]ῇδε ἐνε[τειλ]άμην Bourguet, ἀεὶ παντα]χῇ δέ Plassart, μὲν Oliver. 38–40 Bourguet. 41 τα[ύτας ἀφελὼν ὁ] θεὸς Bourguet, ταύ[τας ὁ] Plassart. 42 Νικοπολε[ίτα]ις προσέθηκ[εν δικαίως καὶ περὶ Bourguet, προσέθηκ[εν καὶ Plassart. 43 Plassart.

False ancient punctuation occurs in Col. II, lines 26 and 28.

Translation

Column I

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, [son] of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of [divine] Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the ninth time, thrice consul, to the city of the Delphians, greetings.

Here are my decisions on how you should be represented

numerically in the Amphictyony and how the Pythian Games should be conducted.

In your report you inform me that [the Thessalians are asking for] their ancestral privileges. If contestants alone [— — — — — As] they have it in the [present Council], there are two votes [for the Delphians], twelve [for the Thessalians and their tribes]. But since Nero gave [to them again the old votes of the tribes who belong] to Thessaly [— — —

Column II

As they moreover had to do according to the laws, they reported to the most splendid Senate, proposing that the surplus votes of the Thessalians be distributed among the Athenians, the Lacedaemonians, and the other cities in order that the syndedrion be a common syndedrion of all the Hellenes. If anyone has been crowned at the Pythia whether or not it was a specially summoned meeting, the contest shall not count and the man's victory shall have been canceled. But if he claims the crown as having come to Delphi previously and as having contended in the presence of the god himself, I order the crown to be allowed and the Thessalians to pay to the god the tithe of the assessments, the amount which the litigants deposited (as security). The [moneys] of [agonothetic funds] from which I learn the distributions were made, these moneys too I order them to restore to the god, who already once upon a time administered them. And [I order them] to collect for the god whatever [moneys of the god] any persons have distributed already [and to report] to me the names of those who made the distributions as soon as possible. I want them to use the votes as now (distributed) at all times for their decrees and other enactments and for their contracts. I shall not fail in my reverence for the Pythian Apollo [— — — —

Concerning the expenses of strangers: From what source [you] must [defray these costs], whether from the moneys of the god [or from those of the stranger or] of his paternal city, concerning all [these matters] I shall decide [in Delphi]. Let also the Thessalians come [to Delphi] who personally distributed the (prize) money, and I want to have rendered to me there the accounts of the moneys being expended which belong to the god.

At Delphi I shall judge also the charges which the Thessalians allege against you [as having brought] against the Amphictyons some impious rascals [by whom] they are held captive, and

concerning the sanctuary of Demeter [all the things which the ambassadors] say.

The harbor [dispute: Whereas] the Thessalians said [that] it was not right [for you to be] working [it] and therefore [— —] destroyed [— — — —], but you showed that you had given thirty [talents to the deified] Vespasian in payment for the land [so that] you might have [title to both the] harbor and the pasturages and [title] in every respect, I have commissioned Claudius Timocrates to collect and send to me the Amphictyonic decrees which are in conflict with one another or with the laws of society (Roman law), in order that an investigation also of these may be made.

If the Aetolians once had votes which the deified Augustus transferred to the Nicopolitans: On this too I shall hand down a decision.

Farewell.

Commentary

The epistle is very important for the history of the Delphic Amphictyony and for the emphasis on Hellenism, which took a new course and more active development under Hadrian. The roles of Nero and Hadrian in the distribution of votes in the Amphictyonic Council are not mentioned by Pausanias who refers to it as a *συνέδριον Ἑλλήνων* and whose historical sketch in 10.8.3–5 reads as follows:

It was the will of the Emperor Augustus that Nicopolis near Actium should join the Amphictyonic League, that the Magnesians, Malians, Aenianians and Phthiotians should be included among the Thessalians, and that their votes, together with those of the Dolopians (who had ceased to exist as a people), should be exercised by the Nicopolitans. At present the Amphictyons are thirty in number. Nicopolis, Macedonia, and Thessaly each send six; the Boeotians (who anciently inhabited Thessaly, and were then called Aeolians), Phocians and Delphians each send two; and ancient Doris sends one. The Ozolian Locrians, and the Locrians opposite Euboea, send one apiece; and there is one for Euboea. Of the Peloponnesian states Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth, with Megara, contribute one; and there is one for Athens. The cities of Athens, Delphi, and Nicopolis send members to every session of the Amphictyonic council; but out of the nations enumerated above, each city has its turn, at periodic intervals, of sending members to the Amphictyonic council. (J. G. Frazer's translation.)

G. Daux ("Les empereurs romains et l'amphictionie pyléodelphique," *CRAI* [1975] 348–362) distinguishes clearly between the Amphictyonic Council (of eight nations and twenty-four votes) as reformed by Augustus to give special prominence to a third city (Nicopolis with ten out of the twenty-four votes) and the Amphictyonic Council (of nine nations and thirty votes) which Pausanias describes as that of his day with six votes each for Nicopolitans, Thessalians, and Macedonians, the last of whom were not there under Augustus.

Column I, sadly mutilated though it is, gives not only the identities of the writer and recipient and even the date but the subject and strong suggestion that Nero had increased the representation of the Thessalians, though the literary sources do not mention it. Bowersock conjectured that Nero had in this way compensated the Thessalians at a time when he gave other Greeks their freedom and assigned Thessaly to Macedonia. Nero, I think, wished to do something for the Thessalians, who already constituted a free league (cf. J. A. O. Larsen in T. Frank, *Ec. Survey*, 4:447–448), whereas he had no wish to do anything for Athens and Sparta. Nero did not, however, put Thessaly into Macedonia; it was already there (cf. J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 14 [1973] 389). After Nero's tampering with the Amphictyony Hadrian apparently raised the number of members and established a new balance.

Column II begins with mention of a very interesting move to transfer excess votes of the Thessalians to the Athenians, Lacedaemonians, and the other cities in order that the Amphictyonic Council might be a common synhedrion of all the Hellenes. This is six years before the foundation of the Attic Panhellenion as a council representing all the Hellenes. The word "Hellenes" in this inscription means the Greeks of Old Hellas (and Macedonia), whereas the Hellenes of the Attic Panhellenion were the old cities and federal states of three continents with origins in the archaic and colonizing periods. The proposal says nothing about transferring votes to other *ethne*; it is to cities only, and since the Amphictyony came down from a pre-polis world, this looks like modernization. The phrase "all the Hellenes" reflects the importance of the symbol kept alive in the annual sacrifices at Plataea by "the Hellenes" and their priest of Zeus Eleutherius and the Concord of the Hellenes. On "the Hellenes" see *IG* VII 2509, *SIG*³ 845A, *Deltion* 25 (1970) 191, No. 1, and especially the decree for Chremonides republished by P. Roesch, *ZPE* 15 (1974) 182.

Of these the second is an inscription in honor of Hadrian at Delphi by the Hellenes, and the third is an inscription in honor of Hadrian at Athens by the Hellenes, and in the fourth they call themselves "the common synhedrion of the Hellenes."

In regard to Column II, lines 1–3, Plassart rightly indicates that it was an investigating committee which made the presentation to the Senate after returning from Greece.

In Column II, lines 37–40, Hadrian warns the Delphians that on his order an investigator, Claudius Timocrates, is being sent to Delphi to collect all the Amphictyonic decrees which contradicted each other or the common law, as Bourguet restored it. Plassart (p. 81, n. 3) cites Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 4.25) on the difference between the local law of each city and the *κοινοὶ* (νόμοι) "which we call 'Amphictyonic'," but Hadrian seems to me to reverse the usage. The Amphictyonic decrees are the decrees of a local amphictyony, whereas the [νόμοι] *κοινοί* are the laws of the Roman Empire which apply to all. It is Roman Law represented as the *ius gentium*. The Thessalians produced a crisis when they resurrected an old Amphictyonic decree against a decision by a Roman emperor (Vespasian). Hadrian's revision of the laws of Draco and Solon at Athens offers a parallel for a codification of Amphictyonic law.

For the *κοινοὶ νόμοι* as Roman law Menander of Laodicea on Epidictic Orations (*Rh. Gr.* III 363, Spengel) may be cited, *κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς κοινούς τῶν Ῥωμαίων νόμους πολιτευόμεθα*, but earlier, around A.D. 143, Aelius Aristides in the *Roman Oration* 102 had congratulated the Romans, *νόμους κοινούς ἅπασι τάξαντες*, in an enthusiastic passage which implied that this was one of Rome's greatest achievements as viewed against the background of previous confusion.

76. HADRIAN TO THE DELPHIANS ON AMPHICTYONIC AFFAIRS, SECOND EPISTLE

Delphi. At least two fragments of a block from the wall of the Temple of Apollo, Inv. Nos. 1271 and 3609, belong to one epistle of Hadrian. Ten other fragments, Inv. Nos. 397, 529, 637, 1385, 1387, 2301, 4538, 4546, 4736, and 5082, claimed by Plassart, look doubtful to Daux. All twelve fragments were thought to be in the Upper Lapidarium (Room 10 of the Museum at Delphi).

In 1971 all of them were examined except 4538 and 4736, which could not be found. The ten doubtful fragments, of which three (Nos. 529, 1385, 1387) clearly come from an imperial letter, are here retained with a warning that some or all may belong to another inscription or epistle.

Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis*, 77; A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 83–88, No. 303 with photographs. See also G. Daux, *Recueil Plassart* (Paris, 1976) 79.

76

1271 3609

4 [Α]ὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, Θεοῦ Τ[ρα]ϊανοῦ Παρθι[κοῦ υἱός],
 Θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνός, Τραι[α]νός Ἀδριανός [Σεβαστός],
 ἀρχιεὺς μέγιστος, δημ[αρ]χικῆς ἐξουσία[ς < τὸ ,]
 ὕπατος < τὸ Γ̄, ὡν Δελφῶν < τ[ῇ πόλει] ὡν χαίρειν.
 [Πε]ρὶ μὲν ὧν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀ[μφικτύον]ας ΑΙΙ
 [ὕ]μεῖν δι' ἄλλων γ[ραμμάτων ?
 [] ὑμᾶς γράφει[ν

397

τεια
 σωσα λη
 ἀπέ]φηνεν καὶ ὅσ[
 ου οὔτε αὐτο
 ἐπίνοια εσ
]σίας Ἀ
 ΩΜ

5082

= ITE

αι ων παιδ
 Ἑλλησιν πρ
 τους κ
 ΕΝΗ
 ΙΩΛΓ

2301

Ι
 ΝΩΙ
 ΛΤΩ

4736

σμα
 ὑπὲ]ρ πόλεως αι
]θεν καὶ ὑμεῖ[ς
 ὑπ]ὲρ ταύτης
 ὦτι -

529

ἀπ]οδότ[ω

θαι δῆλον

< Τοῦ κεφ[αλαίου

ΡΟΣ ΑΠΡΕ

ἐ]γράψατε 1385

στήσω <

δια]τελεῖτε καὶ τῶ

— πρῶτον καὶ ἀναγ[καῖον

τα αὐταρκεῖς ἀφορ[μάς

τοὺς λογισμοὺς

οἱ Ἀμφικ]τύονες < Διαθ

σ]υγχωρῶ < Τοὺς

]συργεῖν καὶ χρη

δίκαι]όν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐ δίκαιον

— μ]ενοι πολεῖτας τούτους

τα αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν πολειτεί[ν

το ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τινες τοῦτο αἰ

γεῖν ὑμᾶς τὸ ἕτερον ἅμα

πολε]ίτας παραιτουμένους

νννν < Ἐπρέσβευον Φλ

ς Ἀρισταίνετος < Φιλλέ[ας

σσου ν < Φιλάμμων Ὑβρ[ία

1387

637

N

ε ἔξετα-

σει < Η

λογισμοὶ

ο]! Ἀμφι

4546

[κτύονες ?]

—

ω προσ

]τερον · ἐὰν δ[έ

ισιν καὶ πό[σα

κ]αὶ πόσα ἐκ τ[

ω εἴ τι καὶ Ἀμφ[ικτυον

ᾶ δ' ἂν δέωγ[ται

4538

MAY

λογι]σμοὺς[

Restorations: 1–4 Bourguet. 5 [Περ]ὶ et Ἀ[μφικτύον]ας δι' ὑ[μᾶς ἔγραψα] Bourguet. 6 [καὶ ὑ]μεῖν et γραμμάτων Bourguet. 7 πρὸς ὑ[μᾶς γράφε]ιν Bourguet.

Plassart's text of the whole inscription is here used with most of Bourguet's restorations of lines 1–7. The inscription mentions

the Amphictyons and finances several times, but not enough remains for a clear understanding.

77. HADRIAN'S EPISTLE ABOUT THE SALE OF FISH AT ELEUSIS

Piraeus. The inscription was to be set up before the Deigma at the Piraeus. Fragment *a*, found at the Piraeus, is Piraeus Museum, No. 91; when seen by the writer on 2 December 1970, it was in a storage room awaiting completion of the new Museum. Fragment *b*, transported to Tenos presumably as ballast in the hull of a ship, was built into the wall of the Stavrodhake church at Tenos, when Latschew copied it. Now Tenos Museum, No. 141, it was examined there in June 1971.

C. Curtius, *Philologus* 29 (1870) 694 f. published fragment *a*; B. Latschew, *BCH* 7 (1883) 250 f. published fragment *b*. The exact relation between the two fragments was pointed out by A. Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 12 (1909) 146–148 with photograph of *a*. J. Kirchner, *IG* II² (1916), 1103; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 413 f., No. 91; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934) 127–129; John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York, 1942) 192 f. [Pleket, *Texts on the Economic History of the Greek World* (= *Textus Minores* XXXI) 16].

77

[-----]
 [...]Α[.]ει μετρη[σ-----]
 δὲ τὴν διοβελίαν [-----]ἢα μηδὲ [----- τοῖς]
 δὲ ἐν Ἑλευσεῖνι ἀλιεῦσιν ἀτέλειαν ἰχθύ[ων εἶναι ὅταν ἐν Ἑλευ]
 σεῖνι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πιπράσκωσιν, ὥς μὲν ἦ [εὐθηνία, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὰ]
 5 εἰσαγώγια ὄφελος εἰς μέγα τι ἀπαντήσῃ· τ[οὺς δὲ καπήλους]
 καὶ τοὺς παλινκαπηλεύοντας πεπαῦσθ[αι τῆς αἰσχροκερδίας]
 βούλομαι ἢ ἐνδειξιν αὐτῶν γείνεσθαι πρ[ὸς τ]ὸν κήρυκα τῆς ἐξ Ἀ
 ρείου πάγου βουλῆς· τὸν δὲ εἰσάγειν εἰς το[ὺς Ἀ]ρεοπαγείτας, τοὺς δὲ
 τειμᾶν ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι· πιπρασκέ[τω]σαν δὲ πάντα ἢ αὐτοὶ οἱ
 10 κομίζοντες ἢ οἱ πρῶτοι παρ' αὐτῶν ὀνού[με]νοι· τὸ δὲ καὶ τρίτους ὡ
 νητὰς γεινομένους τῶν αὐτῶν ὀνίων με[τα]πιπράσκειν ἐπιτείνει
 τὰς τειμὰς. Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν στήλῃ ἐ[ν]γράψαντες ἐν Πειραεῖ
 στήσατε πρὸ τοῦ Δείγματος vacat Εὐτυχεῖτε
 vacat

Ἐπιμελητεύοντος τῆς πόλεως \overline{T} Ἰουλίου Ἡρωδιαν[οῦ] Κολλυτέως
vacat

1–3 Wilhelm. 4 ὥς μένη [εὖοψος?, ἀλλοῦ δὲ μή, ὥς? τὰ] Wilhelm, ἵνα τὸ διὰ τὰ] Wilamowitz (*IG II² 1103*), ὥς μὲν ἦι [εὐθηνία, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὰ] Graindor. 5 τ[οὺς δὲ ἰχθυοπώλας] Wilhelm; καπήλους Graindor. 6 Wilhelm. 7 πρ[ὸς Wilhelm; τ]ὸν κ[ή]ρυκα Latschew. 8 Latschew. 9–12 Wilhelm. 13 Curtius.

Translation

— — — the two-obol tax — — but for the fishermen at Eleusis there shall be tax exemption on fish when they sell in the market at Eleusis in order that there be a good supply of food and that the aid through imports may amount to a lot. I want the vendors and retail vendors to have been stopped from their profiteering or else a charge to be brought against them before the herald of the Areopagus. The latter shall introduce the cases into the court of the Areopagites; they shall assess what must be suffered or paid. Let the fishermen themselves or the first vendors who buy from them make all the sales, for it raises the price when those who are third in line of purchasers of the same goods sell again.

Have this letter engraved on a stele and set it up at Piraeus in front of the Deigma.

Epimelete of the city T. Julius Herodian of Kollytos

Commentary

Wilhelm recognized that the lettering resembled that of Plotina's epistle (No. 73) and Hadrian's Oil Law (No. 92). He inferred that the emperor was Hadrian, a dating in which all subsequent students concur.

The emperor exempts the fish merchants from the two-obol tax at Eleusis, presumably at the time of the Mysteries (so Graindor) when the food supply might be inadequate for a crowd. As W. Liebenam (*Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche* [Leipzig, 1900] 24) pointed out, this implied that a harbor tax at the Piraeus was normal.

The emperor ordered the epistle to be published on a stele at the Deigma in the Piraeus because that was the place through which the commerce in food supplies from outside Attica was funneled, partly for the convenience of buyers and sellers and

partly for ease of public control and of taxation. The Deigma at the Piraeus took its name from the use of *deigmata* (samples), particularly in large shipments of grain, fish, etc. It was not an exchange or storehouse but a place of permanent exhibitions where samples were displayed of goods already present somewhere nearby and available for immediate delivery on payment of the price (references and discussion by D. Gkophas, *Δείγμα, ιστορική έρευνα επί του Ελληνικού δικαίου τών συναλλαγών* [Athens, 1970] 11–80).

The epistle both encouraged fishermen to take their fish directly to Eleusis at the time of the festival and warned off the wholesale merchants from trying to get the business as middlemen. Otherwise, the wholesale merchants who were their usual buyers might have worried the fishermen into letting them have all the supplies and so a chance to profiteer. Since Eleusis, unlike Athens, was on the coast and accessible, the middlemen would have been performing no essential service.

On the epimelete of the city see J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 389–403, and *Hesperia*, Suppl. 17 (1976) 369.

Below the inscription the surface is blank for about 0.44 m.

78A–B. HADRIAN TO THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE, A.D. 126

Two of the stelae on which the epistle was engraved below the decree of the Achaean League are known from fragments at Athens and Olympia. Only that at Olympia preserves part of the epistle, but the decree has an immediate interest for a student of the epistle.

The Athenian copy (A), found east of the Parthenon in 1854, was first published by K. S. Pittakys, *ArchEph* (1854) No. 2307, better by W. Dittenberger, *IG* III (1878) 18 from Köhler's copy, [J. Kirchner, *IG* II² (1916) 1094], J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 361–363 with a photograph, and idem, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 186–188.

The copy at Olympia (B), of which most fragments were found near the Temple of Zeus between 1875 and 1879, was first published by W. Dittenberger (*ArchZeitung* 37 [1879] 52 f., No. 227 from Furtwängler's copy), then more completely by W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold (*Die Inschriften von Olympia* [= *Olympia* 5] [Berlin, 1896] 126–134, No. 57 with Purgold's facsimile of

the twenty-two fragments now published all together for the first time). Dittenberger's text of the decree is composite, and not quite accurately composite at that, but it contains valuable suggestions. This copy was examined in 1939.

The Athenian copy, preserving only the decree, reads as follows:

78A

- [vacat 'Επί στρατ]ηγοῦ τῶν 'Αχαιῶν ∨ Πο(πλίου) ∨ 'Εγνατίου ∨ Βραχ[ύλλου
 ∨ν ἔδοξεν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν 'Αχαιῶν vacat]
 ['Επειδὴ πρεσβεία ἐ]πέμφθη πρὸς τὸν θεϊότατον Α[ὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα
 Τραιανὸν 'Αδριανὸν Σεβασ]
 [τὸν δι' ἧς ἐδέοντο α]ὐτὸν οἱ 'Αχαιοὶ προσδέξασθαι τὰς τειμ[ᾶς τὰς ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν ἐν ἐλπίδι ἐψηφισμένας ἐπιτρέψαι δὲ]
 [αὐτοῖς ἀναθεῖναι σ]τήλας ἐνγεγραμμένον ἐχούσας τὸ περὶ τῶν [τειμῶν ψήφισμα,
 καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτοὶ δι' ἧς ὁ μέγιστος καὶ θει]
 5 [ότατος αὐτοκράτω]ρ τινὰς μὲν προσήκατο τῶν τειμῶν τι[νὰς δὲ ὡς ἐπιφθόνους
 οὔσας παρητήσατο τὴν τοῖς 'Αχαιοῖς ὑπὸ]
 [τοῦ θειοτάτου αὐτ]οκράτορος ἀντ[ιγραφεῖ]σαν ἐπιστολὴ[ν - - - - -]

Dittenberger's restorations with slight adjustments have been retained in lines 1–5 except that Hadrian's name has been restored in line 2 instead of Caracalla's and Oliver has added καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτοὶ δι' ἧς in line 4 and ὡς ἐπιφθόνους οὔσας . . . τοῖς 'Αχαιοῖς in line 5. In line 6 an early misreading 'Αντω[νείνου σταλεῖ]σαν for ἀντ[ιγραφεῖ]σαν was responsible for the false identification of the emperor. The false identification, long after it was corrected in *Hesperia* 10, received new importance from U. Kahrstedt (*SymbOsl* 28 [1950] 73) and was thus perpetuated.

At Olympia fragments b, c, d, e, f, which preserve the decree, read:

78B

- 2 ['Επί στ]ρατηγοῦ τ[ῶν 'Α]χαιῶν Π. 'Εγνατίου Βραχύ[λλου ἔδοξεν τῷ κοινῷ·
 ἐπειδὴ πρεσβεία ἐπέμφθη πρὸς τὸν θει]
 [ότ]ατον Αὐτοκράτ[ορα Κα]ίσαρα Τραιανὸν 'Αδριαν[ὸν Σεβαστὸν δι' ἧς
 ἐδέοντο αὐτὸν οἱ 'Αχαιοὶ προσδέξασθαι]
 [τ]ᾶς τειμᾶς τὰς ὑπ' [αὐτῶν ἐ]ν ἐλπ[ίδι ἐψηφισμένας, ἐπιτρέψαι δὲ αὐτοῖς
 ἀναθεῖναι στήλας ἐνγεγραμ]
 5 [μὲν]ον ἐχούσας τ[ὸ περὶ τῶν τ]ειμῶν ψή[φισμα, καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτοὶ δι' ἧς ὁ
 μέγιστος καὶ θεϊότατος αὐ]
 [τοκράτωρ τινὰς μὲν προσήκατ]ο τῶν τειμ[ῶν, τινὰς δὲ ὡς ἐπιφθόνους-οὔσας
 παρητήσατο, τὴν τοῖς 'Αχαιοῖς]
 [ὑπὸ τοῦ θειοτάτου α]ὐτοκράτο[ρος ἀντιγραφεῖ]σαν ἐπιστολὴν - - - - -]

At Olympia fragments s, t, u, v, x, which preserve the letter, read:

- 55 [-----] τειμῆς ἡμῶν υπόμνημα
 έχω[-----] ἀμοιβῆς > ἐπεψήφισεν Γ. Κλώδιος
 Σεκο[ὑνδος. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Π] αῤῥθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουνα
 υἱωνός,
 Τρα[ιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός,|δημαρχικῆς ἐξο]υσίας τὸ ι', ὑπατος τὸ γ', τῷ
 κοινῷ
 τῷ[ν Ἀχαιῶν χαίρειν· -----] ἄλλας τειμὰς ἐψηφισμένας ὑφ'
 ὑμῶν
 60 ἐδ[εξάμην -----] πρὸς τινὰς συνεῖδ<ο>ν ὑμείν, εἴτα
 καὶ ἄρ
 τ[ινὰς ----- ἐγὼ] δὲ τὴν μὲν εὐνοίαν ἣν ἔχοντες [εἰς]
 [ἐμὲ διατελεῖτε ἀποδέχομαι· ὅτι δὲ] συνεχεῖς τειμὰς ψηφίζεσθαι μοι λ[-----]
 [-----]μένους δεῖν πράττειν τῆς ἐμ[ῆς τειμῆς]
 [----- τῶν τειμῶν] τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τῷ συνεδρί[ω -----]
 65 [-----]ε καὶ οὐ διεκώλυσα ἐκεῖνα ὑ[μᾶς ψηφί]
 [σασθαι ----- ἐ]ορτῶν καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τ[-----]
 [----- d]ναγορευθῆναι μὲν [-----]
 [-----]γεις ὡς ῥοσι[-----]
 [----- πρ]εσβεύειν [-----]
 70 [-----] ὁμολ[ο]γ[-----]
 [-----]ατος· ἐπ[ρ]εσβευον -----
 [-----]ΡΟΥΗΓΟ[-----, οἷς τὸ ἐφ]όδιον
 δο[θήτω]
 [-----] ἐκ τοῦ π[----- προ]νοία Κλαυδί
 [ου -----]υ vacat

2 ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπεὶ Dittenberger, ἔδοξεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπειδὴ Oliver; cetera Dittenberger. 3 Dittenberger. 4 [αὐτῶν] Dittenberger; ἐ]ν ἐλπ[ίδι ἐψηφισμένας ἐπιτρέψαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναθεῖναι Oliver; στήλας ἐγγεγραμ] Dittenberger. 5 καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτοὶ δι' ἧς Oliver, cetera Dittenberger. 6 ὡς ἐπιφθόνους οὕσας . . . τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς] Oliver, cetera Dittenberger. 7 Dittenberger.

57–60 Dittenberger. 61 τ[ινὰς] Dittenberger; [εἰς] Dittenberger. 62 [ἐμὲ διατελεῖτε ἀποδέχομαι] Oliver; ὅτι δὲ] Dittenberger. 63–74 Dittenberger.

In line 58 Dittenberger unnecessarily posited a lacuna between Σεβαστός and δημαρχικῆς.

Translation

[Imperator Caesar] Tra[jan Hadrian Augustus], son of [divus Trajan] Parthicus, grandson of divus Nerva, [tribunician] power for the tenth time, thrice consul, to the Commonalty of the [Achaean, greetings].

— — other honors voted by you [I accepted] — — I was able to see
 — — — [I approve] the goodwill which [you continue to] have [for me, but that] you vote me successive series of honors — — — [of the honors] that have been decreed by the synhedrion — — — —
 and I did not hinder those — — — — festivals and sacrifices and
 — — — to be proclaimed — — to go on an embassy — — — agreement
 — — — Ambassadors were — — — — [Let the] travel money [be] paid
 [to them — — — — care of Claudius — — —

Commentary

Hadrian's epistle to the Achaean League comes in lines 57–73. It is dated by reference to the tribunician power (for the tenth time). The emperor declines the excessive honors which the Achaeans have voted for him, pointing out, as he does so, that he has accepted their honors in the past and that he appreciates their loyalty. This was recognized by Dittenberger and has become clearer as similar documents have accumulated and been examined by scholars like M. P. Charlesworth ("The Refusal of Divine Honours, an Augustan Formula," *PBSR* 15 [1939] 1–10), whose study has inspired my restoration of the decree, lines 5 (Athens) and 6 (Olympia).

Lines 61–62 may be reconstructed on the basis of Caligula's epistle to the Hellenes, No. 18 above, lines 27 f., ἐφ' οἷς ἅπασιν ἐπαινῶ | [τε ὑμ]ᾶς καὶ ἀποδέχομαι, without assuming that Hadrian like Caligula is merely restricting the number of statues. He is doing that too among other things. The rest of the formula in lines 61 f. may be found in Attic decrees (Kirchner, *IG* II², Pars Quarta, p. 51, s.v. εὐνοία) and elsewhere. The reference in line 66 to festivals and sacrifices brings the *lex sacra* at Gythium to mind (above, No. 15). An unusual variant of the formula οἷς τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηνται πρεσβεύσειν occurs in lines 72 f. (See above, p. 10). Compare the letter from the *strategus* of the Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Euboeans, and Phocians to the archons of Acraephia concerning their ambassador Epaminondas (*IG* VII 2711 = No. 18 above), ὑποσχόμενος τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν πρεσβείαν ὑ]πὲρ τοῦ Βοιωτῶν ἔθνους κατὰ δωρεάν.

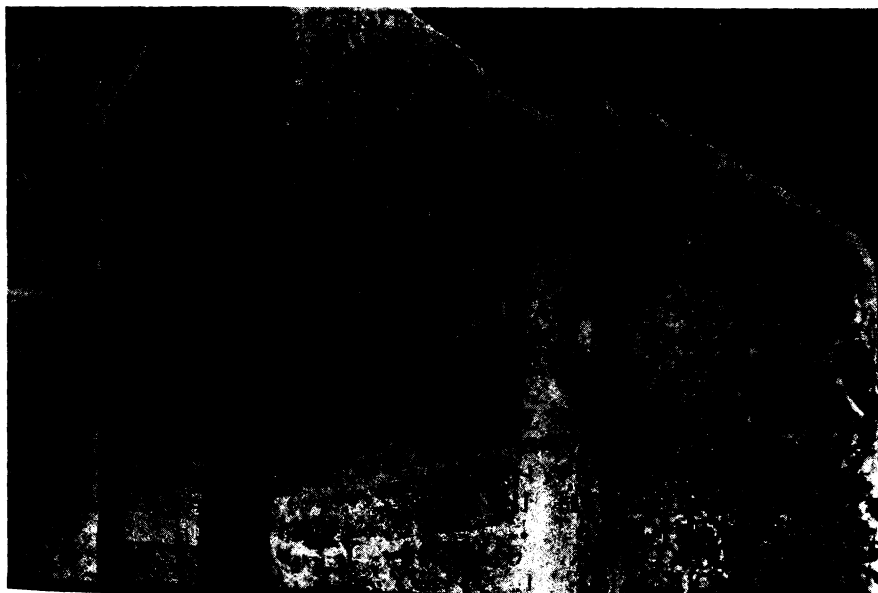
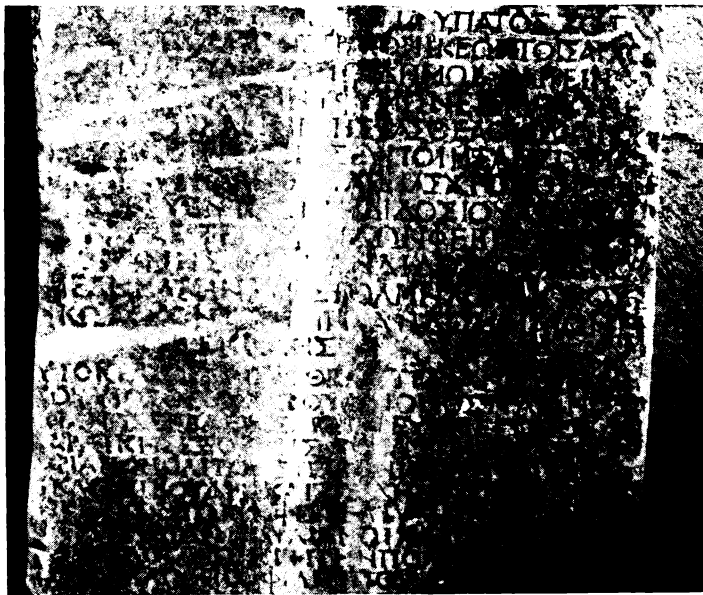


Plate 4. a. No. 79. b and c. Nos. 79–81. d. No. 81.



79–81. HADRIAN TO THE CITIZENS OF STRATONICEA
HADRIANOPOLIS, A.D. 127

Stratonicea Hadrianopolis. Two fragments of a long marble block formerly built into a fountain at a village near Kirkağaç when Radet copied the inscription, but now No. 101 in the courtyard of the museum at Manisa, where it was examined in October 1973. The photograph of the squeeze of Epistle I (*Hellenica* 6, Pl. XVIII) shows that part of fragment b has now been lost, the section with the beginning of lines 8–11 and a section on the right in lines 12–19. Photographs taken in October 1973 are on Plate 4 here. Fragment a is now 0.92 m. high, 0.69 m. wide, and 0.16 m. thick. Fragment b is now 1.42 m. high, 0.70 m. wide, and 0.175 m. thick. They no longer join. Height of letters, 0.02 m.

G. Radet, "Lettres de l'empereur Hadrien à la ville de Stratonicee-Hadrianopolis," *BCH* 11 (1887) 108–126; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*² (1898) 387, first epistle only; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 13–14, Nos. 23–25; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ (1917) 837, first epistle only; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, No. 83, first epistle only; [G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 1156]; [Riccobono, *FIRA*² 1:80, first epistle only]; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948) 80–84, a much better reading vindicating restorations by Dittenberger, Mommsen, and Laqueur and supported by photographs; [Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 453, first epistle only].

See also W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig, 1907) 136–138; Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, 589 (2nd ed. 1957, 698–699); T. R. S. Broughton, *TAPA* 65 (1934) 222–223; L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1935) 65–66; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1937) 84–85, 400; W. Ruge, *RE Suppl.* 7 (1950) 1249, s.v. Stratonikeia; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1476, W. Williams, *Historia* 16 (1967) 472–474.

79

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραϊαν[οῦ]
Παρθικοῦ νιός, θεοῦ Νέρωνα νιωνός[ς],
Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός, ἀρχ[ιε]
ρεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξο[σσί]

5

ας ν τ<δ> ια' ν ὑπατος ν τ<δ> γ' ν Ἀδριανῶ[ο]

- λειτῶν Στρατονεϊκέων τοῖς ἄρχο[υ]
 σι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν.
 Δίκαια ἀξιοῦν μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἀ[ρ]
 τι γεινομένη πόλει. Τά τε οὖν τέλη τὰ ἐκ
 10 τῆς χώρας δίδωμι ὑμεῖν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν Τιβ.
 Κλαυδίου Σωκράτους τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ π[ό]
 λει ἢ ἐπισκευαζέτω Σωκράτης ἢ ἀποδό[σ]
 θω τινὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὥς μὴ χρόνῳ καὶ
 ἀμελῖαι καταριφθεῖη. Ταῦτα ἐπέστειλα καὶ [τῷ]
 15 [κ]ρατίστῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ Στερτινίῳ Κουάρ[τῳ]
 καὶ τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ μου Πομπηίῳ Σεουή[ρῳ].
 Ἐπρέσβευσεν Κλ. Κάνδιδος ὡς τὸ ἐφόδι[ον]
 δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηται.
 Εὐτυχεῖτε Ὡ Καλάνδαις Μαρτίαις ἀπὸ [Ῥώ]
 20 μης Ὡ Κλ. Κάνδιδος ἀπέδωκα τὴν ἐπισ[το]
 [λ]ήν Λολλίῳ Ῥουστικῷ ἄρχοντι τῇ πρὸ α' ἰδῶ[ν]
 Μαίων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
 vacat
- 80 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθ[ι]
 κοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρονα υἱωνός, Τραϊανός
 25 Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δη
 μαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας Ὡ τὸ Ὡ ια' Ὡ ὑπατος τὸ γ',
 Ἀδριανοπολιτῶν Στρατονικέων τοῖς ἄρχο[υ]
 σι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ὡ χαίρειν Ὡ
 Τοῖς ἐπισταλεῖσιν ὕφ' ὑμῶν ἐντυχὼν ἔ
 30 [μαθ]ον ὅτι χάριν ἠπίστασθε Ἀουιδίῳ Κυ[ιή]
 τῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ ὥς εὖ ποιήσαντι ὑμᾶς
 [κ]ατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀνθυ[π]ατείας χρόνον vac
 [Ἐπρέ]σβευεν [Κ]λ. Κάνδιδος Ἰουλιανός.
 [Εὐ]τυχεῖτε. [Πρὸ γ'] ἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων,
 35 [ἀπὸ Ῥώ]μης. [Κλ. Κ]άνδιδος Ἰουλιανός
 [ἀπ]έδω[κ]α τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Λολλίῳ Ῥουσ
 [τι]κῷ ἄρχοντι τ[ῇ] πρὸ α' ἰδῶν Μαίων ἐν
 τῇ[ι] ἐκκλησίᾳ[ι]
- 81 [Α]ὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθι
 40 κοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρονα υἱωνός, Τραϊανός Ἀ
 [δ]ριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δη
 [μ]αρχικῆς ἐξου[σ]ίας τὸ ια', ὑπατος τὸ γ',
 Ἀδριανοπολιτῶν Στρατονικέων τοῖς ἄρχου
 [σ]ι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ὡ χαίρειν Ὡ
 45 [Ἐ]νέτυχον τῷ ψηφίσματι ὑμῶν δι' οὗ Κλαυ
 [δί]ῳ Κανδίδῳ Ἰουλιανῷ χάριν ἠπίστασ
 [θε] ὥς φιλοτίμῳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν. Ὡ Ἐπρέσβευ

50 [σε]γ 'Απολλώνιος Φιλίππου ὡν Εὐτυχεῖτε ὡ
 [Πρ]ὸ γ' ἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης vacat
 ['Α]πολλώνιος Φιλίππου ἀπέδωκα τὴν ἐπι[σ]
 τολήν Λολλίῳ 'Ρουστικῷ ἄρχοντι ὡ τῇ πρ(ὸ) α'
 ἰδῶν Μαίων ὡ ἐν τῇ ὡ ἐκκλησίᾳ vacat
 'Επιμεληθέντων Γ. 'Ιουλ. 'Ιππιανοῦ καὶ
 55 Λολλίου ['Ρ]ο[υ]στικοῦ καὶ Γαίου 'Επιλέ
 κτου vacat
 vacat

Translation

79

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the eleventh time, consul for the third time, to the archons, Council, and Demos of Hadrianopolis Stratonicea, greetings.

You seem to be asking for things that are only just and necessary to a recently established city. Accordingly, I grant you the taxes from the rural area, and as for the house of Tib. Claudius Socrates which is in your city, let Socrates either repair it or sell it to one of the local inhabitants so that it does not collapse from age and neglect. I have sent these instructions also to his excellency, the proconsul Stertinius Quartus, and to my procurator Pompeius Severus. Claudius Candidus came as ambassador. Let the travel allowance be paid to him, unless he has promised to come at his own expense. Farewell. March 1, from Rome.

I, Claudius Candidus, delivered the epistle to Lollius Rusticus, archon, on the day before the Ides of May, in the assembly.

80

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the eleventh time, consul for the third time, to the archons, Council, and Demos of Hadrianopolis Stratonicea, greetings.

In reading your letter I found that you expressed gratitude to his excellency, Avidius Quietus, because he conferred benefits upon you during the period of his proconsulship. Claudius Candidus Julianus came as ambassador. Farewell. [From] Rome.

I, [Claudius] Candidus Julianus, delivered the epistle to Lollius Rusticus, archon, on the day before the Ides of May, in the assembly.

81

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the eleventh time, consul for the third time, to the archons, Council, and Demos of Hadrianopolis Stratonicea, greetings.

I read your decree, in which you expressed gratitude to Claudius Candidus Julianus because he was nobly ambitious to help the city. Apollonius son of Philip came as ambassador. Farewell. The third day before the Ides of February. From Rome.

I, Apollonius son of Philip, delivered the epistle to Lollius Rusticus, archon, on the day before the Ides of May, in the assembly.

C. Julius Hippianus and Lollius Rusticus and Caius Epilectus took charge (of the publication).

Commentary

These three epistles of A.D. 127 have as common factor the successful embassy of Claudius Candidus Julianus and the fact that they were all delivered in the assembly of Hadrianopolis Stratonicea on the same day. The city itself, not Claudius Candidus, arranged for publication.

Stratonicea, as Radet saw, was refounded by Hadrian during his voyage of A.D. 123. The first epistle provides a date for Stertinius Quartus, proconsul of Asia in 126/7, and the second provides a date for Avidius Quietus, proconsul in 125/6.

The absentee landlord, Claudius Socrates, was a rich or formerly rich man from Thyateira. In Epistle I the emperor makes it possible for Hadrianopolis Stratonicea to bring pressure upon him to sell the estate; Hadrian also grants to the city the right to collect taxes which the rural population formerly paid to the *fiscus*.

Williams argues that the emperor instructed the city to pay the travel allowance in No. 79 because the embassy concerned an important matter and did not recommend it in Nos. 80 and 81 because he wished to discourage unnecessary embassies.

82A-B. HADRIAN TO THE EPHESIANS
ON THE SEA CAPTAIN ERASTUS, A.D. 129

Copy A

Ephesus. The epistle together with other epistles stood on the wall of the proscenium but is now in the British Museum, where it was examined in September 1972 in the Duveen Basement North. The probably smooth back of the reconstructed inscription is no longer visible.

J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877) Inscriptions from the Odeum, No. 1; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*¹ (1883) 285; E. L. Hicks, *BMusInsc* 3 (1890) 151-153, CCCCLXXXVII; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*² (1898) 388; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, No. 26; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ (1917) 838; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, No. 85; Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 72.

P. J. Alexander, "Letters and Speeches of the Emperor Hadrian," *HSCP* 49 (1938) 158 f.

82 A

- Ἀϋ[το]κράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τ[ραιανοῦ]
 Παρθ[ι]κοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρ[ο]υ υἱ[ο]ν[ός]
 Τραιαν[ο]ς Ἀδριαν[ο]ς Σεβασ[τός, ἀρ]χιερεὺς
 μέγισ[το]ς, δημαρχ[ικῆ]ς ἐξουσί[ας τὸ Τ]ῷ, ἡπατος τὸ ῥ.
 5 πατ[ερ] πατ[ρι]δος, Ἐφ[εσ]ίων τοῖς ἀ[ρ]χουσ[ι καὶ τῇ β]ουλῇ χαίρειν.
 Ἀ Ἐ[ρ]αστος καὶ πολε[ι]της ὑ[μ]ῶν [ε]ἶναι φ[ησιν, κ]αὶ πολλ[άκις]
 πλ<εῦσ>αι τ[ῇ]ν θάλασ[σαν, καὶ ὅ]σα ἀπὸ τούτ[ου] δυν[α]τὸς [ἦν],
 χρήσιμ[ο]ς γενέσ[θαι τῇ πατρ]ίδι, καὶ τοῦ ἔθν[ους] τ[ο]ῦς ἡγε
 μόνας δεῖ δι[α]κομ[ί]σαι< > ἐ[μ]οὶ δὲ ὁ[ις] ἤδη συ[νέ]πλευ[σαν],
 10 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Ῥόδον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐ[φ]έσου κο[μι]ζ[ο]μέ[ν]ωι,
 νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐλεσεῖνος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφικ[ν]ομέν[ωι· εὖ]χετα[ι]
 δὲ βουλευτῆς γενέσθαι, κἀγὼ τὴν μὲν [δοκι]μασία[ν ἐ]φ' ὑμῖν
 ποιῶμαι< εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐνποδῶν [αὐτῷ] ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ τει[μῆς] ἀξ[ι]ος.
 τὸ ἀργύριον ὅσον διδῶσιν οἱ βουλευόντες [δώσω ἀρχα]ί[ρ]εσις [ἐ]νεκα
 15 vacat Εὐτυχεῖτε vacat

The text is based on Dittenberger's second edition but with ἦν restored at the end of line 7, which would be too short without something (ἔστι Wood and Hicks), and without the article of Dittenberger's restoration τῆς τιμῆς in line 13, which would be too long. In line 7 the stone reads ΠΛΙΚΑΙ (see commentary). In

line 13 the evidence from Copy B makes Dittenberger's restoration [ἐστί καὶ impossible, while [ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τι]μῆς (Hicks) exceeds the space available.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divus Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divus Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the thirteenth time, thrice consul, pater patriae, to the archons and Council of the Ephesians, greetings.

Lucius Erastus claims to be a citizen of yours and to have sailed across the sea many times and to have made himself as useful to his fatherland as he possibly could from this occupation and to have transported the provincial authorities on each occasion. He has twice already sailed with me, the first time as I was moving from Ephesus to Rhodes, and now as I go from Eleusis to Ephesus. His prayer is to become councillor, and I for my part leave the examination in your hands. If he is in no way disqualified but [seems] worthy of honor, [I shall pay] whatever sum the councillors pay for the sake of election. Farewell.

Commentary

The epistle is important for its exact date, which is evidence for the date of Hadrian's second visit to Athens and for the subsequent voyage to Asia. It is important also for the light it throws on the recruitment of Greek councils in the Hadrianic period. It arrests attention for the light it throws on Hadrian's own way of acting. The emperor does not ask for a waiver of any disqualification based on the man's background or record.

The main textual problem comes at the end of line 6 and beginning of line 7. Dittenberger tried to emend the letters ΠΑΙΚΑΙ. His first instinct was to read a perfect infinitive, πολλ[άκις πε]πλ(ευ)κ(έν)αι, but he later recognized that this was in line 7 palaeographically and in line 6 spatially improbable. Hicks retained Dittenberger's πολλ[άκις] and the inscribed text ΠΑΙΚΑΙ, which he interpreted as iotacism for πλεῖ καί. With Hicks' solution, which others have adopted, two things are wrong: first, an infinitive rather than an indicative is needed; second, the particle καί in this position appears stylistically unsatisfactory.

In SIG² Dittenberger proposed to read πολλ[άκις]|| πλ(εῦσ)αι, that is, epsilon, upsilon, lunate sigma misread for iota kappa. This is supported by the phrase πολλὰ περιπλεύσας πρότερον ναυκληρῶν in IG XII, 9, 1240 = GRBS 20 (1979) 269, No. 13.

The abbreviation Λ at the beginning of line 6 indicates at this date a *nomen* rather than a *praenomen*. For Lucius as a *nomen* Stephen Mitchell, *Historia* 28 (1979) 419, offers parallels.

Copy B

Ephesus. The plaque, broken away below and at the left, is now in the British Museum, where it was examined in September 1972 in the Duveen Basement North. The top has a dowel cutting, the right side has anathyrosis, the back is rough picked. The right side is preserved for the first nine lines, and part of the right margin for two lines more. H. 0.75 m., W. 0.39 m., Th. 0.15 m. LH 0.04 m. in line 1, 0.03 m. in lines 2–15.

This fragment from another copy of the same epistle has never before been set up as a separate inscription, except that C. Curtius, *Hermes* 4 (1870) 181, No. 2, offered a text of lines 1–5, of which the first four were correctly restored apart from the numerals, and E. L. Hicks, *BMusInsc* 3 (1890) 153, published a drawing.

82 B

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Π]αρθικοῦ
 [υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱόνός, Τραιανός Ἀ]δριανός
 [Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημα]ρχικῆς ἔξου
 [σίας τὸ γ, ὑπατος τὸ γ, πατήρ πατρίδ]ος, Ἐφεσίων
 5 [τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ χαίρειν]
 [Ἄ Ἐραστος καὶ πολίτης ὑμῶν εἶναί φη]σιν· καὶ πολ
 [λάκις — — — τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ το]ύτου δυνα
 [τὸς ἦν, χρήσιμος γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι], καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους
 [τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δεῖ διακομίσαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ] δις ὅδε
 10 [συνέπλευσεν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Ῥόδον] ἀπὸ τῆς
 [Ἐφέσου κομιζομένῳ, νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐλευ]σείνος
 [πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφικνουμένῳ· εὐχεται δὲ βο]υλευτῆς
 [γενέσθαι, κἀγὼ τὴν μὲν δοκιμασίαν ἐ]φ' ὑμείν
 [ποιούμαι· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐνποδῶν αὐτ]ῷ ἀλλ[ὰ]
 15 [δοκεῖ τιμῆς ἀξίος, τὸ ἀργύριον ὅσον δ]ιδό[α]
 [σιν οἱ βουλευόντες δώσω ἀρχαιρεσίας ἔνεκα]
 [vacat Εὐτυχεῖτε vacat]

83. HADRIAN TO ATHENS, A.D. 129

Athens. Two contiguous fragments of Pentelic marble, now EM 8386 + 8387 in the Epigraphical Museum, where they were reexamined in September 1973.

Fragment a was published by W. Dittenberger, *IG* III (1878) 31, from Koehler's copy. Fragment b was published by Lolling, *Deltion* (1888) 191 No. 5, and J. Kirchner, *IG* II² 1101 as parts of the same inscription.

83

[*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τρ*]αῖανού Παρθι[κ]οῦ [νίος],
 [θεοῦ Νέρουα νίωνός, Τραϊανό]ς Ἀδριανός Σεβαστό[ς, ἀρχι]
 [ερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ [Ι]Γ', ὑπατ[ας τὸ Γ']
 [πατὴρ πατρίδος, τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου]υ πάγου β[ο]υλή και τ[ῇ]
 5 βουλή τῶν Φ και τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων *vacat*
 [- - - - -]ν εἰς τ[ῇ]ν Ἀττικὴν [...]
 [- - - - -]λας [...]
 [- - - - -]

84. [HADRIAN] ON THE PUBLIC BANK OF PERGAMUM, A.D. 129(?)

Pergamum. The two contiguous fragments of a white marble block with raised borders are now in the Pergamum Museum in East Berlin, where they were examined in September 1972. Together they measure 0.87 m. high, 0.61 m. wide, and 0.17 m. thick. Fragment B from the right side with part of lines 47–62 was found in 1884 in the foundations of a Byzantine church. Fragment A was found in 1900 at the east end of the North Hall in the lower market place.

The *editio princeps* was that of H. von Prott, *AthMitt* 27 (1902) 78–89, fragments B (previously published by M. Fränkel as *I Perg* 2 [Berlin, 1895] No. 279) and, with photograph, A. After comments by B. Keil, *AthMitt* 29 (1904) 73–75, a new edition by W. Dittenberger, *OGIS* II (1905) No. 484 with addendum on p. 552 became standard. Further suggestions for the text were made by W. K. Prentice in connection with the translation offered in *ARS*, No. 246, and in the discussion by A. N. Macro, "Imperial Provisions for Pergamum: *OGIS* 484," *GRBS* 17 (1976) 169–179.

The text has been reproduced also by Abbott and Johnson,

Municipal Administration, 81; G. Lafaye, *IGRR IV* (1927), 352; T. R. S. Broughton, in T. Frank, *Ec. Survey*, 4:892–895 with translation; Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 451.

Discussion by Prott, Keil, Dittenberger, and Macro, also by L. C. West, "Gold and Silver Coin Standards in the Roman Empire," *ANSMN* 94 (1941) 93–94; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 624–25 and 1486 n. 51; S. Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 A.D.* (Stockholm, 1968) 238–243; R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques* (Leiden, 1968) 231–234.

84

- [-----]λουμεν τω[-----]
 [----- μετεπεμ]ψάμην, βουληθεῖς με[ν] φαί
 [νεσθαι ἐπιεικῆς κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συν]ήθειαν, μόνᾳ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξετάσαι
 [τὰ ἐγκλήματα τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἐπ]! τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἀνδρῶν, περὶ ὧν
 5 [ὁ ἀποσταλὲς ὑφ' ὧμῶν πρεσβευτῆς Κ]αλουσίσις Γλύκων ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς. πα
 [ρεῖναι δ' ἐκέλευσα αὐτοὺς, ὡς νόμιμ]ον ἦν, εἴ τι λέγειν ἐβούλοντο. οἱ οὖν τῆς δ
 [μειπτικῆς ἐργασίας μισθῶται πο]λ<λ>ὰ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ παρὰ τὴν
 συναλλαγὴν
 [πράττειν αὐτοῖς ἐ]πέτρεπον. παρὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐργαστῶν καὶ καπήλων καὶ τῶν ὁ
 [ψαριοπωλῶν ε]ἰς τὸν λεπτὸν ἐμπολᾶν εἰωθότων χαλκὸν δέκα ὀκτὼ ἀσσάρια
 10 [τὸ δη]νάρ[ιον] λαμβάνειν ὀφείλοντες καὶ τοῖς τὸ δηνάριον διαλλάσσειν βου
 [λ]ομένοι[ς] πρὸς [δ]έ[κα] ἐπὶ διδόναι οὐκ ἤρκοῦντο τὴν τῶν ἀσσαρίων
 ἄμει
 ψιν, ἀλλ[ὰ] κ[αὶ] ἐὰν δηναρίων ἀργυρῶν τις ἀγοράσῃ τὸ ὀψάριον, καθ' ἕκα
 στον δηνάριον εἰσέπρασσον ἀσσάριον ἓν. ἔδοξεν οὖν ἡμεῖν καλῶς ἔχειν
 εἰς [τ]ὸ λοιπὸν τοῦτο διορθῶσθαι, ἵνα μὴ συμβαίῃ τοῖς ὠνηταῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 15 τελωνεῖσθαι, καθ' ὧν οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν δεδόσθαι συμβέβηκεν.
 "Ὅσα μέντοι τῶν λεπτῶν ὀψαρίων σταθμῶι πιπρασκόμενα τιμᾶται ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἀγορανόμων, τούτων, κἂν πλείονας μνᾶς ὠνήσωνται τινες, ἥρε
 σεν ἡμεῖν τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοὺς διδόναι πρὸς κέρμα, ὥστε ἀ<π> αὐτῶν σώσ
 ζεσθαι τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολλύβου πρόσσοδον. ὁμοκὺς καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖο
 20 νες συνθέμενοι ἀργυρῶν δηναρίων δόξωσιν ἡγορακεναί εἶτα δ<α>
 ρῶνται, καὶ τούτους λεπτὸν διδόναι χαλκὸν τῶι ὀψαριώλῃ, ἵνα ἀνα
 φέρηται ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν· διδόναι δὲ πρὸς δέκα ἐπὶ ἀσσάρια, ἐπει
 δὴ ἡ τῆς ἀμειπτικῆς ἐργασίας δοκεῖ μόνοις τοῖς ἐργασταῖς διαλέγεσ
 θαι. ἡ<λ>έ<γ>χθησαν μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἕτερά τινα συνεχωρηκότες ἑαυ
 25 τοῖς κερδῶν ὀνόματα ἀσπρατούραν τε καὶ τὸ καλούμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς
 προσφάγιον, δι' ὧν ἐπηρεάζον μάλιστα τοὺς τὸν ἰχθὺν πιπράσκοντας.
 καὶ ταῦτα οὖν ἐδοκιμάσαμεν διορθῶσθαι· πλεονεκτεῖσθαι γὰρ καὶ τοὺς
 ὀλίγους ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους <οὐ δίκ>αι ἦν, συνέβαιναν δὲ πᾶσιν αἰσθη
 τὴν γίνεσθαι τοῖς ὠνουμένοις τὴν ἀδικὸν τῶν πιπρασκόντων ζη

- 30 μίαν. ἡϊκιάθησαν καὶ ὡς ἐνεορτάδια παρὰ τῶν ἐργαστῶν εἰσπράσσον
 τες, ἀπερ ἀρνούμενων αὐτῶν ἡδέως ἐπίστευον, τοῦ μὴ ὀφείλιν
 γείνεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτο λαμβάνων καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν συνκατάθεσιν.
 μόνον μέντοι ὠμολόγουν τῷ Ὑπερβερεταίῳ μηνὶ δίδοσθαι ἑαυ
 τοῖς τὸ εἰς τὸν Ἑρμῆ λεγόμενον ἐκ τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς· ὅρκον ἑαυτοῖς
 35 ἀπαιτεῖν συνεχωρησθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐνπολόντων τὸ λεπτόν καὶ
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναφερόντων περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὴν διὰ
 ταξιν πεποιηκέναι· τοὺς οὖν διὰ τὸ συνειδὸς ὁμνῦναι μὴ δυναμέ
 νους διδόναι τι αὐτοῖς, ὥστε μὴ τὴν τοῦ ὁμνῦναι ἀνάγκην ὑπομέ
 νειν – ὃ οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἄλογον. ἀντομνῦναι μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐργ[ασ]
 40 ταῖς περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἡδίκηκέναι ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀργυροῦ νομίσ[μα]
 τος δόσει καὶ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἡγησάμην. ἐλέγοντο καὶ ἐνεχυρα[σί]
 ας ἑαυτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι{ν} ἐπιτρέπειν ὅλας τε τῶν ἐργαστῶν ἔσ[θ' ὅτε]
 κρατεῖν τὰς ἐμπολάς, τῆς συναλλαγ[ῆ]ς οὐ τοῦτο συνχωροῦ[σης]
 ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς ταμίας αὐτοὺς παραγείνεσθαι κελευούσῃς, ἐὰν]
 45 αἰτιάσωνται τινα, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων δημόσιον λαμβάν[ειν δοῦ]
 λον, ἵνα νομίμως ποιῶνται τὴν ἐνεχυρασίαν, ὥστε [τὸ πρὸ τῆς]
 κρίσεως τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ληφθὲν μένειν τοῖς ὀφείλουσι].
 καὶ τοῦτο οὖν ἔδοξεν ἡμεῖν οὕτως ὀφείλιν γείν[εσθαι, καθ]ῶς πε
 ριεῖχεν ἡ ἔκδοσις, καὶ διὰ τοῦ δημοσίου μέντοι [δούλου μὴ ἄ]με
 50 τρον εἶναι τὴν ἐνεχυρασίαν, ἀλλὰ ἢ τὸ ἱκαν[ὸν πρὸ κρίσ]εως λ[α]μβά
 νεσθαι, ἢ ἐὰν δοῦναι τις μὴ δύνηται τὸ σ[υμβόλα]ιον, εἰνα[ι τ]ὸ ἐ
 νέχυρον ὅσου ἂν τὸ πᾶγμα καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ [πρὸς] τιμῶν ἢ [τὰς μέν]τοι κρι
 σεις γείνεσθαι μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν ταμιῶ[ν ἀλλ]ὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐστρατη[γῆ]κ[ων]
 ἀνδρῶν ἐξ ἀπολογῆς εὐλο[γον εἶ]και νομίζω, εἴ τι δὲ το[ῦ]ς μὲν τᾶ
 55 μίας μετέχειν τῆς χρ[ε]ίας κ[α]θῆκον, το[ῦ]ς δὲ ἐσ[τρα]τη[γῆ]κ[ων] ὅτας
 καὶ ἐμπείρους εἶνα[ι καὶ αὐτο?]ὺς τῶν πραγμά[τω]ν [κα]ὶ με[....]μον
 τας τὸ τῆς περ[.....] οὐσίας αὐτοὺς ἀπο[στ]ε[ρε]ῖν δυνάμε
 νον, τὸν δὲ[.....]ε[.]κεν καὶ οἷς ἂν ἀλλ[οις]? τελώναις
 ἐφε[δρ] – – – – – ποιεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐνεχυρασίαν κα[ὶ]
 60 [– – – – –] ταῖς ἀγοραίοις πιπρασκομένων ![...]
 [– – – – –]ως δίδοσθαι τέλος, ἀλλ' ἐὰν λ[...]
 [– – – – –] να[.]ερεινε[...].ιτη[– – –]

2 μετεπεμ]ψάμην Ditt(enberger), ?ἐπεσκε]ψάμην Macro. 3
 [νεσθαι δίκαιος κατὰ τὴν ἐμαντοῦ συν]ήθειαν Prott, ἐπιεικῆς
 Oliver. 4–5 Ditt. 6 [ρεῖναι δ' ἐκέλευσα αὐτούς, ἵνα δῆλ]ον ἦν
 Ditt., ὡς νόμιμ]ον ἦν Macro. 6–7 οἱ οὖν τῆς ἀ[μ]ειπτικῆς – – – οὐ
 – – – ἀ[λ(λ)ὰ Prott, ὁ (sic) οὖν τῆς ἀ[μ]εΐψεως τρόπος οὐ νόμιμος
 ἦν Ditt., οἱ οὖν (ἐπὶ) τῆς ἀ[μ]εΐψεως οὐ νομίμως ἔπραττον Prentice,
 οἱ οὖν τῆς ἀ[μ]ειπτικῆς κεκοινωνηκότες πο[λ(λ)ὰ Macro, ἐργασίας
 μισθωταὶ Oliver. 8–9 Prott. 10 [τὸ δη]νάρ[ιον] Prott, [τοῦ
 δη]ναρ[ίου] Prentice. 23 ἐργασία{s} Prott, ἐργασίας (διάταξις)

Keil. 24 ΗΔΕΕΧΘΗΣΑΝ, ἡ(λ)έ(γ)χθησαν Prott. 28 ΑΙΟΝ, <δηλ>ον Prott, <οὐ δίκ>αιον Keil. 39–41 Prott. 42 ποιείσθαι{ν} Prott; ἔσ[θ' ὅτε] Ditt. 43–47 Prott. 48 γείν[εσθαι, ὅπ]ως Prott, καθ[ὼς] Macro (cf. Ditt.). 49 [δούλου μὴ σύ]μμε Prott, μὴ ἄ]με Oliver. 50–58 Prott. 59 ἐφε[δρεύοντας ἐγνωμεν Ditt.

In line 4 read ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν. In line 23 the word διάταξις should be understood but need not be supplied.

Translation

— — — I sent [for them], since I wished to appear [fair according to my] wont and to limit the examination [to the charges against the] men [who do business] in your city, [the charges], that is, concerning which [the ambassador sent by you], namely Calvisius Glycon, informed us. [I invited them to be present, as was customary], in case they had something they wished to say.

In fact the [exchange contractors] allowed [themselves to make many exactions] contrary to justice and their contract. For whereas they were supposed to get eighteen *asses* per denarius from the shopkeepers and retailers and from the salt fish dealers accustomed to do business for small bronze, and were supposed to give bronze at the rate of seventeen *asses* per denarius to those who wished to exchange their silver, they were not satisfied with the right of exchanging *asses*, but even if someone bought his pickled fish for silver denarii, they tried to exact one *as* on each denarius.

Accordingly, we decided it was well to correct this for the future, in order that they might not on occasion levy a tax upon the purchasers for sales on which no authority has ever been granted to them to collect a tax.

Where, however, the prices of fish sold retail by weight have been fixed by the *agoranomoi*: It met with our approval that on these sales (the purchasers), even if some buy amounts weighing several minas, pay the price in bronze, so that the revenue from the exchange be preserved for the city; likewise, even if several who had banded together are seen to have bought for silver denarii and then divide it up among themselves, they too pay in small bronze to the salt fish dealer in order that (the bronze) be taken to the bank, but they pay at the rate of seventeen *asses*, since the arrangement for the money-changing business applies, it seems, only to those engaged in the (money-changing) business.

Afterwards it was proved that they had permitted themselves certain other excuses for profit, mint condition, and the so-called tip, through which they were hurting particularly fish dealers. This too we thought it right to correct. For it is [bad] that even this small group be overcharged by them, and as it happened, all the purchasers were beginning to feel the unjust injury to the fish dealers.

Accusations were made that they were exacting from the retail business men supercharges during festivals. They denied these accusations and I was glad to believe them, accepting the agreement on their part that nothing of the kind should ever happen. Except that the so-called penny for Hermes was paid to them, they confessed, upon some such occasion in the month of Hyperberetaeus. It originated in the following way: They claimed that it had been granted to them to make those who sold retail and brought them the bronze coinage to take an oath to the effect that they had done nothing contrary to the official arrangement. Those then unable to take the oath because of their guilt used to give them something to escape the necessity of the oath. This did not seem unreasonable. Moreover, they too, they said, rendered in their turn an oath for the businessmen to the effect that they had not been dishonest in the payment of the silver coinage. This too I found just.

It was said also that they were permitting themselves to exact security and sometimes held the businessman's entire stock, though the contract does not permit this but orders them to go to the *tamiai* if they have a charge against anyone and to get from them a public slave in order that they may exact the security in a legitimate manner, so that what is taken in this way [before the] judgment may still be there for the [debtors]. Well then, it seemed to us that this too should be done just as the contract prescribes, only that the security (exacted) through the public [slave] should [not] be [out of] proportion but either what is enough [in lieu] of a judgment should be taken or, if he cannot pay the amount he agreed to pay, the security should be for whatever the affair comes to plus the penalty. It is reasonable, I think, that [the] judgments take place not in a session of the *tamiai* but of the jury selected from *ex-strategoï*. Still it is proper for the *tamiai* to have a share in the proceedings, but the *ex-strategoï* are both experienced — — — the affairs — — —

Commentary

The document concerns complaints against those who had the concession to operate the public bank at Pergamum.

The document was assigned to Hadrian by von Prott and Dittenberger on the basis of the lettering and the use of the royal “we.” Magie referred to the occasion as charges laid before the emperor “by a delegate sent to Rome by the merchants of the city.” While in 1926 Abbott and Johnson said “The merchants protested by appealing to the emperor,” in *ARS* Johnson expressed the opinion that the ambassador met the emperor on his second voyage to Asia Minor, and to us it seems probable that the ambassador, if Calvisius Glycon was an ambassador and not a Roman official, met the emperor at Ephesus in A.D. 129 (see W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* [Leipzig, 1907] 211), because the emperor then invited the *trapezitai* to hear the charges. They would not have been expected to go to Rome. Bogaert points out that the charges had nothing to do with the *emporoi*, who of course made their transactions in silver, but with the retail dealers, who customarily used bronze.

If Calvisius Glycon (otherwise unknown) were a Roman official, the *trapezitai* would probably not have been invited to speak. So he doubtless was the ambassador from the city of Pergamum, and the imperial constitution would be a rescript, as Abbott and Johnson correctly called it, in the form of an epistle (so Dittenberger and Macro) to the city in reply to an epistle carried by the ambassador. The pronoun of the second person in line 4, where Dittenberger actually emended to <ὅ>μῶν, is more suitable for an epistle than for an edict (von Prott described it as an “Erlass”).

As Johnson says in *ARS*, it seems that Hadrian “had made some settlement of the problem of exchange, perhaps on his first tour of the East, and on that occasion he may have promulgated an ordinance dealing with the matter.” Flaws appeared. In this inscription the emperor reiterates the right of the *trapezitai* to an *agio* of one *as* per denarius when exchanging (imperial) silver for (local) bronze but denies their right to collect an *as* where others do legitimate business in silver. Then he makes two reservations (μέντοι), where one *as* must be paid for transactions in silver, so that the city, which shares in the profits of the bank,

does not lose its revenue. The emperor, furthermore, stops two abuses, one of which is called *aspratura*, explained by von Prott and accepted by Bogaert but rejected by the editors of *ARS*, as connected with discrimination between old and new coins in the value attached. Referring to this inscription and to those now best consulted in *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 351–359 and *IG IV*, 2, 91, A. Wilhelm in B. Laum's *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike* (Berlin, 1914) No. 19b with addenda on p. 211, pointed out that old coins normally circulated at a discount. The other abuse, the *προσφάγιον*, is translated as “illicit commission” in *LSJ* and “tip” by Broughton, who may well be right, though the editors of *ARS* remain unconvinced. The emperor recognizes the advantage of allowing the *trapezitai* to collect a small amount known as the penny for Hermes, which seems to have given rise to a false rumor. The section beginning in line 41 is more difficult partly because the text in line 49 is less well preserved. Again the word *μέντοι* indicates a reservation. Transactions in bronze and silver presented similar problems in Egypt (see V. B. Schuman, “The Income of the Office of the *πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν* of Karanis, A.D. 172–173,” *BASP* 12 [1975] 23–58).

The first abuse lay in the area of exchange. The contract seems to have specified that all exchange of money was reserved for the bank and that certain business could be conducted only in the local bronze coinage, which may have circulated outside Pergamene territory at a discount. The rate of exchange fixed by law would presumably have been less to their advantage than the discount outside Pergamene territory and was not altogether satisfactory to the bankers, who tried to supplement their revenue by collecting a commission where transactions did not have to be executed in the local coinage. On the other hand, certain persons attempted to evade the law in transactions where payment was supposed to be in bronze.

Such transactions had to be executed in local bronze because of popular opinion which demanded that prices in certain necessary wares and foodstuffs be kept low. The rich had silver, the poor usually did not. If the laws of economics were allowed to operate freely, the people with silver would have an advantage and the poor who had only bronze would have had to wait until the peddlars and salt fish dealers had sold all they could for silver. The peddlars and salt fish dealers would have sold for bronze coins at a higher rate if at all. By fixing the price, the city

made it easier for the majority to buy rapidly and easily what they had to have. Any dealer against whom frequent complaints were made could be barred from the market place. Secondly the bankers themselves through their agents could help to enforce the law by reporting attempts at evasion or by self help. There may not have been policemen but the *agoranomoi* could have given their permission for self help in certain cases of clear evasion. The bankers had plenty of help available.

The fourth abuse, on the other hand, does not seem to have had anything to do with money changing; it concerned money lending, but like the first abuse it arose from self help. Instead of going through regular channels and putting up with, to them, insufficient security, they seized their own and it became much harder for debtors to recover. The emperor forbids self help in such cases, but he criticizes and reforms the system of adjudications (see Macro).

The first seven lines are the most difficult because so little remains. With the *ἐργαζόμενοι* of Dittenberger's restoration in line 4 compare the *ἐργασταί* of line 42. In line 7 we have adopted Macro's interpretation but have reworded it to accommodate the phrase *τῆς ἀμειπτικῆς ἐργασίας* of line 23.

85. HADRIAN TO THE ATHENIANS, A.D. 132

Athens. Now EM 372 in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens.

Th. Sauciuc, *AthMitt* 37 (1912) 183–189 with photograph; E. Nachmanson, *Historische attische Inschriften* (Kleine Texte 110, [1913]) No. 81; J. Kirchner, *IG II²* (1916) 1102; P. Graindor, *BCH* 38 (1914) 392–396 and *Album d'inscriptions attiques* (Ghent, 1924) Pl. 40.

85

Ὁλύμπιον

5 Α ὁ τ ο κ ρ ά τ ω ρ Κ α ῖ σ α ρ , θ ε ο ὺ
 Τ ρ α ι α ν ο ὺ Π α ρ θ ι κ ο ὺ ν ῖ ό ς ,
 θ ε ο ὺ Ν έ ρ ο υ α ν ῖ ω ν ό ς , Τ ρ α ι α
 ν ό ς Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγισ
 τος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ΙΒ', ὕπατος τὸ Γ',
 πατήρ πατρίδος, τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ

καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Φ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναί
 ων vacat χαίρειν vacat
 10 ἵστε ὡς πάσαις χρῶμαι προφάσεσιν τοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ
 δημοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἰδίᾳ Ἀθηναίων τινάς· τοῖς παισὶν
 ὑμῶν ΤΟ¹[-----]ιον δίδωμι πρὸς τῷ κόσμ[ω]
 ὃν [----- τ]ᾶλанта ἐπι[...]
 [----- Εὐ]τυχεῖ[τε ᵂᵂᵂ]

Translation

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the sixteenth time, thrice consul, pater patriae, to the Council of the Areopagus, the Council of the Five Hundred, and the Demos of the Athenians, greetings.

Know that I take every occasion to benefit both the city publicly and any of the Athenians privately. To your boys — — — I give — — — in addition to the decoration — — — talents — — — Farewell.

Commentary

On the noun in line 10 see F. Robert, "Prophasis," *REG* 89 (1976) 317–342.

[S. Follet, *Athènes*, 122, n. 11, thinks that the number of the tribunician power is perhaps to be read as the thirteenth, and therefore the date may be A.D. 129. K.C.]

Sauciuc's restoration of line 12, τὸ ν[έον γυμνάσ]ιον, is, I think, possible, but Premierstein's in *IG* II² 1102, τοῖς τε νέοις τὸ γυμνάσ]ιον, exceeds the space. Graindor's restoration, τοῖς περὶ τὸ Διογένη]ιον, not only exceeds the space but rests on a mistaken idea who οἱ περὶ τὸ Διογένηιον were. See now S. Dow, "The Athenian *Ephēboi*: Other Staffs and the Staff of the *Diogeneion*," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 381–409. Graindor, however, was right in protesting against the supposed violation of syllabic division at the end of the line, i.e., κόσμ|ον. He proposed κόσμ[ω]| ὃν [κατεσκεύασα τῷ γυμνασίῳ *aut simile*. In line 13 restorations based on κόσμ|ον are not just conjectural but wrong.

86. HADRIAN TO GUILD OF ATHLETES, A.D. 134

Rome. Now without number in Archaeological Museum at Naples, it was examined by the writer on 17 July 1971, in the

“Vanella, primo porticato,” and is a large base of white marble engraved on the front and left side: height 1.21 m., width 0.82 m., thickness 0.82 m.

The front has letters 0.065 m. high in line 2, 0.06 m. in line 3, 0.05 m. in lines 4 and 7–8, 0.04 m. in lines 1 (on moulding), 5–6 and 9–11.

The left side has letters 0.02 m. high in lines 1–6, 0.016 m. in lines 7–11.

J. Lipsius, *Auctarium to M. Smetius, Inscriptionum antiquarum, quae passim per Europam, liber* (Leyden, 1588) 58; J. Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani in corpus absolutiss. redactae* (Heidelberg, 1603) CCCXV; J. Franz, *CIG* III (1853) 5906; G. Kaibel, *IG* XIV (1890) 1054; R. Cagnat, *IGRR* I (1911) 149; L. Moretti, *IGUrbRomae* I (1968) 235 with photographs.

S. Ricci, “La ξυστική σύνοδος e la curia athletarum presso S. Pietro in Vincoli,” *BullComm*, Ser. 4, 19, (1891) 185–209; F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig, 1909) 149; G. Glotz, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* (?1917) 5:1027–1031, s.v. Xystos; C. A. Forbes, “Ancient Athletic Guilds,” *ClPhil* 50 (1955) 238–252, especially 243 f.; M. Amelotti, “La posizione degli atleti di fronte al diritto romano,” *SDHI* 21 (1955) 123–156; M. Raoss, *Dizionario Epigrafico* 4, fasc. 53 (1966) 1668b–1669a, s.v. Locus V (Locus nel diritto sacrale); H. W. Pleket, “Some Aspects of the History of the Athletic Guilds,” *ZPE* 10 (1973) 197–227.

86

Front

Ἀγαθῇ · Τύχῃ
 Μ · Αἰλίῳι
 Αὐρηλίῳι · Καίσαρι
 Τ · Αἰλίου · Ἀδριανοῦ
 5 Ἀντωνεῖνου
 Σεβαστοῦ · Εὐσεβοῦς · υἱῳι
 Μ · Οὐλλπίῳς
 Δομεστικὸς
 ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς
 10 τοῦ · σύνπαντος · ξυστοῦ · καὶ
 ἐπὶ βαλανείων Σεβαστῶν

Side

Ἀγαθῇ · Τύχῃ
 Αὐτοκράτωρ · Καίσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός,
 θεοῦ · Νέρονα · υἱῶνός, Τραιανός · Ἀδριανός · Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς

- μέγιστος · δημαρχικῆς · ἐξουσίας · τὸ $\overline{\Gamma\text{H}}$ · ὑπατος · τὸ · $\overline{\Gamma}$ ·
 5 πατὴρ · πατρίδος · συνόδῳ · ξυστικῇ · τῶν · περὶ τὸν
 Ἑρακλέα · ἀθλητῶν · ἱερονεικῶν · στεφανειτῶν · χαίρειν.
 Καὶ τόπον ἐνθα · βούλεσθε · κελεύσω δοθῆναι ὑμῖν · καὶ · οἴκημα
 ὡς τὰ γράμματα ἀποτίθεσθαι τὰ κοινά, καὶ εἰ τῶν διπλῶν τὴν
 μεταποίησιν · ἀνανκαίαν · νομίζετε, τοῦτο ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστιν.
 10 Ἐπρέσβευεν Οὐλπίος · Δομεστικός · Εὐτυχεῖτε
 Πρὸ · $\overline{\Gamma}$ · κωνῶν · Μαῶν · ἀπὸ · Ῥώμης

Translation of Lateral Inscription, lines 2–11

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the eighteenth time, thrice consul, pater patriae, to the Athletic Guild of the Athletes Devoted to Heracles, greetings.

Yes, a place where you wish I shall order to be given to you and a building to house your archives, and if you consider the alteration of your statutes necessary, that is up to you. Ambassador was Ulpus Domesticus. Farewell. May 5, from Rome.

Commentary

M. Ulpus Domesticus, famous athlete with citizenship at Ephesus, Antinoopolis, and Athens, is known from an inscription at Sparta, *IG* V, I, 669.

At a time when the Attic Panhellenion was being founded and Athens was being recognized as a second capital of the empire, the Guild of Athletes Devoted to Heracles, Greek though it was in origin, wished to establish a new religious and administrative center, one well away from Athens and the other old Hellenic cities. There was a certain tension between the guild and the Panhellenion; many athletes dared to boycott the Panhellenic Games (Nos. 188 and 245 *infra*). Behind these manoeuvres lie ideological differences between the Hellenism of the archaic world and the Hellenism of Hellenistic institutions.

Our inscription shows that in May of 134, the year in which the Panhellenia were celebrated for the first time (in Metageitnion of 133/4), Ulpus Domesticus elicited a promise from Hadrian, a promise that was not fulfilled until Antoninus Pius acted in A.D. 143 (No. 128 *infra*). The guild has not yet asked the emperor to

grant them a precinct; they have merely inquired whether he would do so if the guild should undertake a thorough reorganization. The emperor, who of course would have said Yes or No if they had asked him outright, was not promoting the reorganization. On the other hand, the delay should not be attributed to Hadrian without further evidence.

The phrase *τῶν διπλῶν τὴν μεταποίησιν* in lines 8–9 constitutes the main question of interpretation. Glotz understood it correctly to mean the revision of their statutes. If it had meant the copying out of their *diplomata* as Ricci thought, the emperor would not have mentioned it. They needed permission to revise their statutes so as to remain a *collegium licitum*; the new statutes would have to be thrashed out all over the empire and then approved at Rome.

87. HADRIAN TO THE MILESIAINS IN ACCEPTING THE OFFICE OF PROPHETES AT DIDYMA, A.D. 135 OR LATER

Didyma. Two fragments found separately in the adyton and brought together by Rehm. It is now E 23 in the Depot museum at Didyma (see *IstMitt* 21 [1971] 108).

A. Rehm, *Didyma 2: Die Inschriften* (Berlin, 1958) No. 494.

87

[ἡ πόλις] ἡ Μιλησίων
[᾽Α]δριανὸν
[προφη]τεύσαντα
[Αὐτοκράτωρ Κα]ῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ
5 [Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεο]ῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός,
[Τραιανός ᾽Αδριανό]ς Σεβαστός, ἀρχ[ι]
[ερεὺς μέγιστος, δημ]αρχικῆς ἐξο[υ]
[σίας τὸ ιθ', αὐτοκράτωρ] τὸ β', ὕπατ[ος]
[τὸ γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, Μ]ιλησίων τ[οῖς]
10 [ἄ]ρχουσι καὶ [τῇ βουλῇ κα]ὶ τῶι δῆμ[ωι]
[χαίρειν.]
[Κ]αὶ διὰ τὴν π[ρὸς τὸν θεὸν ε]ὐσέβειαν
[κ]αὶ ὑμᾶς τειμ[ήσων, ἐπεὶ ἐσ]τί μοι σύ[ν]
[ν]ηθες τὰς εὐδ[οξούσας πόλει]ς φιλοφ[ρο]
15 [νε]ῖσθαι ταῖς π[ροσηκούσαις εὐεργεσίαις]
[-----]

Translation

[The city] of the Milesians (honored) Hadrian for being their prophetes.

[Imperator] Caesar [Trajan Hadrian] Augustus, [son] of divine Trajan [Parthicus], grandson of [divine] Nerva, pontifex [maximus], tribunician power [for the nineteenth time, emperor] for the second time, consul [for the third time, pater patriae], to the archons, [Council, and] Demos of the Milesians, [greetings].

Both by way of reverence [toward the god] and to do honor to you, [since it] is my custom to foster the [cities of] good [reputation] with the [benefactions which are suitable – – –

Commentary

The restorations are by Rehm. If Hadrian's second imperial acclamation is to be dated in 135 after suppression of the Jewish revolt, the epistle cannot be earlier than 135, but the year 135/6 does not seem to be the year in which Hadrian undertook the office of *prophetes* because of the silence of *Milet* 1.2, No. 20. Hence Rehm assumes that it was 136/7 or 137/8, and because of the aorist in line 3, Hadrian's term was already finished when the monument was erected. The Milesians would not have invited the emperor at the last minute, and so Rehm placed the epistle in Hadrian's nineteenth tenure of the tribunician power, A.D. 135, when a congratulatory embassy might have broached the question.

The epistle in which Hadrian accepted the office of *prophetes* may be compared with the epistle in which Commodus accepted the archonship of the Eumolpidae, No. 206 *infra*.

88A,B,C. HADRIAN'S EDICT ON A TAX MORATORIUM IN EGYPT, A.D. 136

Egypt. Three papyri by different hands preserve three mutilated copies of the same edict, two copies (A and B) from Philadelphia and the third (C) probably also from somewhere in the Fayum. A and B are Nos. 49359 and 49360 in the National Museum in Cairo. The third papyrus (C) is No. 78 at Oslo.

The very difficult *editio princeps* of A and B was by P. Jouguet, "Un édit d'Hadrien," *REG* 33 (1920) 375–402. F. Bilabel, *Sam-*



Plate 5. No. 88C.

melbuch (1927) 3:6944. H. Henne, "Sur un édit d'Hadrien," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale au Caire* 30 (1930), 153–160 improved the readings. The discovery of another copy (C) at Oslo marked a great advance: S. Eitrem, *P. Osl.*, 3: 55–61, No. 78, with a new reading of the Cairo copies by O. Guéraud. Further restorations were proposed by C. H. Roberts, *JEA* 23 (1937) 266 (for C, line 6); F. Zucker, *SymbOsl* 17 (1937) 54 (impossible reading in C 14); B. Olson, *DLZ* 59 (1938) 517 (with improved reading of C 9); Karl Fr. W. Schmidt, *PhWoch* 58 (1938) 299 (with impossible restorations of C, lines 6 and 14). [Riccobono, *FIRA*², 1:81; Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 462]. The translation published by A. C. Johnson in T. Frank, *Ec. Survey* 2 (1936) 522, again in *ARS* 247, was from an outdated text. Comments are offered by P. J. Alexander, *HSCP* 49 (1938) 165–167.

88A

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ], θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρονα
[υἱ]ωνός, Τ[ραῖα]νός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,
[δη]μαρχ[ι]κῆ[ς ἐξ]ουσίας τὸ κ̄, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β̄, ὑπατος τὸ γ̄,
[πατ]ήρ πατ[ρίδ]ος vacat λέγει vacat

- 5 [Καὶ νῦν ἐν]δεέστερ[ον] ἀναβῆναι τὸν Νεῖλον, ὥς καὶ πέρυσι, π[υθό]
[μενος, εἰ κ]αὶ τοῖς πρ[ο]τέροις ἔτεσι ἐξῆς οὐ τελείαν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
[τοσαύτην] σχεδὸν [δσ]ην οὐπω πρότερον ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀ[νάβα]
[σιν καὶ πᾶσ]αν τῇ[ν] χώραν ἐπελθὼν αἴτιος ὑπῆρξεν αὐτὸ[ς] τοῦ [πλεί]
[στους καὶ κα]λλίστου[ς] καρποὺς ἐξενενκεῖν, ὁμῶς φήθηεν ἀν[αγκαί]
10 [ότατον ποι]ήσας[θ]αί τινα πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς φιλανθρω[πίαν],
[καίτοι προσδοκ]ῶν – [σ]ὺν θεῷ δὲ εἰρήσθω – τῶν ἐπιόντων ἐ[τῶν, καὶ]
[εἴ τι νῦν ἐνεδ]έησεν, ἀναπληρώσειν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Νεῖλον [καὶ τὴν]
[γῆν δὲ τὴν ἐξ] ἐ[τέρων] {τὴν} φύσιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὥς [ἐγ μὲν]
[εὐροία]ς καὶ πο[λυ]καρπίας εἰς ἔνδε[ι]αν μεταβαλεῖν, ἐγ δὲ [τῆς]
15 [ἐνδεί]ας εἰς ἀφ[θον]ίαν. Τύχη δ[ὲ] τῇ Ἀγα[θῇ] τὸν φόρον [τοῦ]
[του τοῦ ἔ]τους τὸν [ἀρ]γυ[ρ]ικὸν εἴστ[ημι διαν]εμθησόμενον
[τοῖς μὲν ἀ]πὸ τῇ[ς] Θ[ηβ]α[ί]δος, {τ}οὺς μάλιστα εἰκὸς ἐκ τῆς ἐνδε[ί]
[ας βλαβῆ]ναι, εἰς πέ[ντ]ε ἐνιαυσίου[ς] καταβολάς, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ
[τῶν Ὡ]νομῶν ε[ἰς] τέσσαρες, τοῖς δ[ὲ] ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς Κάτω χώρας [εἰς]
20 [τρεῖς, ὥστ]ε εἶναι τ[ο]ῖς βουλομένοις καὶ κατὰ ἐξάμηνον ἀπο
[διδόναι, με]νούσης τῆς συνχωρηθείσης προθεσμίας
[τοῖς μὲν] ἀ[πὸ] τῆς Θηβαΐδος τῶν ε[ἰ]τῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν
[Ὡ νομῶν] τῆς δ[ὲ] ε[ἰ]ας καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Κάτω χώρας
[τῆς γ[ὰρ] ε[ἰ]ας ^{vvv} Πρ[ο]ετ[έ]θη ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρίας κ (ἔτος) Παῦνι ς

88B

- [Αὐτ]οκράτ[ωρ Κ]α[ῖ]σα[ρ, θεοῦ] Τραιανοῦ Παρ[θικοῦ] υἱός, θ[εοῦ] Νέρ[ου]α
[υἱώ]νός, Τ[ραϊα]νός [᾿Αδ]ριανός Σεβασ[τός, ἀρ]χιερεὺς μ[έ]γιστος,
δημα[ρχικῆς] ἐξου[σί]ας τὸ [κ̄, ὑπατ]ός [τὸ γ̄, π]ατήρ πατ[ῆ]ρ πα[τρίδος],
λέ[γα· Κ]α[ῖ] νῦν ἐνδεέστερον ἀ[ναβῆναι τὸν] Νεῖλον οὐδέ τι, ὡς καὶ]
- 5 π[έρυ]σι, πυθόμ[ε]ν[ος, εἰ] καὶ τοῖς προτ[έροι]ς [ἐτεσι]ν οὐ τελεία[ν]
[μόνον] ἀλλὰ κα[ῖ] μείζω σχεδ[ὸ]ν [ὅσην οὐ π]ώποτε πρ[ότε]ρ[ον]
[ἐπο]ιῆ[σατ]ο τῇ[ν] ἀνάβ[ασιν] καὶ πᾶσαν τῇ[ν] χώ[ρ]αν [ἐπ]ελθὼν
αἴτιος ὑπῆρξεν αὐτὸς τοῦ πλ[εῖστ]ους καὶ καλλίστους καρποὺς
[ἐξενε]κεῖν, ὁμω[ς] ὥ[θ]η[ν] χρέο[ς] [εἰ]ναι ποιήσ[α]σθαί τινα
- 10 [π]ρ[ὸ]ς τοῦ[ς] γ[εωρ]γούς φιλανθρωπίαν, καίτοι προ[σ]δοκῶν –
[σὺ]ν θεῷ δὲ εἰρ[ή]σθω – τῶν ἐπιόντων ἐτῶν, καὶ εἴ τι νῦν
[ἐν]εδέησ[ε]ν, ἀναπληρῶσιν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ
τῇ[ν] γ[ῆ]ν, [διὰ] τῇ[ν] ἐξ <ἐ>τέρων φύσι τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς
ἐγ[ὲν] εὐροία[ς] καὶ πολυκαρπίας εἰς ἐνδεῖαν μ[ε]τα
- 15 βα[λεῖν, ἐ]γ δὲ τῆς ἐνδεείας εἰς ἀφθονίαν. Τύχη δὲ τῇ
᾿Α[γαθῇ] τὸν φ[ό]ρον τὸν τοῦτου τοῦ ἔτους τὸν ἀργυρικὸν <ν>
[ῖ]στε [διανε]μη[θ]ησόμενον τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαῖ[δος],
οὓς μάλ[ιστ]α εἰκὸς ἐκ [τῆς] ἐνδεείας βλαβῆναι, ε[ἰς] ἔ[ν]ι(αυσίους)
κα[τ]αβολάς, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ζ̄ νομῶν εἰς δ̄, τοῖς δὲ
- 20 ἀπὸ τῆς Κάτ[ω] χώρας εἰς γ̄, <ῶστ' εἶ>ναι τ[οῖς] βουλομένοις
καὶ κατ' ἐξάμηνον ἀποδιδόνα[ι], με[νο]ύσης τῆς συ[γ]χ[ω]
ρηθείσης προθεσμίας τοῖς μὲν [ἀπ]ὸ τῆς Θηβαῖ[δος] τῶν ε (ἐτῶν),
καὶ το[ῖς] ἀπὸ τῶν Ζ̄ νομῶν τῆς δ̄ ε[τίας] καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς
Κάτ[ω] χώ[ρας] τ[ῆς] γ̄ ετίας vacat

Traces of the prefect's covering letter

88C

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσ[αρ, θεοῦ] Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα
υἱώ[ν]ός, Τραιανός [᾿Αδ]ριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,
δημ[αρ]χικῆς ἐξουσ[ίας] τὸ κ^Λ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β^Λ, ὑπατος]
τὸ γ^Λ vvv πατ[ῆ]ρ πατρίδος vacat λέγει vacat]
- 5 Καὶ νῦν ἐνδεέστ[ερον] ἀναβῆναι τὸν Νεῖλον, ὡς καὶ πέρυσι,
πυθόμενος οὐδὲ τ[ι], εἰ καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἔτεσιν οὐ τελείαν]
ἀλλὰ κ[αῖ] μείζω [σχεδὸν ὅσην οὐ πώποτε πρότερον ἐποιῆσα]
το τῇ[ν] ἀνάβασιν [καὶ πᾶσαν τῇ[ν] χώραν ἐπελθὼν τὸ μόνον]
αἴτιον [ὑπ]ῆ[ρ]ξεν αὐ[τὸς] τοῦ πλείστους καὶ καλλίστους καρποὺς]
- 10 ἐξενεγ[κεῖν], ὁμω[ς] ὥ[θ]η[ν] ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι ποιήσασ]
θ[α]ί τινα [πρὸς] τοῦς [γεωργούς] φιλανθρωπίαν, καίτοι]
προσδοκῶν – σὺν θ[εῷ] δὲ εἰρήσθω – τῶν ἐπιόντων]
ἐτῶν, καὶ εἴ τ[ι] νῦν ἐ[νεδέ]ησεν, ἀναπληρώσειν καὶ αὐτὸν]
[τὸν] Νεῖλον καὶ τῇ[ν] γῆ[ν], διὰ τῇ[ν] ἐξ ἐτέρων φύσιν τῶν πραγ]

- 15 μάτων, ὡς ἐγ μὲν εὐροίας καὶ πολυκαρπίας εἰς ἔνδειαν]
 [μ]εταβαλεῖν, ἐγ δὲ τῆς [ἐνδείας εἰς ἀφθονίαν. Τύχη δὲ τῇ 'Αγα]
 [θ]ῇ τὸν φόρον τὸν το[ύτου τοῦ] ἔτους τὸν ἀργυρικὸν ἴσ]
 [τημι δι]ανεμηθῆσόμε[ε]νο[ν τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ Θηβαίδος, οὓς μάλι]
 [στ]α εἰκὸς ἐκ τῆς ἐν[δείας] βλαβῆναι, εἰς ἑνιαυσίους κατα]
 20 [βολά]ς, [τ]ο[ῖς] δὲ ἀπ[ὸ τῶν ἑ] νομῶν εἰς τέσσαρας, τοῖς δὲ]
 [ἀπὸ τ]ῆς Κάτω χώ[ρας] εἰς τρεῖς, ὥστ' εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις]
 [καὶ] κατ' ἐξάμην[ον ἀποδιδόναι, μενούσης τῆς συγχωρηθεί]
 [σης προθεσμίας κτλ.

Translation of a Composite Text of A, B, and C

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the twentieth time, imperator for the second time, thrice consul, pater patriae, proclaims:

Even though in the previous years the Nile achieved not only its full rise but the greater rise which was almost unprecedented and, as it reached all the country, was itself the cause that the land brought forth its very plentiful and splendid crops, nevertheless, having learned that the rise of the Nile fell short or failed completely this time as it did last year, I realized that it was necessary to make some considerate adjustment for the farmers, although I expect—be it said with permission of the god—that in the oncoming years, even if now some dearth has occurred, the Nile itself and the earth will compensate, [on account of] the alternating nature of things in that changes occur, yesterday from a good flood and a plentiful crop to want, tomorrow from want to abundance. With Good Fortune: [I] decree that this year's tribute in cash shall be distributed for those from the Thebaid, who are the most likely to have suffered from the dearth, into five annual instalments, for those from the Heptanomia into four, for those from Lower Egypt into three, with the understanding that those who wish may pay every six months, although the term remains of five years for those from the Thebaid, four years for those from the Heptanomia, and three years for those from Lower Egypt.

Published at Alexandria, Year twenty, Payni 6.

Commentary

The edict was published at Alexandria on Payni 6 (not 16) of Year 20 (not 21), namely 31 May 136, as Henne recognized. It

was called forth by two successive failures of the Nile to rise to its normal height and flood the country. The emperor spreads the payment of 136/7's ἀργυρικὸς φόρος, i.e., the rents on vineyards, orchards, and pasture-lands, over three to five years.

Jouguet restored lines 1–3 correctly, but his version of the rest has been much improved, especially by Eitrem and Guéraud. In C, line 6, where Eitrem read οὐδὲ τ[. < >], Roberts restored τ[ελ(είως)]. This makes sense but must be rejected because there are no other abbreviations in C. Moreover, Eitrem estimated that only one letter was missing, not two. Hence the word must be τ[ι, especially since the phrase ἐνδεέστερον ἀναβῆναι . . . οὐδέ τι gives a good sense. The inundation, disappointing in Lower Egypt, amounted to nothing in the Thebaid.

Other changes introduced here are the restoration ἀν[αγκαιότατον instead of Jouguet's ἀν[άγκην in A, line 9 and C, line 10 but χρέος in B, line 9; a new restoration at the end of C 8 (see below); the restoration διά in A 13, B 13 and C 14; the recognition of ἴστημι in A 16 and C 17–18; and an emendation <ὥστ' εἶν>αι for Guéraud's οσ και (so also Omar Sayed) or Jouguet's οστειναι in B 20.

Little confusion between ι and ει occurs. A has εἴσ[τημι in line 16, and B has the infinitive ἀ[ναπληρ]ώσιν in line 12.

Slight variations occur. The scribe of B has omitted in line 3 the reference to Hadrian's imperial salutations and has written the word πατήρ twice. He has certainly garbled the text of line 20, and he seems to have written χρέος for ἀναγκαιότατον in line 9, τῇ[ν] ἐξοτέρων φύσι for τὴν ἐξ ἐτέρων φύσιν in line 13, and ἀργυρικοῦ[ι] ἴ[σ]τε for ἀργυρικὸν ἴστημι in lines 16–17, and perhaps ὅς (= ὥς) ἴ[ν]αι for ὥστε εἶναι in line 20. The letters ενι at the end of line 18 are peculiar even if they are an abbreviation rather than negligently incomplete.

Whether the phrase οὐδέ τι goes where B, line 4 has it or where C, line 6 has it, there can be little doubt that it belongs in the edict and that its omission in A is erroneous. In line 6, on the other hand, A has ἔτεσι ἐξῆς for ἔτεσιν. Perhaps the word ἔτεσιν was omitted in C, because the restoration based on the texts of A and B is too long. A, moreover, has ἔτεσι ἐξῆς while B has ἔτεσιν without ἐξῆς. Whether οὐπω (so A, line 7) or οὐ π[ώπ]ο[τ]ε (so B, line 6) is the authentic version remains unclear. But A's {τ}οὺς (line 14) and τέσσαρες (line 19) are errors, and the second τῇν in line 18 is probably another.

There is no room for the word μόνον in C, line 6. In line 9 C

has αἴτιον, not αἴτιος as Eitrem published it on the model of A and B. In making the correct reading αἴτιον B. Olson did not go far enough; the reading requires the addition of τὸ in line 8. In fact line 8 as restored in *P. Osl.* 3:78 is much too short without the article, short even with it. The word μόνον, which Eitrem restored in line 6 where there is no room for it, could be accommodated here and supported by parallels in Polybius 1. 66. 10, μόνον αἴτιον γίνεται στάσεως, and Aelius Aristides, *Pan-ath.* 4, τὴν μόνον τοῦ τολμήματος αἰτίαν. The word μόνον is rightly placed in A and B but in C wrongly placed rather than omitted altogether. The transposition of μόνον has led to the slightly different construction in C, lines 8–9.

With [ἴ]στε in B 17 compare Hadrian's letter to the Athenians, No. 85, and the proclamation of Severus Alexander, No. 275.

89A–B. HADRIAN TO THE BEROEANS

Beroea. Text A, in flooring of the church of the Panagia Phaneromene, where it was examined on 1 May 1974.

A. Plassart, *BCH* 47 (1923) 183–185; *SEG* II (1924) 398; J. M. R. Cormack, "A Letter of Hadrian in Beroia," *JRS* 30 (1940) 148–152, a better text with photograph and with recognition of another copy (Text B) published by Delacoulonche.

89A

- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσ]αρ, Θεοῦ Τραια
 [νοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, Θεοῦ Νέρουα] υἱωνός, Τραιανὸς Ἄδρι
 [ανὸς Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος], δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
 [τὸ -, ὑπατος τὸ Γ̃, Βεροιαίων τοῖς] ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τ[ῶ]
 5 [δῆμῳ χαί]ρειν
 [Οἱ ἐλθόντες σὺν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ψηφίσ]ματι ἔτυχον προσόδου οἱ πρέσβεις
 [καὶ ἀνήνεγκον τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν> Ὅσα ἐ]δεήθητέ μου συνεχώρησα, δίκαι[ά]
 [τε ὄντα ----- β]ουλόμενος> Τὰ κοινὰ συνέδ[ρ]ε[ια]
 [-----] μήποτε ἀγοραίας οὔσης εἰστροπῆς [...]
 10 [-----]ηρίου> Τὰς πέντε μυριάδας ἅς ὑπὲρ
 [-----] Κ]λαύδιος Κρίσπος οὐ τοῖς συνέδροις
 [-----] μόνον μύρια δισχεῖλια πέν[τα]
 [κόσια Εὐτυχεῖτε]

Restorations: 1–3 Plassart. 4 Γ̃ Oliver, cetera Plassart. 6 Oliver.

7 ἐ]δεήθητέ et δίκαι[α] Cormack, cetera Oliver. 8 β]ουλόμενος Cormack, cetera Oliver. 13 Oliver.

Some letters now lost at end of lines 10 and 11 were read by Plassart.

Beroea. Copy B, formerly in the church of the Resurrection at Verria, is now lost. An unsuccessful search for it was made on 1–2 May 1974.

M. Delacoulonche, “Mémoire . . . sur le berceau de la puissance macédonienne des bords de l’Haliacmon à ceux de l’Axius,” *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, offprint (Paris, 1858) reporting on a voyage made from 4 September to 22 December 1855, 157 and 199, No. 73, drawing; M. G. Demitsas, Ἡ Μακεδονία (Athens, 1896) 72, No. 63; J. M. R. Cormack, *JRS* 30 (1940) 148–152, bringing A and B together.

89B

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ] Τραία
 [νοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τ]ραιανός
 [Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος], δημαρχί
 [κῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ----, ὑπατος τὸ τρ]ίτον, Βεροί
 5 [VV αἰών τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δ]ήμῳ VVV
 [χαίρειν] vacat
 [Οἱ ἐλθόντες σὺν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ψηφίσματι ἔτυχ]ον προσό
 [δου οἱ πρέσβεις οὓς ἐπέμψατε καὶ ἀνήνεγκο]ν τὰ περὶ
 [ὑμῶν. Ὅσα ἐδεήθητέ μου συνεχώρησα, δίκαι]ά τε ὄντα
 10 [----- βουλόμε]νος. Τὰ κοι
 [νὰ συνέδρια -----]θαρ πλὴν
 [-----]ενοι
 [----- ηρίου. Τὰς πέν]τε μν
 [ριάδας ἃς ὑπέρ -----]
 15 [-----]
 [-----]
 [----- μύρι]α δισχεί
 [λία πεντακόσια ----- Εὐτυχεῖτε] vacat

Line 4 of B justifies the restoration of a reference to Hadrian's third and last consulate (A.D. 119) in both copies. The lacunas in lines 8 and 10 of B are not of the same length as the corresponding lacunas of A. Copy B has a slightly longer version. For the clause οὓς ἐπέμψατε in B 8, see No. 5 (Augustus).

Translation of A + B

[Imperator] Caesar Trajan Hadrian [Augustus, son] of divine Trajan [Parthicus], grandson [of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus], tribunician power [for the —th time], thrice [consul], to the archons, Council, and Demos [of the] Beroeans, [greetings].

The ambassadors [who came with your decree] obtained an audience [and reported] the information concerning [you. All that] you asked of me I granted, [knowing] that it was right [and] wishing [— — — — —]

Commentary on A

The restoration of line 6 is according to sense. The ambassadors have arrived with a request which the emperor explicitly grants in line 7. The reference in line 6 could be interpreted as ἀξιῶ]ματι, but a request from a city was usually couched in a decree setting up an embassy to go to the emperor and to ask him. The ambassadors were expected to give him a copy of the decree and then speak in support of the city.

The restoration of line 7 is based first on the probability that what the emperor granted was ὅσα ἐ]δεήθητέ μου, second on the words]ν τὰ περί of Copy B which almost have to be accommodated here. If the nu of Copy B represents the final consonant of a verb and if the short word which followed περί was the pronoun ὑμῶν, the sense requires some such restoration as that given in the text.

The restoration of line 8 is complicated by the fact that Copy B had a longer text than A. Since something of B has been omitted in A, the possibility that Copy B read δίκαιά τε ὄντα εἰδὼς καί, while A read merely δίκαια εἰδὼς καί, must be kept in mind.

90. HADRIAN TO THE GYTHEATES ON AN ENDOWMENT

Gythium. Copied by Leake “at Skopá near Kótorna in Kato Mani,” it is now lost. A search for it was made in 1970.

W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea* 3 (London, 1930) drawing no. 42; Ph. Le Bas and P. Foucart, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce* (Paris, 1877) 128, No. 243 d; W. Kolbe, *IG V* 1 (1913) 1147; E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia*

bis auf Diokletian (Vienna, 1939) 63; J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (*Trans. Am. Philos. Soc.* 43.4, 1953), chap. 7, "Roman Declarations Protecting Greek Endowments," Case II.

90

[-----]ΩΙ[-----]
 [-----]ναι κατὰ τὴν δξίαν κατ[---]
 [----- Τινηίῳ Σα]κέρδωτι τῷ κρατίστῳ
 5 [ἀνθυπάτῳ -----]αι τὰ περὶ αὐτῶ <ν> μοι δο
 [χθέντα. Ἐπρέσβευεν ὁ δεῖνα] Ἡνιόχου, ᾧ τὸ ἐφόδιον
 [δοθήτω, εἴ γε μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχ]ετο τὴν πρεσβείαν
 [ἐπιτελέσειν Εὐτυχεῖτε]

The epistle and edict of Tineius Sacerdos follow.

The restorations are by Foucart, who restored even more, except that ἐπιτελέσειν is here substituted for ὑπολαμβάνειν. The infinitive, if there was one at all, would have to be a future infinitive. The *viaticum* formula is not unlike that of No. 71 of A.D. 120.

91. [HADRIAN] TO [THE SPARTANS]

Sparta. An inscription found at Mistra and now No. 782 in the Museum at Sparta was examined there in 1970, after most that Tod and Fränkel saw of Col. I had disappeared.

M. N. Tod, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* (Oxford, 1906) 84, No. 782; W. Kolbe, *IG V 1* (1913) 21 from Max Fränkel's copy; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 446 f., No. 121; J. H. Oliver, "Hadrian's Reform of the Appeal Procedure in Greece," *Hesperia* 39 (1970) 332–336 with photograph; idem, "Greek Applications for Roman Trials," *AJP* 100 (1979) 543–558. Also see J. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Akten des VI. Int. Kongress für Gr. u. Lat. Epigraphik* (Munich, 1972) 172–174.

91

Col. I

[-----]
 [---] δὲ τοῦ[τ]ων ἑκα[στ -----]

- [--- οὐδεπ]ώποτε περὶ τῆς ἑμαυτο[ῦ -----]
 [-----] πότερον πραθῆναι ἢ μισθοῦσθαι καὶ πό
 [τερον σύμπαντας -- τ]οὺς ἀγροὺς ἢ κατὰ μέρος, παραινῶ
 5 [----- προσ]όδους μέμνημαι πολλῶ μείζονας
 [-----]ν καὶ δεδωρημένον ὑμῖν αἴτησιν
 [--- προσόδ]ους ἔσεσθαι, εἰ ἑτέρα μίσθωσις γ[έν]οι
 [το ----- π]οιεῖν ὑμᾶς, κ[αί] ἐὰν τὸ τρίτον τῆς νῦν
 [----- τοῦ] τρίτου [-----]σῆτε

Col. II

- [-----]
 [-----]λεα
 [-----] vacat
 Οὔτε τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐπικλήσεων βοήθειαν τοὺς ἀδικουμέ
 νους οἶομαι δὴν ἀφειρῆσθαι οὔτε ἀφορμὴν ταύτην γέιν
 5 σθαι τοῖς συκοφαντοῦσιν ὥς τὰ τε δημόσια καὶ ἰδιωτικά
 μὴ τελεῖσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· διὸ δὴ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀμφι
 σβητήσεων, αἵτινες ἂν ὥσιν ἐλάττους 2 δηναρίων καὶ μὴ
 τε κριτήριον ἢ πρόκριμα κεφαλικῆς δίκης ἢ ἐπιτιμίας ἔξου
 σιν, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι με ἢ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἐπικαλεσαμένοις κω
 10 [λ]ύωι· τὰς δὲ ἐπικλήσεις, ἃς [γ]εῖνεσθαι ἐπιτρέπω, διακρινέτω
 [σαν οἱ σύνεδ]ροι πότερον δ<ι>καίως γείνονται, ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ τ[ὰ]ς δι
 [κας ἀναβάλλεσθαι καὶ π]ροβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ κριθῇ
 [ναι ----- οἱ σύν]εδροι τῷ πατρίῳ ἔ
 [θει ----- ἢ]μέρα ἢ ἐντ[ὸ]ς
 15 [----- κρι]νέτωσαν.

Col. I: 1–6 Kolbe. 7 προσόδ]ους Kolbe, γ[έν]οι[το Tod. 8–9 Kolbe.

Col. II: 1–2 Oliver. 10–11 Kolbe. 11 ΔΚΑΙΩΣ stone: 12 κας and τὰς τε π]ροβολὰς Kolbe, ἀναβάλλεσθαι καὶ Oliver. 13–15 Kolbe.

Translation (Column II)

It is not right, I think, for the victims of injustice to be deprived of the relief they can get by appeals (for trials in the first instance) or for this to become a starting-point for those who bring false charges so that both public and private business not be performed according to the laws. Therefore, I forbid people to apply to me concerning cases which are for less than (so and so many) denarii and will not involve a judgment or pre-judicial ruling in a capital case or case concerning civil status or to comply with those who did appeal. As for those applications which I do allow to be

made, let the members of the synhedrion, discriminating whether they are being made rightly, decide either with the intentions of [putting off] the trials and of forestalling condemnation — — —

Commentary

The acephalous document of col. II, lines 3–15, was held by Abbott and Johnson, as by Kolbe, to be an imperial letter. It comes from an epistle, an edict, or *mandata*, and in view of Sparta's great prestige as well as freedom the author does not seem to have been the annual proconsul of Achaea (far less influential than the consular proconsul of Asia), nor does it seem to have been a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* with a temporary assignment to the free cities. The numeral which in line 7 looks like an Arabic 2 is certainly not the sign for 1000, not even an abnormal sampi for 900, but a new sign indicating "so and so many." As in the edict of L. Antonius Albus at Ephesus (*ZPE* 25 [1977] 308 f.), the exact number is not stated but left to local discretion. The document concerns applications for trials in the first instance. The paragraph assigns to the Council or Gerusia the task of screening applications and assuring the payment of deposits. The reforms fit in with Hadrian's activity and so does the language. The document seems to postdate and correct the neglect of the local courts about which Plutarch complained in *Political Precepts* 18 and to predate the regularized appeal presupposed in Hadrian's Oil Law at Athens, No. 92. Since Marcus Aurelius referred to the ἐγγύαι deposited with the Areopagus by the litigants in No. 184 at Athens, the restoration ἐγγυᾶσθαι in line 12 and the inference that not just Sparta was here concerned are justified. For the *praeiudicium*, which appears as πρόκριμα in line 8, the reader may consult J. Triantaphyllopoulos, "Praeiudicium legis Cicereiae," *Studi in Memoria di Sirio Solazzi* (Naples, 1964) 463–524 and K. Hackl, *Praeiudicium im klassischen römischen Recht* (Salzburg and Munich, 1976), reviewed by M. Marrone, *Labeo* 24 (1978) 74–84. In line 9 the emperor removes the threat of an appeal as an easy means of extortion (see Oliver, *Hesperia* 39). For use of the verb ἐπικαλέομαι and the security required the reader may compare also *P. Yale* inv. no. 1606, published by N. Lewis, *RHD* (1972) 5–12 and *Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels, 1975) 760–765, where lines 27–32 read: οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀκουσθήσονται εἰ μὴ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι

καὶ παραβόλιον θέντες τὸ τέ[ταρτον] μέρος ἐκ τιμήμα[τος περι] οὗ ἐδικάσθη. The emperor would have asked for at least as much security as the prefect of Egypt.

92. HADRIAN'S OIL LAW AT ATHENS

Athens, in the Roman Market Place. The inscription still stands on the pylon of the gateway, but it has suffered from weathering, so the student must rely on early copies.

George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (London, 1682) 388–391; Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait aux années 1675–1676* (The Hague, 1721) 2:274–277; A. Boeckh, *CIG* I (1825) 355 from their copy and from those of others; W. Dittenberger, *IG* III (1878) 38 from Koehler's collation; J. Kirchner, *IG* II² (1916) 1100; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, No. 90; B. D. Meritt, "The Epigraphic Notes of Francis Vernon," *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 1949) 221–225 with much improved text; J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (Trans. Am. Philos. Soc. 43.4, 1953) 960–962; [A. G. Woodhead, *SEG* XV (1958) 108]; [H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica* I (*Textus Minores* XXXI, 1964) No. 15].

See also P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934) 74–79; John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York, 1942) 189–192; U. Kahrstedt, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* (Bern, 1954) 48; H. W. Pleket, *Mnemosyne* 14 (1961) 305 f.

92

Κε(φάλαια) νο(μο)θε(σίας) Ἀδριανοῦ
Οἱ τὸ ἔλαιον γεωργοῦντες τὸ τρίτον
καταφερέτωσαν, ἢ τὸ ὀγδοὺν οἱ τὰ
Ἱππάρχου χωρία τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ φύσκου
5 πραθέντα κεκτημένοι· μόνα γὰρ ἐ
κεῖνα τὸ δίκαιον τοῦτο ἔχει καταφε
ρέτωσαν δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἄρξασθαι συνκο
[μιδῆς κ]ατὰ μέρος, πρὸς λόγον το[ῦ]
[συνκομιζ]ομένου, τοῖς ἐλεῶναι[ς]
10 [διδόντες τοῖς] προνοοῦσιν τῇ[ς]
[δημοσίας χρεία]ς· ἀπογραφέσθω
[σαν δὲ λόγον τῆς] συνκομιδῆς πρὸ[ς]

- 15 [τοὺς πρυτάνεις κα]ὶ τὸν κήρυκα δύο
 [ἀντίγραφα παραδ]ιδόντες καὶ τὸ
 [ἕτερον ἀπολαμβά]νοντες ὑπογρα
 φέν· ἡ δὲ ἀπ[ογραφ]ῇ ἔστω μετὰ ὄρκου
 καὶ πόσον συνεκόμεσεν τὸ πᾶν,
 καὶ ὅτι διὰ δούλου τοῦδε ἡ ἀπελευ
 20 θέρου τοῦδε, ἐὰν δὲ πωλήσῃ τὸν
 καρπὸν ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ χωρίου ἡ ὁ
 γεωργὸς ἡ ὁ καρπώνης. ἀπογραφέ
 σθω δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ ἐπ' ἑξα
 25 γωνῇ πιπράσκων, πόσον πιπράσκει
 καὶ τίνοι καὶ ποῦ ὄρμ[ε]ῖ τὸ [π]λοῖον. ὁ δ[ε]
 ἀπογραφῆς χωρὶς π[ωλήσας] ἐπ' ἑξα
 γωνῇ, κἂν ὁ ὤφειλεν ἡ κα[τενηνοχῶς]
 τῇ πόλει, στερέσθω τοῦ πραθ[έντος].
 ὁ δὲ ψευδεὶς ἀπογραφὰς ποιησά[μενος]
 ἡ τὰς περὶ τῆς συνκομιδῆς [ἡ τ]ὰ[ς περὶ]
 30 τῆς ἐξαγωγῆς ἡ ὑπὲρ χωρίου, [εἰ τις πα]
 ρὰ φύσκου ἐπρίατο μὴ Ἰππάρχ[ου γενόμε]
 νον ὄγδοον κατενεγκών, σ[τερέσθω],
 [τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ὁ μ]ηνύσας λαμ[β]α[νέτω].
 [----- ἐξαγω]γὴν ἀναπογ[ράπτων]
 35 [-----]ειρε, εἰ μ[-----]
 [-----]των ἀπ[ο]τερ[-----]
 [-----]ος αὐτὸς ἡ ὄν[τιν']
 [ἂν -----]έτω μὲν ἐξ ἀπ[ο]
 [----- τ]ῆς δὲ τειμῆς τὸ [ἡ]
 40 μισυ κατεχέτω, εἰ μήπω δέδωκεν, ἡ λαμ
 βανέτω· τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ἔστω δημόσιον.
 γραφέσθω δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔμπορος ὅτι ἐξάγει
 καὶ πόσον παρ' ἐκάστου· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπο
 45 γραψάμενος φωραθῇ ἐκπλέων, στερέ
 σθω· ἐὰν δὲ ἐκπλεύσας φθάσῃ καὶ μηνυ
 θῇ, γραφέσθω καὶ τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 δήμου κάμοι. τὰς δὲ περὶ τούτων δίκας
 μέχρι μὲν πεντήκοντα ἀμφορέων ἡ βου
 λῇ μόνη κρεινέτω, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο μετὰ
 50 τοῦ δήμου. ἐὰν δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου τις
 μηνύσῃ, ἐπάναγκες ὁ στρατηγὸς τῇ ἐξῆς
 ἡμέρᾳ βουλὴν ἀθροισάτω, εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς
 πεντήκοντα ἀμφορεῖς εἴη τὸ μεμνη
 μένον, ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ διδόσθω τῷ ἐλέγ
 55 ξαντι τὸ ἥμισυ. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκκαλέσῃται τις ἡ
 ἐμὲ ἢ τὸν ἀνθύπατον, χειροτονεῖτω συν

	δίκους ὁ δῆμος. ἵνα δὲ ἀπαραίτητα ἦ τὰ κατὰ τῶν κακουργούντων ἐπι[τ]είμι[α], τει
60	μῆς ἰς τὸ δημόσιον καταφερέσθω τὸ ἔλαι ον ἥτις ἂν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἦ. εἰ δέ ποτε εὐφορί ας ἐλαίου γενομένης πλέον εἴη τὸ ἐκ τῶν τρίτων ἢ ὀγδόων καταφερόμενον τῆς εἰς ὄλον τ[ὸ]ν ἐνιαυτὸν δημοσίας χρείας, ἐξέ στω τοῖς μηδὲ πωλοῦσιν τὸ ἔλαιον ἢ πᾶν
65	ἢ μέρος, δευτέραν ἀπογραφὴν ποισαμέ νοις καὶ δηλώσ[ασ]ιν <τὸ> τότε ὀφειλόμενον πόσον ἐστὶν [ὅσ]ον οἱ ἐλαιῶναι ἢ ο[ἱ] ἀργυ ροταμία[ι] οὐ βούλονται παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, ὁ μὲν ὀφ[ε]ίλουσιν [ἐ]ν[τὸς τ]αύ[της τ]ῆς ἡ[μέρας]
70	φυλάσσειν ὡς ἴδιον ---]ΑΣ[---]ΔΙΑ[-] ΤΕΤΑ[-----] ἀπογραφ[ὰς ἀναγ]ινω σκομένα[ς ----- δ]ήμῳ ἰς τειμῆς [τι]θέ σθω[---]ΔΗ[---] ἀπογραφὰ[ς ---] ἀφ' ἐ[τέ] ρων [-----]ν ὁ ὀφείλησ[---]ΣΟΦ[-] 75 ἐαν [-----]ΤΗ[---]το ἄλλο [-] ΠΙΤΙ[-----]ΤΩ[-]ΑΣΛ[-] Τ[-----] [-----] Α[-----] 80 Σ[-----] Δ[-----] Ν[-----] ΕΝ[-----] ΕΛ[-----] vacat

In line 1 Boeckh resolved κε(λεύει) νό(μος) θε(σμῶν), Dittenberger νό(μος) θε(οῦ).

It seems pointless to assign to their authors restorations made before a proper text of the rest was established. Suffice it to say that Boeckh did a great deal and Dittenberger with Koehler's collation a little more. The copy made in 1675 by Francis Vernon was never used until Meritt discovered it and prepared the basic text. Our own text is based on his except that we change the punctuation (e.g., in line 21), reject his restorations [ὅς δ' ἂν ἐπ' ἐξαγωγ]γῇ ἀναπογ[ραπτα] | πρίηται in lines 34–35 and ὄν[τιν] | ἂν ἐληται, πιπρασκ[έτω] in lines 37–38. In line 66 Meritt retained δημόσιον τό τε ὀφειλόμενον, although Vernon copied δηλώσειν and Koehler could see only the delta. The word δημόσιον creates

embarrassment. Vernon's copy seems closer to what is needed, δηλώσ(ασ)ιν, with the second sigma misread as an epsilon. Other restorations of our own are offered in lines 13 and 69–70.

Translation

Chapters of Hadrian's Legislation

The olive growers shall deliver the third part of the oil, or the eighth if they are owners of the estates of Hipparchus sold by the *fiscus*—for only those estates carry this privilege. They shall deliver the oil partially at the beginning of the harvest, in proportion to what is being [harvested, making delivery] to the public oil buyers who watch out for the [public requirements]. They shall file [a declaration] of the harvest with [the prytaneis and] the herald, submitting two [copies] and receiving [back] the one copy signed. The declaration shall be under oath and a statement of the total amount he harvested and that he did so through such and such a slave or such and such a freedman, and whether it is the owner of the estate or the tenant or the harvest contractor who sells the oil.

Also he who sells for export shall file a declaration with the same officials as to how much he is selling and to whom and where the ship is moored. Whoever offers to sell for export without a declaration shall be deprived of what has been offered, even if he has delivered to the city what he owed.

Whoever falsifies declarations, either those about the harvest or those about the export or on behalf of what estate, if someone has bought from the *fiscus* an estate which was not of Hipparchus and delivers an eighth, shall be deprived (of the oil). The informer shall receive [the half – – – – –] export of undeclared [– – – – –] he shall retain half of the price if he has not yet paid, or receive (one half of the price). The other half shall be confiscated.

The merchant too shall declare in writing that he is exporting and how much from each producer. If he is caught sailing away without having filed a declaration, he shall be deprived (of the oil). If he has already gotten away and is then denounced, it shall be reported by the Demos to his paternal city and to me.

The Council alone shall judge these cases up to fifty amphoras, but together with the Demos when the cases are for more than this. If the informer is someone from the crew, the (hoplite) general shall be obliged to assemble on the very next day the

Council, but if the amount reported by the informer should exceed fifty amphoras, the Assembly. And the (usual) half shall be paid to the informer in case of conviction. If someone appeals either to me or to the proconsul, the Demos shall elect advocates.

In order that the penalties against the evil-doers may be strictly imposed, the oil shall be delivered to the city at whatever market price may prevail in the country. If at any time there should occur an abundance of oil and the amount being delivered from the thirds and eighths should exceed the public requirements for the whole year, those who are not therefore selling the oil either in whole or in part shall make out a second declaration and state how much the amount then owed is which the public oil buyers or the *argyrotamiae* do not want to accept from them, and when they have done so, it shall be permitted to them, on the one hand, to keep what they owe [up to this day and, on the other hand, to – – –

Commentary

The inscription records the regulations of the emperor Hadrian on the disposition of the oil from the annual olive crop. The resolution of the heading, whether *κε(φάλαια) νό(μου) θε(οῦ) Ἀδριανοῦ* or *νο(μο)θε(σίας) Ἀδριανοῦ*, is not clear, but Hadrian did revise the so-called laws of Draco and Solon, which meant that through his jurists he modernized the law code. The resolution *θε(οῦ)* might imply that the actual publication on stone took place after the death of Hadrian, and this would be all right, but *θε(ιοτάτου)* would hardly suit the style of a heading referring to a living emperor by name only (without *αὐτοκράτορος*). A living emperor, however, could be called *θε(ός)* informally. For the style of an Athenian law in the period of Hadrian and the Antonines, the reader may consult the old monument with new fragments published by D. J. Geagan, *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 352–357. For similar activity (probably by Hadrian) one may compare the republication of the royal Astynomic Law at Pergamum and the epistle, No. 84 *supra*, on the Public Bank at Pergamum. Like the epistle on the Public Bank at Pergamum the Athenian Oil law was not just remedial legislation by the emperor but supporting action to warn all those who did business in the Roman Market Place that Roman law coincided with Athenian law on the sale and export of oil.

The first chapter (lines 2–21) concerns the oil (not olives) that each producer must deliver to the city. That is, the city has the first call on the oil production of Attica. This is not a tax. The city can buy one-third of the production from each estate, or one-eighth from the confiscated and resold estates of Hipparchus, which were confiscated after the trial of Tib. Claudius Hipparchus (*PIR*² C 889) and were offered with the reduction in obligations in order to encourage people to buy them from the *fiscus*. This provision shows that the law itself was not something new; the stringency of its enforcement, however, was. The production and management of each estate are carefully recorded. For the public oil buyers see L. Robert, *ArchEph* (1969) 27–30.

The second chapter (lines 21–27), which had special importance for the Roman Market Place, where most such arrangements for export were probably concluded, concerns the declarations of those who sell for export. Oil could be sold for export at a higher rate, perhaps much higher rate, than locally. The amounts have to be recorded, and the purchasers and the ships. The penalty for contravention is confiscation of the oil.

The third chapter (lines 28–41) specified the penalties for frauds or misrepresentations of various kinds in regard to these declarations. Reliance was placed on informers, who could be attracted by a promise of the usual half.

The fourth chapter (lines 42–46) concerns the declarations which the foreign merchant has to make in regard to what he is carrying away in his ship. All export obviously was by ship. The penalty for contravention is confiscation of the oil. The smuggling of oil out of Attica can be prosecuted even after the departure of the merchant's vessel.

The fifth chapter (lines 46–57) concerns litigation in cases involving non-Athenians, who could not afford to linger in Athens, and Athenians or non-Athenians with Roman citizenship, who might demand trial in a Roman court. The distinction between minor cases involving fifty amphoras or less and major cases involving more than fifty amphoras of oil was doubtless traditional at Athens.

Lines 55–57 concern an appeal (*ἐκκλησις*) after a valid verdict in an Athenian court. There is no provision for an appeal before trial in an Athenian court.

The sixth chapter (lines 57 ff. for an uncertain extent) concerns equitable and sensible arrangements which were to make the

stringent application of penalties possible. The old criticism had been that the law was so severe that the courts were unwilling to convict. The forced sale of Chapter I is not confiscation in disguise but purchase at the current market price in Attica. It guaranteed a cheap supply of oil for the city's requirements, even when bad harvests occurred. In a good year the producers could sell more for export, because the city would not need a third of the crop. The *argyrotamiae* are attested at Athens in *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 24, No. 25 (Trajanic) and 42 (1973) 354 (late second or early third century after Christ). One may compare the *argyrologoi* at Samothrace (*Samothrace* 2.1, No. 5). At Prusa an ἀργυροταμίᾱς τῶν ἐλαιωνικῶν χρημάτων is attested by *SEG* XIV 773.

Hadrian appears here in his invited role of Athenian *nomothetes* as well as emperor. He is primarily a nomothete in a tradition going back to Draco and Solon, so that we should not refer to the law as part of an edict, though it would have had the same validity as an imperial edict.

The restoration of line 13 offers special difficulties. Graindor wished to restore πρὸς [τὴν βουλὴν κα]ὶ τὸν κήρυκα to dispel the uncertainty whether the herald was that of the Council and Demos or that of the Areopagus. With Graindor's restoration he is the former, an identification supported by lines 47/48 and 52, but the Council assembled rarely. Meritt's restoration [τοὺς ἐλαιώνας gives an ambiguity to the law which the emperor's advisers should not have left. There is no apparent reason why the Areopagus and its herald should have been involved. The herald, whose identity must have been clear, is the herald of the Council and Demos who occupies a prominent position on prytany catalogues of the second century, and if so, the officials mentioned ahead of him would have had to be the prytaneis.

93. HADRIAN TO THE NICOMEDEANS

Izmit. Now lost.

F. K. Dörner, *Inscriptionen und Denkmäler aus Bithynien* (= *Istanbuler Forschungen* 14, 1941) 52, No. 23, with photograph; and *TAM* IV (1978) 5.

93

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θε]οῦ Τ[ραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ]
[υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρονα υ]ἱωνός, Τ[ραιανὸς Ἀδριανός]

5 [Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς] μέγιστο[ς, δημαρχικῆς]
 [ἐξουσίας τὸ . . . ὑπα]τος τὸ γ̃, [πατὴρ πατρίδος],
 [Νεικομηδέων τοῖς ἀ]ρχουσι κα[ὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ]
 [δῆμῳ χαίρειν ---] εὐανδρεῖ[α -----]
 [-----]ς ἔχειν βο[-----]
 [-----]ενος, ὅτι α[-----]
 [-----] τὰ δημόσια [-----]
 10 [-----]ιδι καὶ μ[-----]
 [-----] ὅτι ξε[-----]
 [-----]αυ[-----]

The restorations are by Dörner, who points out that the lacuna of line 4 requires restoration of the title *pater patriae*, which Hadrian received in 129. [W. Eck (*Bonner Jahrbücher* 181 [1981] 663) would restore βο[ύλομαι in line 7. KC]

94. CONSTITUTION OF UNKNOWN EMPEROR AT NICOMEDIA

Izmit. Now lost.

F. K. Dörner, *Inscripfen und Denkmäler aus Bithynien* (= *Istanbuler Forschungen* 14, 1941) 52, No. 24, with photograph; and TAM IV (1978) 3.

94

[-----]
 [-----]ντο [διά]ταγμα διὰ τὸ τοὺς πολλο[ύς ----]
 [-----] γ]λώσσης τὸ περὶ τοὺς πληστηρ[ρίζοντας ----]
 [-----]ν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν καὶ οἱ παρόν[τες ----]
 [-----]ρως ἔχοντες οὐκ ἔφασκον ἄλλο[-----]
 5 [-----]ξαι, εἴ τινος ἡ βουλὴ μὴ δικαίως [-----]
 [-----] ἀνθυπάτους ἐκκαλῆσθαι, μη[-----]
 [-----] β]ουλευταῖς κατὰ τῶν θορυβοῦντ[ων -----]
 [-----]ως νομίζετε, ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ στάσ[εις -----]
 [-----]θο]ρυβήσαντα οἱ ἄρχοντες εἰς τ[-----]
 10 [-----] βούλοιο κατηγορεῖν [-----]
 [-----]

The restorations are by Dörner, who in line 9 restored also εἰς τ[ὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπάγειν (?).

There seems to be a reference to an edict against those who raise prices and mention of the legal remedy (appeal to the

proconsul) in cases where the Council decides unfairly. Riots apparently will not be tolerated.

95. UNKNOWN EMPEROR TO THE NICOMEDEANS

Izmit. Now lost.

F. K. Dörner, *Inscripfen und Denkmäler aus Bithynien* (= *Istanbuler Forschungen* 14, 1941) 52, No. 25, with photograph.

95

[-----]
 οὐχ ἥκιστ δὲ ο[-----]
 καὶ ἐπίδοσιν τῇ πόλ[ει -----]
 βασιλέων τῶν ὑμ[ετέρων καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ]
 αὐτοκρατόρων ουτ[-----]
 5 εἰπεῖν μεγάλης κα[-----]
 ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ χρη[μάτων -----]
 [...] γ[έ]νοιτο καὶ ἡ πα[-----]
 [-----]

The restorations are by Dörner except for καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ in line 3. Compare the epistle of Trajan to the Delphians, No. 44.

96A–C. EXTRACT FROM AN EDICT OF HADRIAN ON PRIVILEGES OF DIONYSIAC ARTISTS

Egypt. Three papyri, *P. Oxy.* 2476 (see No. 24A), *BGU* 1074 (see No. 24B) and *P. Oxy. Hels.* 25, rolls of A.D. 288, 275, and 264 respectively, contain among other pertinent documents the two very similar copies of an extract from an edict of Hadrian (see introduction to Nos. 24 and 212).

A (from *P. Oxy* 2476, lines 4–7:

96A

Κεφάλειον ἐκ διατάγματο[ς] θεοῦ Ἀδρια
 5 νοῦ περὶ τῶ[ν] δοθεισῶν δωρεῶν τῇ συνόδῳ τῶν τεχνιτ[ῶν] ἀσυλείας, προεδρίας,

ἀστρατί[ας], λειτουργιῶν δημοσίων ἀ[τ]ελεῖ[ας], ἀτελῇ ἔχειν ὅσα ἂν ἐπάγωντε
 χρίας ἰδ[ίας ἢ τῶν ἀγόνων ἔνεκεν καὶ κρατεῖν, μὴ καθι]στάνειν [ἐ]γγυητὰς
 ἀνεισφο[ρ]ίας αὐτῶν, συνθυσία[ς, μὴ δέχεσθαι] πρὸς ἀνάγκην ξένους, μὴ
 7 εἶργεσθαι[ι μὴδὲ ἄλλῃ τινὶ φρουρᾷ]ωθεις ἢ θανάτῳ ὑπευθυ[.].

B (from *BGU* 1074, lines 3–5):

96B

Κεφάλαιον ἐκ διατάγματος θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
 περὶ τῶν δο[θ]εισῶν δωρεῶν τῇ συνόδῳ <τ>ῶν δε[χνιτῶν]ν ἀσυλία,
 προε
 4 [δρία, ἀστρατεία, λειτουργιῶν δημοσίων ἀτέλεια, ἀτελῇ ἔχειν ὅσα ἂν ἐπάγ]ωγται
 χρείας ἰερᾶς ἢ τῶν ἀγόνων [ἔνεκεν] καὶ κρ[α]τεῖν, μὴ καθισ[τ]άνειν
 ἐγγυητ[ὰς ἀνεισφορίας αὐτῶν, {ουν} συνθυσίας, μὴ δέχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνάγκην
 ξένους, μὴ εἶργεσθαι μὴδὲ ἄλλῃ τινὶ φρου
 5 [ρᾷ – – –

96C

C (*P. Oxy. Hels.* 25) has in line 1 the words δ[ο]θεισῶν τῇ
 [συνόδῳ] and in line 2 the phrase μὴ καθιστάνειν ἐγγυητὰς
 ἀνεισφορίας αὐτῶν.

Translation

Extract from an edict of deified Hadrian concerning the gifts granted to the society of the Artists: Inviolability, right to front seats, freedom from military service, immunity from public liturgies, to keep without tax whatever they procure for sacred use or the contests and to use it as they see fit(?), the right not to present guarantors of their immunity from taxation, the right to meet together for sacrifice, the right not to be compelled to accommodate strangers with billets, freedom from imprisonment or any other form of detention [– – –] death penalty.

Commentary

The privileges are listed in the genitive in A, in the nominative in B except for *συνθυσίας* in line 4, which suggests that the copyist of *BGU* 1074 had the version with the genitives in front of him and did not carry the change through consistently.

In B, line 4 Viereck's reading *π]ολῖται*, at a place where *P. Oxy.* 2476 has *ἐπάγωντε*, must be corrected to *ἐπάγ]ονται* or *ἐπάγ]ωνται*. In the same line the reading *καὶ κρ[ί]νειν* also must be wrong. Since *ἔχειν καὶ κρατεῖν* (see M. I. Finley, *Studies in*

Land and Credit in Ancient Athens [New Brunswick, 1952] 204, n. 11) is a well-known formula, a misreading κρ[ί]νειν for κρατεῖν appears probable. The ἔχειν is preserved on *P. Oxy.* 2476.

A striking difference between the two versions is the phrase χρ(ε)ίας ἰδ[ίας in A (cf. *Cod. Iust.* IV 61, 5) and χρείας ἱερᾶς in B. A case can be made for either reading, but that of B seems to us preferable. Rea thought of inserting the preposition ἐκ just before χρείας, but the formula is a different one if we restore [ἐνεκεν] for Viereck's [...] . . . [...] after ἀγώνων.

Neither Rea's transposition περὶ τῶ[ν τῇ — — — — συνόδω δοθεισῶν δωρε]ῶν in A (line 5) nor Viereck's reading περὶ τῶν δο[θ]εισῶν δωρεῶν τῇ συνόδω ὧν δὲ ε.[. . .]ν in B (line 3) can be right. The two versions surely had a common ending, probably τῶν τεχνιτῶν.

97. HADRIAN TO THE DIONYSIAC ARTISTS OF ATHENS

Athens. Found below the Theatre of Dionysus but now stored in the locked open air lapidarium in the back of the Asclepieum, where it was examined on 29 November 1973. It bears the South Slope number NK 135. The smooth back and left side are preserved, but it is broken away below and at the right. H. 0.47 m., W. 0.33 m., Th. 0.05 m.

Height of Letters: 0.028 m. in lines 1–8, 0.015 m. in lines 9–10.

N. Platon, *Deltion* 19 (1964) 36 No. 3 with photograph but without recognition of the text as an imperial letter; G. Daux, *BCH* 90 (1966) 731 with photograph, pointed out the character of the text and so did J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1967) No. 189 with restoration notably of line 7; D. J. Geagan, *TAPA* 103 (1972) 155 f. supplied the real *editio princeps*; J. H. Oliver, "Hadrian's Epistle to the Dionysiac Artists at Athens," *AAA* 7 (1974) 118–119.

97

Αὐτοκρά[τωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ]
 Παρθικο[ῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός],
 Τραιανός Ἄ[δριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς]
 μέγιστος, δ[ημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ . . .],

5 ἵπατος τὸ [γ, πατήρ πατρίδος, τῷ κοινῷ]
 τῶν Ἀθήνη[σι -----]
 Διόνυσον τε[χνειτῶν ἱερoneικῶν στε]
 φανειτῶν νν [χαίρειν vacat]
 Σύνοδον εἶναι μουσ[ικῶν τεχνειτῶν ---]
 10 [ἔ]τερον μετέχοντ[α -----]
 |-----|

Translation

Imperator [Caesar] Trajan Ha[drian Augustus, son of deified Trajan] Parthicus, [grandson of deified Nerva, pontifex] maximus, [tribunician power for the — — — time], [thrice] consul, [pater patriae, to the society] of the Dionysiac Artists [— — —] at Athens, [of sacred and] crowned victors, [greetings].

There to be a synod of musical [artists — — — —] other one sharing [— — —]

Commentary

If the restoration of line 5 is correct, the epistle cannot antedate A.D. 128 when Hadrian assumed the title *pater patriae*. J. and L. Robert placed the recipient in lines 5–8 and restored *exempli gratia*, τῷ κοινῷ | τῶν Ἀθήνη[σι περὶ τὸν Χορεῖον] | Διόνυσον τε[χνειτῶν ἱερoneικῶν στε] | φανειτῶν [χαίρειν. Perhaps IG II² 2955, [τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ Διόν]υσον | [τεχ]νιτῶν, though the crowned and sacred victors are not there mentioned, supports the term *koinon* for the recipient. A question arises about line 6, where Geagan in conversation suggested Ἀθήνη[σι participle περὶ τὸν], but the restoration of line 7 by the Roberts must certainly be right. For the background of crowned and sacred victors, see L. Robert, *CRAI* (1970) 6–10. On the *technitai* in general, see F. Poland, *RE* 5 (1934) 2473–2558, s.v. Technitai, with the supplement, *PhWoch* 4 (1935) 141–143.

The epistle, to judge from the meagre remains of lines 9–10, encouraged the establishment of a synod or gathering of musical artists. This synod or gathering, as we see from the opisthographic stele with Nos. 98–104 and other documents, was a σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Χορεῖον τεχνειτῶν μουσικῶν, whose presiding officer once bore the title (see IG II² 5062) ἱερεὺς Ἀντινόου Χορείου ἐκ τεχνειτῶν.

An inscription found at Smyrna and published in *Μουσείον*

καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς 2 (1878) 51, No. 119, mentions τῆς συνόδου and τοῖς μετέχουσιν but is too fragmentary for interpretation. Using these same two words in this epistle at Athens, Hadrian called apparently for a (periodic?) meeting of artists with participation by others in an enlarged convention at Athens.

**98–104. EPISTLES OF HADRIAN TO THE SYNOD OF
MUSICAL ARTISTS AT ATHENS ON THE OPISTHOGRAPHIC
STELE OF CLAUDIUS ATTALUS, A.D. 137–138 AND EARLIER**

Athens. Nine known pieces of one opisthographic stele of Pentelic marble, possibly from the Theatre of Dionysus or its environs, may be represented as six separate fragments, because

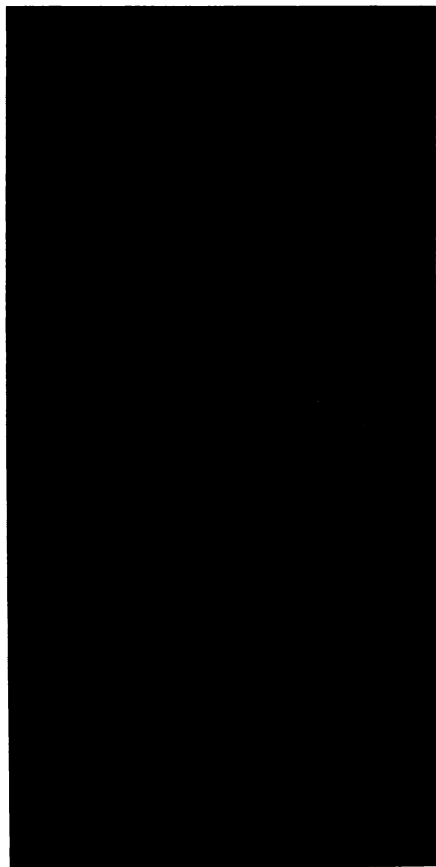


Plate 6. Nos. 101–104, lines 46–60.

six make joins as three. A. Wilhelm orally first called attention to the relationship of four pieces when Kirchner was preparing *IG II*² 1105; subsequently Graindor and Meritt identified one more piece each, and the staff of the Epigraphical Museum in the sixties added two joining pieces as still another fragment. All the pieces, EM 3942 + 396, 8390, 8391 + 13350 (= Agora I 397), 8389, 8388 + 3277 and 4649, are now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens and were examined repeatedly in 1970–71 and 1973 (Plate 6).

The stele, 0.077–0.083 m. thick, with margins 0.025 m. wide, may have had about 64 full-sized letters in each line of Face A after the heading, and may have been about 0.90 m. wide. Height of letters on Face A: 0.018 m. in lines 1–2, 0.015 m. in lines 3–4, 0.01 m. in lines 5–60. The epistles of Hadrian are all on Face A.

Several fragments were first published separately by W. Dittenberger in *IG III* 34, 35, 36, and Add. 34 a, 34 b, from Koehler's copy, but the *editio princeps* of the stele as a unit goes back only to J. Kirchner, *IG II*² (1916) 1105. New fragments were published by P. Graindor, *BCH* 51 (1927) 248–249, by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 40–41, No. 29, with drawing, and by M. Mitsos, *ArchEph* (1961) 198–201 with photographs [*SEG XXI* 507]. The opisthographic stele received a careful revision by D. J. Geagan, "Hadrian and the Athenian Dionysiac Technitai," *TAPA* 103 (1972) 133–160, with utilizable text, description, and commentary.

The small piece EM 3277, which joins Face A of EM 8388, was added after Geagan's edition so that fragment e is now 0.16 m. wide. Otherwise Geagan's description of all is still valid. Both sides were engraved in the same hand and some question might arise as to which face of a fragment belonged to Face A, but Geagan seems to have placed the fragments properly. Faces A and B were engraved either simultaneously or one (B) not long after the other (A). The date of the inscription (as distinct from those of the documents it records) is given by the reference on Face B of fragment f to the name of the living Antoninus Pius in the form used after his accession and by the reference on Face B line 57 to the deified Hadrian. One epistle on Face A is dated between 10 December 136 and 9 December 137, and this means that even if Face A were engraved before Face B, it could not have been engraved before A.D. 137.

Fragment a in larger lettering is clearly from the top and

- 100 [-----] **Ϛ** Αὐτ[οκράτω]ρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός,
θεοῦ Νέρουα νιωνός],
30 [Τραϊανός Ἀδριανός Σεβασ]τός, ἀρχιε[ρεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
τὸ -, ὕπατος τὸ]
[τρίτον, πατὴρ πατρ]ίδος, συνόδω τῶν [περὶ τὸν Χορεῖον τεχνειτῶν μουσικῶν
vv χαίρειν]
[-----] σθη ὁ λόγος καὶ ὡσ[---]
[-----] περιμένοντα [---]

Fragments d and e

- [-----] ξ[-----]
35 [----- συνόδω τῶν περὶ τὸν Χορεῖον τεχ]νειτῶν μο[υσικῶν --]
[-----] ἡν Κέλσου περ[-----]
[-----] πεν ὑμῖν τῆς ἐπιστ[ολῆς --]
[-----] Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ[-----]
[-----] ἐνταῦθα γραφῆναι ἀξ[-----]
40 [-----] πα ἐν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τι λ[-----]
[-----] α πράξει δικαίως ![-----]
101 [----- Εὐτυχεῖτε **Ϛ** Αὐτοκράτω]ρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραϊαν[οῦ Παρθικοῦ
υἱός],
[Τραϊανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέ]γιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
τὸ --, ὕπατος]
[τὸ $\overline{\Gamma}$, πατὴρ πατρίδος, συνόδω τῶν περὶ] τὸν Χορεῖον τεχνει[τῶν μουσικῶν vv
χαίρειν vv]
45 [----- ?Κλαύδιος Ἀτταλο]ς, ὁ κράτιστος φίλος μο[υ, -----]
[π]ατρ[-----] α ποτε ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἀγ[-----]
καὶ τὰ [-----] ἡ]γεμόνων μετέστω [-----]
102 τοῖς [.]βουλ[-----] Εὐτυχεῖτε **Ϛ** Αὐτοκ[ράτωρ Καῖσαρ],
θεοῦ [Τ]ραῖα[νοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, Τραϊαν]ός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός[ς, ἀρχιερεὺς
μέγιστος],
50 δημ[αρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ -, ὕπατος] τὸ $\overline{\Gamma}$, πατὴρ πατρίδ[ος, συνόδω τῶν περὶ]
τὸν [Χο]ρεῖ[ον τεχνειτῶν μουσικῶν vv χαίρειν vv -----]
103 ἱεροφάν[τ]ην [----- vv Εὐτυχεῖτε **Ϛ** Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραῖα]
νοῦ Παρθ[ι]κοῦ [υἱός, Τραϊανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,
δημαρχικῆς]
ἐξουσία[ς] τὸ $\overline{\text{K}}$ Α, [ὑπατος τὸ $\overline{\Gamma}$, πατὴρ πατρίδος, συνόδω τῶν περὶ τὸν Χορεῖον]
55 τεχνειτῶν μ[ουσικῶν vv χαίρειν vv -----]
ἀνδρῶν [κ]αὶ τὰ [-----]
τὴν γεν[έθ]λιο[ν -----]
παρασκ[ευ -----]
104 **Ϛ** Αὐτοκ[ράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, Τραϊανός Ἀδριανός
Σεβαστός],
60 [d]ρ[χιερεὺς μέγιστος, κτλ.

Fragment f	]οσ[
	]οστ[
	]εστ[
	]λ[
	]σθετ[
	]εμ[.]ε[
	]πα[
	]ησ[

Our text of Face A is based on that of Geagan, but slight changes have been made. 1 ἐκ τεχνειτῶν Oliver, Διονύσου Geagan, Ἀντινόου Mitsos. 13]χον οἱ Oliver, τοῖς ἔ]χουσι D. 14 and 29 θεοῦ Νέρουα νίωνός added. 35 συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Χορεῖον τεχνειτῶν Oliver, — — — στεφά]νειτῶν D. 44 and 55 μουσικῶν added. From an observation made by Follet, *Athènes*, 192, n. 7, about Face B, it appears that fragment f is locatable to the left of d + e on this face. It thus preserves a few letters from epistle **103** and probably **104**.

Translation of No. **103**

[Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son] of [deified] Trajan Parthicus, [pontifex maximus, tribunician] power for the twenty-first time, [thrice consul, pater patriae, to a gathering] of the musical artists [around the god of the Dance, greetings].

— — — the birthday — — —

Commentary

The inscription is important for the large number of Hadrian's epistles to or about a Synod or Gathering of Musical Artists, even though the content of the epistles remains obscure. The epistles of Face A were addressed to a συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Χορεῖον τεχνειτῶν μουσικῶν, as one sees by combining the address in lines 31, 44, 51, 55 with that in line 35. Above all, the epistle of Hadrian to the Dionysiac Artists, No. **97**, calls for the establishment of a σύνοδος μουσικῶν τεχνειτῶν, to which anyone they invited could be added, [ἐ]περον μετέχοντ[α αὐτῆς ὃν ἄν — — —. In line 31 it is clear that the article τῇ does not precede the noun συνόδῳ. If it were an accidental omission, we should be justified in including the article in the restoration of the formula elsewhere, namely in lines 16, 21, 35, 44, 50, and 54, but it is missing also on No. **58B** in a similar phrase. Such a gathering was not limited to sacred and crowned victors.

The inscription was erected by the priest of the *Χορείος*, who doubtless presided. This particular incumbent, probably the senatorial friend mentioned in No. 101, was also priest of the Concord of the Hellenes who met at Plataea to commemorate the ancient victory over the Persians, Tib. Claudius Attalus Andragathus of Sphettos (so Geagan) or Attalus son of Andragathus (according to Mitsos). Though he appears here with an Athenian demotic, he seems to have been originally from Synnada. He was more than a local magnate. See Geagan for other priests of the Concord of the Hellenes.

At one time Antinous was identified with Dionysus of the Dance, and the priest was the *ἱερεὺς Ἀντινόου Χορείου ἐκ τεχνειῶν* (IG II² 5062). This identification lapsed at least after Hadrian's death, if not immediately upon the death of Antinous in 130. On A, line 1, the title could be *ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Χορείου ἐκ τεχνειῶν*, but on B, line 1, the title which ought to be the same is worded rather differently.



On face A of this inscription the most striking feature of Hadrian's nomenclature is the absence of the element *θεοῦ Νέρωνα νίωνός* in several places. On fragment c this element seems to be present in line 14, because the line would be short without the fifteen and a half spaces occupied by the aforesaid element. We have in 15–16 a line of about sixty-two full-sized letters, assuming one or two spaces for the numeral of the tribunician power and one space for the numeral of the consulship. Without the element *θεοῦ Νέρωνα νίωνός* lines 14–15 would be only about forty-seven letters long. Perhaps the same element can be accepted for line 29. But lower down on the stele, where fragments d and e have been placed by Geagan, we have a line of about sixty-one full-sized letters in 43–44 and a line of about sixty-three full-sized letters in 42–43 without the phrase *θεοῦ Νέρωνα νίωνός*. It is this line which proves the absence of mention of Nerva, a line where the element *ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος* has clearly not been omitted. In line 49 again something has been omitted, either *θεοῦ Νέρωνα νίωνός* or *ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος*, because without one such element the line comes to sixty-one (and a half) spaces for full-sized letters. Likewise line 53 without one such element contains sixty-two (and a half) spaces for full-sized letters. It looks as if the element *θεοῦ Νέρωνα νίωνός* had been intentionally omitted in lines 43, 49, and 53, because this element, so significant in the West, had little importance for Easterners. On a publicly engraved inscription such an economy would not

have been tolerated, but these documents were privately engraved by Claudius Attalus.

The epistle which begins in line 52 of Face A is dated by the phrase ἐξουσία[ς] τὸ ΚΑ in line 54 to Hadrian's twenty-first tenure of the tribunician power. If then the epistle belongs in 137, there is a presumption that the preceding seven epistles, of which all but the fifth are from the emperor, belong earlier. Since Hadrian died on 10 July 138, the last epistle of Face A dates from 137 or 138. The stele, of course, may have been erected much later, since Face B contains documents from the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Face B resembles Face A in appearance, but it is not a continuation. Rather it has a separate heading, which reads, I think, somewhat as follows:

Face B

['Ο ἐκ τεχνειτῶν ἱερεὺς τοῦ Χορείου  ἱε[ρεὺς] τῆς
['Ομονοίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων  Τιβ.] Κλ. Ἀτταλος ['Αν]
[δράγαθος Σφήττιος -----] ΓΩ τοῖς περὶ τὸν
[Χορεῖον καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ἀδριανὸν μουσι]κοῖς τεχνεῖταις
5 [-----]ιας vacat

105. HADRIAN ON ARSINOITE PAEANISTAE, *P. Oxy.* 3018.
SEE NOS. 241 AND 242.

106. HADRIAN TO PRUSA AD OLYMPUM, A.D. 119–138

Prusa ad Olympum. Known only from I. Kandis, *Ἡ Προῦσα* (Athens, 1883) 37. A search for it at Bursa in August 1968 was unsuccessful.

L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937) 231.

106

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιαν]οῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεο[ῦ]
[Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τραιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβ]αστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγι
[στος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ -, ὕ]πατος τὸ γ', πατ[ῆρ πα]
[τρίδος, Προυσαέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Ὀλύμ]πῳ τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τ[ῇ]
5 [βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἡ ὑπ' ἐ]μοῦ πεμφθεῖσα ὑμῖν δ[ε]
[-----]ραν καὶ τὰ θερμὰ ὕδατα
[-----] ἀμφισβήτησις [---]E
[-----]

The restorations are by L. Robert.

Bursa is still famous for the waters mentioned in line 6.

107. UNKNOWN TO UNKNOWN AT AMORGOS

The stone, first attested at Katapola (the chief port of Amorgos), is now No. 5 in the Archaeological Sylloge at Chora (the inland capital), where it was examined on 19 May 1974 (Plate 7). Since there were many Samians at ancient Minoa (near Katapola) and since close connections exist even today between Samos and Amorgos (specifically Katapola), the epistle may well have been addressed to the Samians.

L. Ross, *Inscriptiones graecae ineditae* 2 (Athens, 1842) 33–34, No. 129; J. Delamarre, *IG XII 7* (1908) 242 from his own copy; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, No. 108; G. Lafaye, *IGRR IV* (1927) 1010. See also J. A. O. Larsen, “Roman Greece” in T. Frank, *Ec. Survey*, 4: 458.

107

	[----- Σαμίων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βου]
	λῇ καὶ [τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν]
	πολλῶν [----- πό]
	λιν, καὶ γὰρ α[-----]
	ων ἐπιφανῶ[----- τὸν ῥω]
5	μαίων δῆμον [-----]
	δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν [-----]
	εὐνοίας μάλιστα [-----]
	θεὸν Σεβα<σ>τόν, ὃς [-----]
	διατρείψας παρ' ὕμε[ῖν -----]
10	καὶ φιλανθρώπων ἐπ[-----]
	τα· ὅθεν καὶ τῷ ψηφίσ[ματι ----- ἐνέ]
	τυχον ἡδέως, καὶ το[ῖς παρ' ὕμῶν πρεσβευταῖς]
	Θεοπόμπῳ Ἀνόκνο[υ -----]
	στράτῳ ἐχρημάτισα [----- ἔλεν]
15	θερίαν καὶ αὐτονομί[αν ----- καὶ ὅσας]
	παρὰ τῶν πρόσθεν α[ὐτοκρατόρων χάριτας ἐλάβε]
	τε ἐβεβαίωσα. Ε<ύ>[υχεῖτε]

1–2 Σαμίων Oliver, Μεινοσητῶν τῇ βου]] λῇ καὶ [τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν Delamarre. 3 τὴν ὑμετέραν πο Delamarre. 4 ἐπιφανῶ[s Ross; πρὸς τὸν ῥω Delamarre. 6 αὐτοκράτορα Ross. 7 δὲ πρὸς



Plate 7. No. 107.

τὸν πατέρα? Ἀδριανὸν Delamarre. 8–9 ΣΕΒΑΤΟΝ stone; ὅς [χρόνον καὶ πλείονα?] | διατρείψας παρ' ὑμεῖν πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν?] Ross. 10 ἔτ[υχε Ross. 11 ψηφίσ[ματι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐνέ] | τυχον Ross. 12 το[ῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν] Ross, το[ῖς παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβενταῖς] Delamarre. 13 Delamarre. 14 [καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐλευ] Ross, [διὰ ταῦτα οὖν Delamarre. 15 αὐτονομί[αν — — — καὶ ὅσας] Ross, καὶ ἀτέλειαν? καθὼς] Delamarre. 16 α[ὐτοκρατόρων ἐλάβε] Delamarre, χάριτας ἐλάβε] Ross. 17 ETT stone, ε[ὑτυχεῖτε Wilamowitz (Delamarre).

Commentary

In line 8 the phrase θεὸν Σεβαστόν refers to Augustus rather than Hadrian, with whom Ross and others connected it. The author of the letter, on the other hand, may but need not have been Hadrian.

It is by no means certain that the epistle was addressed to the Council and Demos of Minoa. An ancient block built into the wall of a modern house in a seaport may have come from anywhere as ballast in a ship. Compare the Tenos fragment of the epistle erected at the Piraeus, No. 77 *supra*. There is certainly

no corroborating evidence for Minoa as a free city. Compare the letter of Severus and Caracalla at Amorgos, No. 259 *infra*.

The best clue to the identity of the city is not provided by the location of the modern house in which the stone was first reported but by the reference to the sojourn of Augustus. When the possibilities are restricted to a city in which Octavian or Augustus had his headquarters for a while, one may look for evidence that it was later a free city.

Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 17, *Ab Actio cum Samum in hiberna recepisset*, attests that Octavian made Samos his headquarters for the winter of 31/30. In *Divus Augustus* 26 Suetonius reports Octavian's *quartum consulatum in Asia, quintum in insula Samo*. A *subscriptio* inscribed at Aphrodisias, No. 1 *supra*, shows that Livia was an ardent advocate for the Samians but that Octavian refused the first request for their freedom and autonomy. He granted it, however, in 20 B.C. Cassius Dio 54.9.7 (ὁ δὲ Αὔγουστος ἔς τε τὴν Σάμον ἐπανήλθε κἀνταῦθα αὐτοῖς ἐχείμασε, καὶ ἐκείνοις τε ἐλευθερίαν μισθὸν τῆς διατριβῆς ἀντέδωκε, καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα προσδιώκησε) called it payment for the *διατριβή*. Compare line 9, *διατρείψας παρ' ὑμεῖν*.

Though Vespasian is known to have curtailed its freedom, Samos probably reacquired freedom from Domitian, Trajan, or Hadrian, because Suetonius instinctively distinguished Samos from Asia in writing *quartum consulatum in Asia, quintum in insula Samo*, whereas in 29 B.C. Samos did indeed form part of Asia.

This inscription was perhaps, but not necessarily, a *lapis errans*. Minoa had received a colony of Samians in the Hellenistic Period. See *IG XII*, 7, 237, 239, 240, and 269; L. Robert, *REG* 42 (1929) 23–30 and 46 (1933) 437–438.

108–118. IMPERIAL LETTERS FROM A WALL AT CORONEA

Coronea in Boeotia. Six blocks of an inscribed wall of bluish marble preserve a series of imperial letters. One block in two fragments, built into the walls of the church of St. George in the village of Hagios Demetrios where Latschev first copied them and where they were examined by the writer on 11 July 1971, is well known from its publication in 1881 and its reception in *IG VII* 2870. Five other blocks from the ruined monastery at Pontsa were reported but not published by N. G. Papadakes, *Deltion*

(1919) *Parartema* p. 34 and by J. M. Fossey, *Vestigia* 17 (1973) 452 f. On 11 June 1974 they were examined at Thebes in an ordinarily locked storehouse a short way down the road from the Museum. The writer made squeezes of all fragments. The epistles are all engraved in the same style with lunate sigmas and epsilons and an uninscribed area (except for Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη on Blocks I and VI) 0.09 m. high at the top. The letters, 0.02 m. high, are very carefully cut.

The order of the blocks is the first problem, and the writer has had the advantage of discussing the matter with P. Roesch and J. M. Fossey.

Block I Papadakes is complete (Plates 8a, b). H. 0.80 m., W. 1.25 m., Th. 0.31 m.

Block II Papadakes (Plate 8c) is broken away at the left. H. 0.80 m., W. 0.90 m., Th. 0.36 m.

Block III Papadakes (Plates 8d, e) is complete. H. 0.80 m., W. 1.22 m., Th. 0.35 m.

Block IV Papadakes (Plates 8f, g) in two contiguous fragments preserves top, bottom, left edge, and even a little of the right

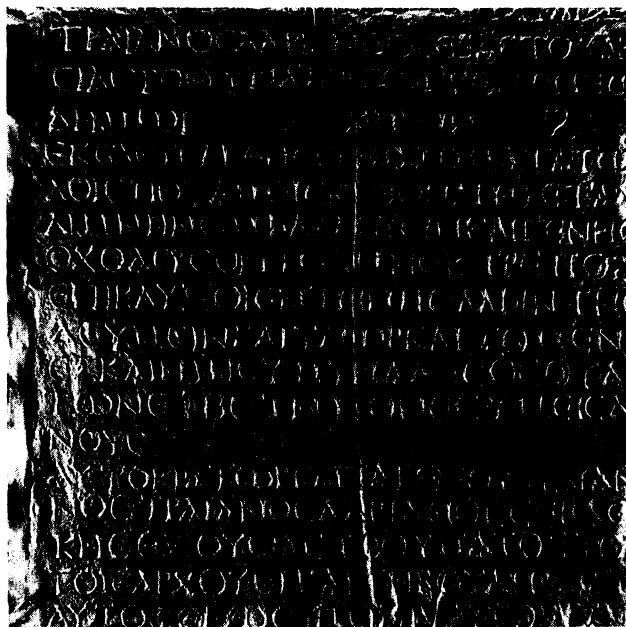


Plate 8a. Nos. 108-109, left side (Block I).

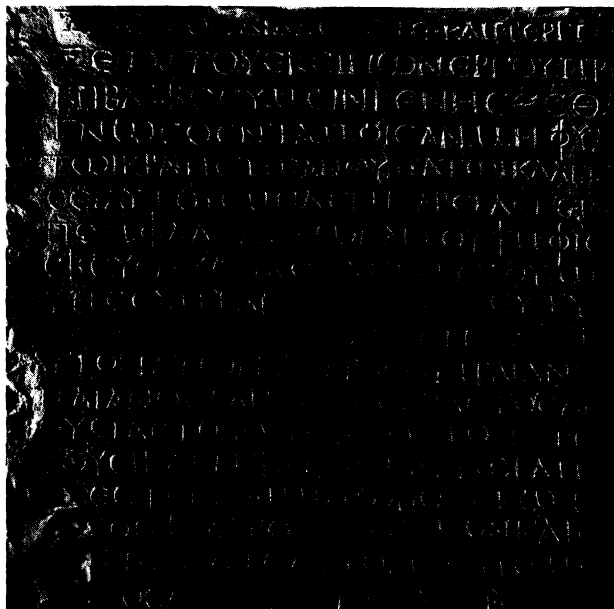


Plate 8d. Nos. 111–112, left side (Block III).

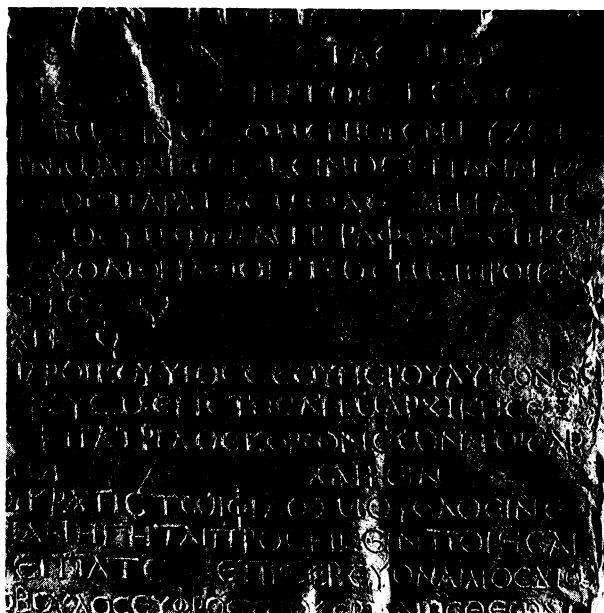


Plate 8e. Nos. 111–112, right side (Block III).

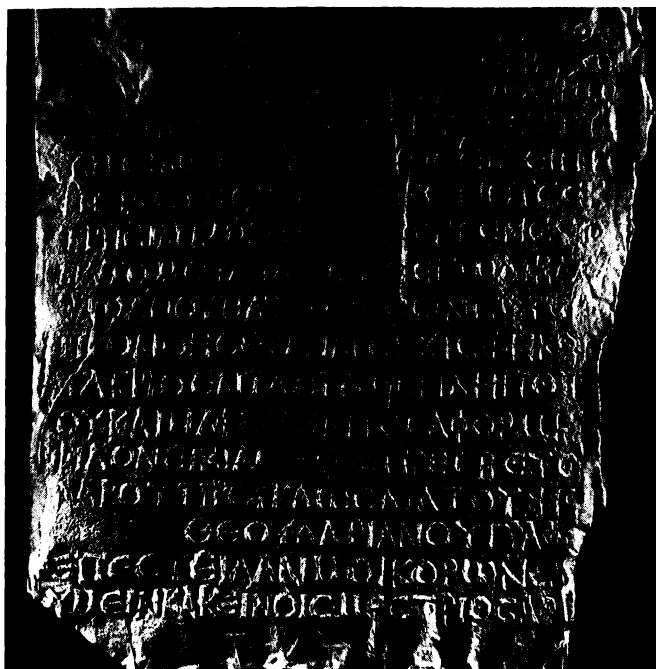


Plate 8f. Nos. 113–114, left side (Block IV).

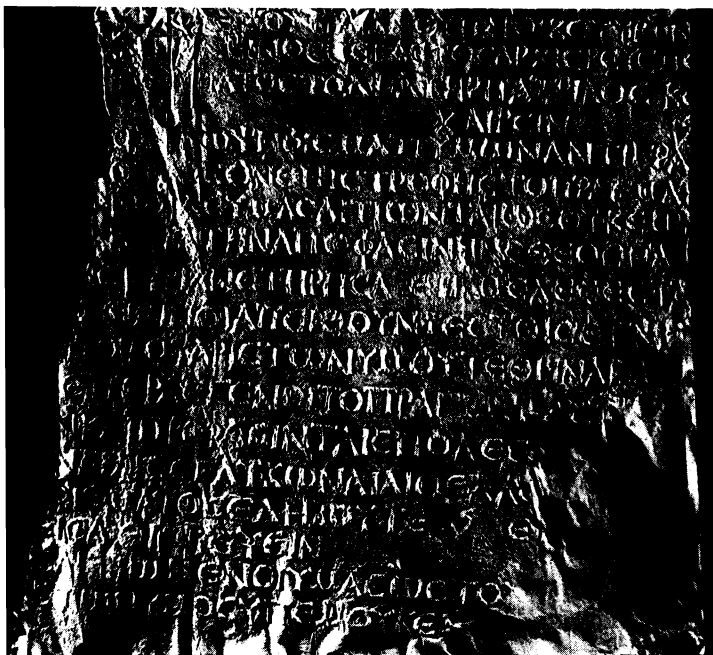


Plate 8g. Nos. 113–114, right side (block IV).

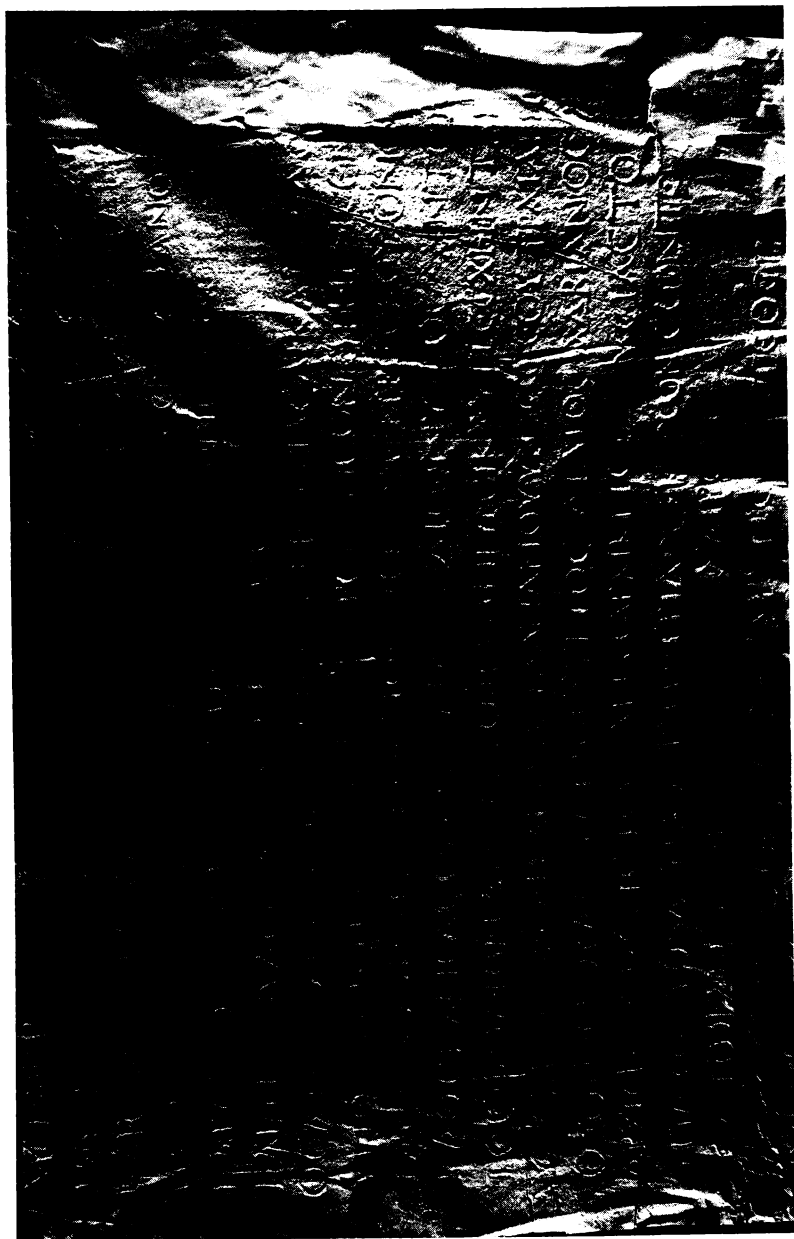


Plate 8h. Nos. 117-118 (Block VI)

edge near the top, but a considerable piece is missing at the right from lines 3–18. H. 0.80 m., W. 1.35 m., Th. 0.35 m.

Block V Latishev consists of two fragments built into the south and north sides of the church: A, 0.795 m. high, 0.46 m. wide, 0.265 m. thick; B, 0.725 m. high, 1.15 m. wide, 0.28 m. thick.

Block VI Papadakes (Plate 8h) consists of two fragments which would doubtless join if they could be moved. Fragment A, preserving top, bottom, and left side, is 0.80 m. high, 0.93 m. wide, 0.33 m. thick. Fragment B preserves top, right side, and a piece of the bottom, but the lower part of the surface is gone and even the upper part is hard to read; this fragment is 0.80 m. high, 0.46 m. wide, and 0.36 m. thick.

On these six blocks we have eleven imperial letters, or twelve if one prefers to give the epistle ending on Block II, lines 1–4, a separate number. The text of Block II may, but need not, be the continuation of that on Block I, but it is obviously not the continuation of that on Block III. The texts are, accordingly, divided as follows.

Good Fortune, on Block I, line 1

No. **108** Hadrian to Coronea, A.D. 125, Block I, lines 2–14

No. **109** Hadrian to Coronea, A.D. 125, Block I, lines 15–19 and continuing to another block which could be our Block II.

No. **110** Hadrian to Coronea, undated, Block II, lines 5–18

At least one block lost

No. **111** Unknown to Unknown, undated epistle ending on Block III, lines 1–9

Good Fortune, on Block III, line 10

No. **112** Hadrian to Coronea, A.D. 135, on Block III lines 11–18 but not ending there.

At least one block lost

No. **113** Antoninus Pius to Coronea, A.D. 154/5, Block IV, lines 1–15

No. **114** What divus Hadrianus had written to Thisbe, Block IV, lines 16–18

No. **115** What Antoninus Pius had written to Coronea in A.D. 140, Block V, lines 4–9 (this epistle begins in line 4 instead of a new line).

No. **116** Antoninus Pius to Coronea, A.D. 155, Block V, lines 10–18

Good Fortune, on Block VI, line 1

- No. 117 Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to Coronea, A.D. 161,
Block VI, lines 1–12
- No. 118 What Antoninus Pius had written to Coronea in A.D.
148, Block VI, lines 13–18

The arrangement seems to be by subjects. Each subject has a series of imperial letters or at least one imperial letter. Within each series the order need not be chronological, as one sees clearly from Blocks IV and VI. Block VI, for instance, begins with an epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus guaranteeing Coronea's traditional rights and privileges that were recognized by Antoninus Pius. The next letter, one from Antoninus Pius, presumably spelled out certain rights and privileges.

The prayer, Good Fortune, may indicate the beginning of a series of documents. If so, our first series is that of A.D. 125 covering Block I, apparently Block II, but probably not any of Block III. The epistle on Block III, lines 1–9, seems to deal with a different subject. Our third series is that of A.D. 136 beginning in the middle of Block III. Another series, though without the prayer, is that of A.D. 155 with two earlier epistles between the two of A.D. 155 on Blocks IV and V. A fifth series is that of A.D. 161 on Block VI.

Fossey's inference (*Vestigia* 17 [1973] 452) that all these (eleven) epistles were engraved at the same time seems to be correct. The lettering and arrangement are strikingly similar for all five series and conform with what we expect for A.D. 161.

Editions of Block V: B. Latschev, *BCH* 5 (1881) 452–461; W. Dittenberger, *IG* VII (1892) 2870 from Lolling's collation; [Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 424 f., No. 104; W. Hüttel, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 313 f. and 1 (Prague, 1936) 58]. [J. M. Fossey has now edited the series of letters, complete except for Block IV, in *Euphrosyne* 11 (1981–82) 44–59, nos. 1–11, with photographs (= *SEG* XXXII, 460–471), but a more orderly arrangement, still without Block IV, appears in *Teiresias* 15 (1985) AE 2–6, nos. E.85.01–10, compiled by P. Roesch, which is based on a presentation of some of the documents by Th. Spyropoulos and S. Lauffer at the Eighth Congress of Epigraphy, Athens, 1982. Roesch notes that publication was assigned to J. H. Oliver. Oliver's edition is of course independent of these. K. C.]

108-118

Block I

Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη

- 108 *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τραιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ θ̄, ὑπατος τὸ γ̄, Κορωνέων τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ* vacat *χαίρειν* vacat
- 5 *Ἐκέλευσα γενέσθαι χόματα τῷ Κηφεισῷ καὶ τῇ Ἐρκόννῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποταμοῖς καθὼς ἤδη μετ' ἀλλήλων ῥέοντες εἰς τὴν Κωπαῖδα λίμνην ἐμβάλλουσι, καὶ γενήσεται τὴν ταχίστην ὥς κατὰ τὰς ὄχθας ῥέοντες μὴ ἐκτρέποντο τοῦ πόρου μηδὲ ὥσπερ νῦν ἐπικλύζοιεν τὴν πολλὴν τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐργασίμου· κατάζω δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον δοθήσεται παρ' ἐμοῦ, ἕξ καὶ ἡμισυ μυριάδες, ὅσου δεήσῃεν ἔφασκον οἱ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιστήμονες· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔλεσθε τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους* vacat
- 109 15 *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τραιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ θ̄, ὑπατος τὸ γ̄, πατὴρ πατρίδος, Κορωνέων τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ* vacat *χαίρειν* vacat
- Αὐτὸς ἐγὼ συμπράττω ταῖς πόλεσιν πρὸς εὐπορίαν χρημάτων* vacat

Block II

- [-----]μι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀφορμὰς ἱκανὸν
[-----]ον οἶνον τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς σὺν ἐμοὶ
[-----]ν ὧς Ἐπρέσβευεν Ἀγησίας Ἀθηνοδώρου
ΑΓΑ
[-----] vacat Εὐτυχεῖτε vacat
- 110 5 *[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τραιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ θ̄, ὑπατος τὸ γ̄, πατὴρ πατρίδος, Κορωνέων τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ* vv *χαίρειν* vv *Ἐγένονεν ὑμῖν τοῦ Φαλαροῦ τὸ ἔργον [ἄξιον τῆς ἡμετέρας σπουδῆς οὐ τῇ χρεῖα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ὀψει· ὥς δὲ πρὸς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον] μὴ λάθῃ ποτὲ διαφθαρέν, ὑμέτερον ἤδη ἐστὶν* [----- οἱ δὲ] ἐνκεκτημένοι δίκαιοί εἰσιν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ χρῶν [ται ----- τ]ῷ ὕδατι, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν χωμάτων καὶ [----- μ]ηδὲ παραπήσσειν· τὰ φράγματα καὶ ὀρήματα ~ [τοὺς παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις χρ]ῆ εἰσβιβάζειν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ α
- 15 [----- μ]ηδὲ ἐν αὐτῷ διάφραγμα ποιοῦμένους· ὁ δὲ λημφθεὶς ~ [-----]ω[.]ζω τὴν βλαβὴν τοῦ ἔργου αὐτὸς ἐπανορθώσει καὶ πρόστιμον χίλι]α πεντακόσια δηνάρια εἰσίοισι τῇ πόλει vv

] ^{vvv} Εὐτυχεῖτε
vacat

vacat

111 Block III

ζα αὐτὸν διδάσκετε καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ
ζεται τοῦ ἐκείνων ἔργου πρότερον πρὶν ἐξετάσαι μή τι ἐ
πιβλαβὲς ὑμῖν γενήσεσθαι μέλλει. τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέλεσιν
γνωσθέντα μοι, ἔαν μὴ φυλάττωσιν Ὀρχομενιοί, ἐντύχετε

- 5 τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ Καλπουρνίῳ Λόνγῳ κἀκεῖνος ἐπαναγκά
σει αὐτοὺς μηδὲν παρεγγέειν τέλος παρὰ τὰ ἔμοι δόξαντα ^ν πέ
πομφα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ὑμῶν ἀντίγραφον ^ν Ἐπρέ
σβευεν Ζωίλος Διωνύμου, ὥς τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα
ὑπέσχηται vacat Ϝ Εὐτυχεῖτε Ϝ vacat

10 Ἀγαθὴ Ϝ Τύχη Ϝ

- 112 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουνα υἱωνός,
Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξ
ουσίας τὸ ^ν ιθ ^ν ὑπατος τὸ ^ν γ ^ν πατὴρ πατρίδος, Κορωνέων τοῖς ἄρ
χουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ vacat χαίρειν vacat

- 15 [Ἐπ]έστειλα Αἰμιλίῳ Ἰούγκῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ φίλῳ μου ἐλθεῖν ἐ
[πὶ] τὸν Φάλαρον ποταμὸν καὶ ὃ τι ἂν ἡγῆται προσήκειν ποιῆσαι.
[καὶ] διδάξατε αὐτὸν ἃ ἐπ' ἔμοῦ εἶπατε ^{vv} Ἐπρέσβευον Αἴλιος Διὸς
[νυ]μος, Δάμων Προστατήρου, Αὐτόβουλος Εὐφροσύνου, Ἐρμαῖος Θέωνος,
vacat

Block IV

- 113 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ] Ἀδρ[ια]νοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ
υἱωνός, θεοῦ Νέρου
[ια ἔκγον]ος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς
μέγιστος, δημα
[ρχικῆς ἐ]ξουσίας τὸ ΙΗ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ Β, ὑπατος τὸ Δ, πατὴρ πατρίδος
Κορωνέων τοῖς[ς]

[ἄρ]χουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ vacat χαίρειν vacat

- 5 Ὡς ἐπέστειλα Θισβεῦσι ἐντυ[χ]ὼν τῷ ψηφίσματι ὑμῶν ἀντίγραφα πεμφθῆν[αι]
ὑμῖν ἐκέλευσα, ὥς εἰδείητε ὅτι ἄξιον ἐπιστροφῆς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἡγησάμεν[·] [ἐ]
πεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐκείνους, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑμᾶς αἰτιῶνται ὥς οὐκ ἑῶντας τὴν [μέ]
τρησιν τῶν πλεθρῶν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἣν ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ μου [ἀπεφῆ]
νατο, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐγὼ δικάσας κυρίαν ἐτήρησα ^ν ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται τὸ [λοιπὸν]
10 τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ μαθεῖν πότεροί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπειθοῦντες τοῖς ἐγνω[σμένοις καὶ]
προνοήσει τὴν ταχίστην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστωνύμου τεθῆναι τ[-----]
τὰ κριθέντα ὅπως ἤδη ποτὲ πέρας γένοιτο πράγματος ο[-----]
ου καὶ παρέχοντος ἀφορμὴν καὶ πρόφασιν ταῖς πόλεσι[ν συνεχοῦς ἔριδος καὶ]
φιλονεικίας ^ν Ϝ Ἐπρέσβευον Αἴλιος Γλύκων, Αἴλιος Αλο[-----]

- 15 λарου προῖκα, ὥς διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐδηλοῦτε Ϝ ^ν Εὐ[τυχεῖτε]]

- 114 Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ γραφεῖσα Θισβεῦσιν vacat []
Ἐπέστειλάν μοι Κορωνεῖς αἰτιώμενοι ὑμᾶς ὥς τοῦ[ς] παραβάσεις ποιοῦντας
ὦν]

ὁμειν καὶ ἐκείνοις Μέστριος Ἀριστῶνυμος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κελε[υθεὶς ἔκρινε τὸ δί]
vacat

Block V

- καιον, ὁπότε ὑμεῖς οὐκ [ἐ]πείθεσθε τοῖς κριθεῖσιν, ἀλλὰ εἰσήετε ἰς τὴν ἐκείνων
χώραν
κακείνους ἰς τὸ μὴ περ[ι]ορᾶν ὑμᾶς νέμοντας τρέπεσθαι. πόσον δέ ἐστιν τὸ
ὀφειλόμε
νον τέλος ἢ τίνα εἰσὶν ἃ κατεσχῆκασιν ὑμῶν Κορωνεῖς ἐνέχυρα, Ἀριστῶνυμος
115 ὁ αὐτὸς κρινεῖ Ϟ Εὐτυχεῖτε Ϟ ^{VV} Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός,
θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθι
5 κοῦ υἱόνος, θεοῦ Νέρουα ἔκγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος
Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,
δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ', ὑπατος <τὸ> γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, Κορωνένων τοῖς
ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή
μῳ ^{VVV} χαίρειν ^{VVV} Καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός μου δικαίως μεμνημένοι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς
ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὸ προσήκον
ἐψησθημένοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου προθύμως συνηδόμενοι πρέποντα Ἑλλήσιν
ἀνθρώποις ποιεῖ
τε ^V Ἐπρέσβευεν Δημήτριος Διονυσίου, ὃ τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθῆτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα
116 ὑπέσχετο ^V Εὐτυχεῖτε ^V
10 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδ[ρι]ανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱόνος,
θεοῦ Νέρουα ἔκγονος, Τί
τος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνε[ῖ]νος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς
ἐξουσίας τὸ ιη', αὐτο
κράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ δ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, Κορωνένων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ
βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαί
ρειν Ϟ ^V Τῆς ἀποφάσεως ἦν ἐ[πι]οησάμην μεταξὺ ὑμῶν καὶ Θισβέων
ἀντίγραφον ὑμῖν ἐπεψα, ἐ
πέστειλα δὲ καὶ Μεστρίῳ Ἀρισ[τ]ωνύμῳ ἀπομετρηῆσαι τὰ πλεῖθρα Θισβεῦσιν,
ἃ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ
15 θεὸς πατὴρ μου παραδοθῆ[ναι]· τῆς δὲ ἔξωθεν χώρας εἰ τίνα Θισβεῖς ἐπινέμοιεν
πείθοντες ὑμᾶς,
δώσουσιν ἐννόμιον τέλο[ς, ὅτα]ν δὲ καὶ ἀποδῶσιν ὅσον ἂν ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρόνου
τοῦ παρελθόντος ὀφ[εῖ]
λειν αὐτοὺς κριθῇ, δῆλον ὅτ[ι καὶ ὑ]μεῖς τὰ ἐνέχυρα αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσετε ^V
Ἐπρέσβευον Αἴλιος Γλύκ[ων]
καὶ Διονύσιος Διονυσοδώρου, οἱ[ς τὸ] ἐφόδιον δοθῆτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηνται
^V Ϟ ^V Εὐτυχεῖτε ^V Ϟ
vacat

Block VI

- Ἀγαθῇ ^{VV} Ϟ ^{VV} Τύχη
117 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ [Μάρ]κος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντων[ῖ]νος Σεβ[α]σ[τ]ός, ἀρχιερεὺς
μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ^V \overline{IE} ^{VV} ὑπα[τ]ος τὸ ^V \overline{F} ^V κα[ὶ] Αὐτοκράτωρ
Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος Σεβαστός, δη[μαρ]χικῆς ἐξουσίας [τὸ \overline{B}],
ὑπα

- 5 τος τὸ $\vee \overline{B}$ \vee θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου υἱοί, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ [υἱ]ωνοί, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ
 Παρθικῶν ἔκγονοι, θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονοι \vee Κο[ρ]ωνέων τοῖς ἀρχουσι
 καὶ τῇ βουλῇ· καὶ τῶι δῆμῳ vacat [χ]αίρειν
 Ὅσα τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ αὐτονομίας δίκαια ἐδόθη πρότερον ὑμεῖν
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων φ προγόνων ἐτήρησέν [τε ὁ] θεὸς πατὴρ ἡ[μ]ῶν,
 10 ταῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς βεβαιούμεν· \vee Ἐπρέσβευον [...]ς Ἀλεξανδρ[ο]· ἡ Ἀ
 γαθοκλῆς Λεοντᾶ· Αἴλιος Διώνυμος· Ἀντω[ν.] Διδ[ο]· οἷς
 τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηνται [vacat Εὐτυχεῖτε]
 118 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ [ὑ Παρθικοῦ υἱωνός],
 θεοῦ Νέρουα ἔκγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀ[ντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός],
 15 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος· δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ $\vee \overline{IA}$ [\vee αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ \overline{B}],
 ὑπάτος τὸ $\vee \overline{A}$ · πατὴρ πατρίδος· Κορωνέων το[ῖς] ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ]
 καὶ τῶι δῆμῳ vacat χαίρειν [vacat]
 Ἄς δοκεῖτε μοι καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνατεθεῖκ[-----]
 vacat

108. HADRIAN TO THE CORONEANS ON FLOOD CONTROL,
 A.D. 125

Translation of No. 108 on Block I

To Good Fortune

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of deified Trajan Parthicus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the ninth time, thrice consul, to the archons, council, and demos of the Coroneans, greetings.

I ordered dikes to be made for the Cephissus and the Hercynne and the other rivers along the section where they now flow together before emptying into the Copaic Lake. Construction shall occur as soon as possible so that they flow along their banks and be not diverted from their course nor, as now happens, flood most of the cultivable land. I shall construct an aqueduct for you too. The money will be given by me, 65,000 (denarii), which the experts in such matters say will be necessary. You are to elect the men who will be in charge.

Commentary on No. 108 of Block I

On Block I we have the heading of the series, "To Good Fortune," and immediately below it, the earliest of the letters, Hadrian's epistle of A.D. 125. Hadrian's ninth tenure of the tribunician power began sometime in the period between Novem-

ber 124 and 11 February 125, perhaps on 1 January 125 (Follet, *Athènes*, 43–53 and the literature there cited).

The epistle is noteworthy for the light it throws on the flood menace within the Copaic basin. As Fossey pointed out, the emperor was spending eleven times as much on his dikes in the southwestern part of the basin as Epaminondas of Acraephia spent (see *GRBS* 12 [1971] 221–237) on those in his area a century earlier.

109. HADRIAN TO THE CORONEANS, A.D. 125

Translation of No. 109 on Blocks I and II

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the ninth time, consul for the third time, pater patriae, to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Coroneans, greetings.

I myself, cooperating with the cities toward a good supply of funds, — — — the resources for those very purposes, enough — — — — wine for the soldiers who [travel] with me — — —. As ambassador came Hagesias son of Athenodorus Aga[— —]. Farewell.

Commentary on No. 109 of Blocks I and II

The second letter of Hadrian to the Coroneans, that engraved immediately below the topmost letter, likewise dates from the ninth tenure of the tribunician power. The epistle arrests attention first by its prescript giving Hadrian the title *pater patriae*, a title which he seldom used before 128. If the ordinal of his tribunician power is correct, the year is probably 125 (see Commentary on No. 108).

A continuation of this epistle would seem to appear on another block, which then becomes Block II. At least, the text at the top of Block II deals with financial matters and belongs to an epistle which precedes another epistle of Hadrian.

The singular verb *ἐπρέσβευεν* shows that there was only one ambassador, hence that the letters ΑΓΑ in line 3 with continuation lost in line 4 belong not to another name but to a phrase beginning ἀγα[θός or ἀγα[θουργός recognizing able or unpaid service.

110. HADRIAN TO THE CORONEANS ON FLOOD CONTROL, UNDATED

Translation of No. 110 on Block II

[Imperator Caesar] Trajan [Hadrian Augustus], son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the [— — time, thrice consul], pater patriae, to the archons, Council, and [Demos] of the Coroneans, [greetings].

The work on the Phalarus has turned out for you [to have been well worth our] effort, not only because of its usefulness but because of its appearance. In order that [in the future] its disrepair never escape notice, it is now up to you [to be watchful (?)]. It is only right that [the] outsiders who have acquired land, since [they] use the water [for — — —], take good care of the dikes [— — —] and not drive stakes into them. [Those with land along the banks have] to put their embankments and supports into the river but [should do so] without [— — — or] constructing a barrier therein. One who is caught [— — — — shall] himself make good the damage to the structure [and] shall pay the city [a fine of one thousand] five hundred denarii. Farewell.

Commentary on No. 110 of Block II

The epistle, with punctuation in line 13, follows the completion of Hadrian's engineering projects for flood control along the Phalarus River. The emperor mentions the responsibility of the city for supervision and discusses what the outsiders who have acquired land should and should not be permitted to do. Comparable outsiders are known from an inscription at Beroea published by M. Dimitas, *Ἡ Μακεδονία* (Athens, 1896) No. 58 (= *AJA* 48 [1944] 76), on a monument which Βεροιαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐνκεκτημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι erected to their patron, the proconsul L. Calpurnius Piso. The hometown decree for Epaminondas of Acraephia (in Boeotia), *GRBS* 12 (1971) 228, lines 64–65, mentions gifts of honor τοῖς πολεῖταις καὶ παροῖκοις καὶ ἐκτημένοις (or ἐνκεκτημένοις). Others appear in two epistles in Macedonia, No. 56 *supra* from an unknown emperor (Hadrian?), and No. 156 from Antoninus Pius. For the background of such grants the reader may consult Jan Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions* (Prague, 1966).

In line 14 the restoration τοὺς ἐνκεκτημένους may be justified partly by the reference to them as a subject of discussion in line

11 but partly by the fact that the emperor tells the free city how to handle infractions and how high a fine to levy. He would not have had to tell them this if he were speaking of ordinary citizens subject to their court. On the contrary, he lays down the law as it applies to a privileged group whom the free city might have found difficult to punish or coerce. These are the foreign landholders, at least some of them with Roman citizenship and influence. Similarly in No. 156 Antoninus Pius rules that the *ἐνκεκτημένοι* must abide by the decisions of the local courts both as plaintiffs and defendants in cases up to 250 denarii.

111. UNKNOWN TO [THE CORONEANS] ABOUT DISPUTE WITH ORCHOMENUS

Translation of No. 111 on Block III

— — — inform him also concerning those to the Orchomenians, for he will not begin the construction before he examines to make sure that no harm will come to you. If the Orchomenians do not abide by the decision I made in the matter of the taxes, communicate with his Excellency, the proconsul Calpurnius Longus, and he will force them to collect no tax in violation of my decision. Zoilus son of Dionymus was ambassador. Let the travel allowance be paid to him, unless he has promised to come at his own expense. Farewell.

Commentary on No. 111 on Block III

This epistle, which follows the epistles of Hadrian on Blocks I and II and precedes another epistle of Hadrian on Block III, is probably an epistle of Hadrian, though the date is not fixed by a chronological order of documents.

The epistle deals first with an engineering project and secondly with a controversy between Coronea and Orchomenus concerning dues which the Orchomenians have tried to levy on the Coroneans and which the emperor has forbidden. The dues may have been import/export taxes, but it is not so stated. Does this controversy provide a background for Pausanias 9.2.34? Pausanias shows little interest in Coronea despite the fact that it was a favorite of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius and that its sanctuary of Athena Itonia was the capital of the Boeotian League. On the other hand, he celebrates Orchomenus, *εἴ τις Ἑλληνισιν ἄλλη πόλις, ἐπιφανὴς καὶ αὕτη ἐς δόξαν*.

The name of Calpurnius Longus appeared at Attaleia in Pamphylia as that of an official of Achaea. E. Bosch and S. Atlan, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* 11 (1947) 104–106, No. 21, restored the title correctly as that of proconsul, and they are now vindicated. L. Marcius Calpurnius Longus, patron and benefactor of Attaleia, had served as *legatus laticlavius leg. I Italicae*, then as legate of Pontus and Bithynia.

A fragment of a block lost between Blocks II and III may be represented by IG VII 2882 (*periüsse videtur*), which Dittenberger connected with the dispute reflected on Block V but which it is better to connect with the controversy between Coronea and Orchomenus. Assuming that it is a fragment from a letter to the Orchomenians of which the emperor (Hadrian?) sent a copy to the Coroneans, we read:

] ὧν ἐπέστει[λα
]ων γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ ν[
τῇ ὑμῶν πόλει] καὶ τῇ Κορωνέων ἐδή[λωσα

The restorations are by Dittenberger except for ὑμῶν or ὑμετέρᾱ instead of Θισβέων.

112. HADRIAN TO THE CORONEANS ABOUT MISSION OF AEMILIUS JUNCUS, A.D. 135

Translation of No. 112 on Block III

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the nineteenth time, thrice consul, pater patriae, to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Coroneans, greetings.

I wrote to his Excellency, my friend Aemilius Juncus, to go to the River Phalarus and to do whatever he considers suitable. Inform him of what you said in my presence. Aelius Dionymus, Damon son of Prostaterus, Aristobulus son of Euphrosynus, Heraeus son of Theon were ambassadors.

Commentary on No. 112 of Block III

The epistle is dated to Hadrian's nineteenth tenure of the tribunician power, a year which began on or near 1 January 135 (see Follet, *Athènes*, 43–53 and the literature there cited). On

Aemilius Juncus cos. 127 see Follet, 31–34 and C. Vatin, *Delphes à l'époque impériale* (forthcoming). He was active in Achaea as corrector of the free republics (according to a Delphian inscription) and at Sparta was called *δικαιοδότης*.

The formula concerning the travel allowance and the salutation at the end of the epistle stood on another block, now lost. Four ambassadors—and there could have been more names on the lost block—constituted a large embassy.

**113. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE CORONEANS ABOUT A
DISPUTE WITH ORCHOMENUS, A.D. 154/5**

**114. WHAT DIVUS HADRIAN HAD WRITTEN TO THE
THISBEANS**

Translation of Nos. 113 and 114 on Blocks IV and V

Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the eighteenth time, twice imperator, four times consul, pater patriae, to the archons and Council and Demos of the Coroneans, greetings.

On reading your decree I ordered copies of what I had dispatched to the Thisbeans to be sent to you, so that you might know that I considered the matter worthy of attention. Since you blame them and they blame you for not allowing the measurement of the lands to take place according to the decision which my deified father issued and which I retained as valid in a subsequent decision, [in] the [future] it will be of concern to the proconsul to ascertain which are the parties disobeying the rulings, [and] he will see to it as quickly as possible that the decisions be placed [– – –] by Aristonymus so that an end of an affair be immediately made which [– – – –] and affords cause and occasion to your cities [for strife and] rivalry. On the embassy were Aelius Glycon, Alo[– – –] at their own expense, as you made clear in the decree. Farewell.

One of divine Hadrian addressed to the Thisbeans

The Coroneans wrote to me charging that you were the [transgressors in what] for you and for them Mestrius Aristonymus on my order [had judged the] claim as fair, when you did not comply with the decisions but intruded into their territory,

and that they were getting ready to prevent you from grazing. How much the tax due to them is or what security of yours the Coroneans have withheld Aristonymus himself will decide. Farewell.

Commentary

The epistle of Antoninus Pius to Coronea, dated between 10 December 154 and 9 December 155 by reference to the emperor's eighteenth tenure of the tribunician power, concerns an old quarrel over undemarcated grazing lands between Coronea and Thisbe. The emperor has been moved to action by receipt of a copy of a Coronean decree delivered by the ambassadors. The emperor sends the Coroneans copies of what he has sent to the Thisbeans. The plural "copies" indicates two (or more) earlier documents, and in fact the epistle No. 113 is followed by two earlier documents, to wit, one epistle, No. 114, with the heading *θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ γραφεῖσα Θισβεῦσιν* without the usual prescript and one epistle, No. 115, with the correct prescript for an epistle of Antoninus Pius from A.D. 140. We should have expected copies of what had originally been written on the dispute (by Hadrian) to each of the two parties, the Thisbeans and the Coroneans. No. 115, however, has nothing to do with the dispute, although it begins in the middle of line 4 (of Block V) and so is presented as the second adjunct to No. 113. We infer that the heading of No. 114 *θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ γραφεῖσα Θισβεῦσιν* is the actual heading in the copy which the Coroneans received with the epistle No. 113 of Antoninus Pius and that a second document received simultaneously had a title like *θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ὑμῖν γραφεῖσα* or *Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου γραφεῖσα Θισβεῦσιν*, but did not serve any purpose dear to the Coroneans, who for reasons of prestige and propaganda substituted another document (No. 115) in its place out of their own records (hence with complete prescript).

Hadrian had appointed Mestrius Aristonymus as special judge to decide the case. In 155 he was still involved, but the proconsul would now have to keep watch and bring to a speedy end a situation which, the emperor felt, had lasted too long and was poisoning relations. The decision of Mestrius Aristonymus had been made, but attempts to execute it had failed or been blocked. Each side blamed the other.

**115. WHAT ANTONINUS PIUS HAD WRITTEN TO THE
CORONEANS IN A.D. 140**

**116. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE CORONEANS ENDING THE
DISPUTE WITH THISBE, A.D. 155**

Translation of No. **115** on Block V

Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the third time, thrice consul, pater patriae, to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Coroneans, greetings.

In rightly recalling the memory of my deified father and in having politely expressed pleasure in my accession and in warmly congratulating me on my son you behave in a manner becoming to Hellenes. Ambassador was Demetrius son of Dionysius. Let the travel allowance be paid to him, unless he promised to go at his own expense. Farewell.

Commentary on No. **115** of Block V

This epistle from the emperor's third tenure of the tribunician power, inscribed between two epistles dealing with the dispute of Coronea and Thisbe over grazing lands, has nothing to do with the dispute. The epistle was considered an honor for Coronea, and it takes the place of the less satisfactory epistle of Antoninus Pius to the Thisbeans which has been omitted. In that it does not begin on a new line, it is inscribed as part of the appendix to No. **113**, though it certainly does not belong here. There is a small but deliberate deception in the impression sought.

The Coroneans had sent an ambassador to Rome to salute a new emperor (Antoninus Pius) and to say a kind word about Hadrian, his predecessor. This was normal. The Coroneans (or their ambassador) added congratulations on the advancement of the emperor's Caesar. Aurelius Caesar, the future emperor Marcus Aurelius, was the emperor's colleague in the consulship of 140 and *princeps iuventutis* (A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, 67). So the epistle, in addition to its praise of the Coroneans, documented their early devotion to Marcus. The emperor's reply, recognizing their conduct as that of good men and true, calls it conduct becoming to Hellenes.

Translation of No. 116 on Block V

Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the eighteenth time, twice imperator, four times consul, pater patriae, to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Coroneans, greetings.

I have sent you a copy of the decision which I made on the dispute between you and the Thisbeans, and I wrote to Mestrius Aristonymus to measure off for the Thisbeans the lands which my deified father ordered to be turned over to them. If with your consent the Thisbeans pasture their cattle on any lands of the territory outside the area, they shall pay the dues for pasturage. If they pay up what it was decided that they owe for the time that is past, you will of course return their pledges to them. Ambassadors were Aelius Glycon and Dionysius son of Dionysodorus. Let the travel allowance be paid to them, unless they have promised to go at their own expense. Farewell.

Commentary on No. 116 of Block V

An important correction has been made in line 16, *δώσουσιν ἐννόμιον*, where Latschev read *δώσουσι μὲν νόμιον*.

The epistle, dated to the emperor's eighteenth tenure of the tribunician power (10 December 154 through 9 December 155), seems to attest the settlement of the quarrel concerning grazing rights and the conflicting claims for dues and security mentioned in No. 114.

117. MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS TO THE CORONEANS CONFIRMING FREEDOM AND AUTONOMY,
A.D. 161

118. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE CORONEANS, A.D. 148

Translation of Nos. 117 and 118 on Block VI

Good Fortune

Imperator Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the fifteenth time, consul for the third time, and Imperator Caesar L. Aurelius Verus Augustus, tribunician power [for the second time], consul for the second time, sons of divine Antoninus, grandsons of divine Hadrian,

great-grandsons of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-great-grandsons of divine Nerva, to the archons, Council, Demos of the Coroneans, greetings.

All the rights of freedom and autonomy which were granted to you previously by our ancestors and which our deified father preserved we too confirm. Ambassadors were [— — —] Alexander, Agathocles son of Leontas, Aelius Dionymus, Anton[— — —]. Let the travel allowance be paid to them unless they have promised to go at their own expense. [Farewell].

Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus [Augustus], son of divine Hadrian, [grandson] of divine Trajan [Parthicus], great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the eleventh time, [twice imperator], four times consul, pater patriae, to the [archons, Council], Demos of the Coroneans, greetings.

In respect to [the — — —] which you seem to have originally set up [— — — —

Commentary on Nos. 117 and 118 Block VI

The ankh in line 9 antedates the inscription.

An epistle from Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus confirms the unthreatened freedom and autonomy of Coronea on the same terms as they were previously confirmed or granted by Antoninus Pius, whose letter, accordingly, is engraved immediately below. The epistle of Marcus and Lucius, emperors from 7 March on, is dated to A.D. 161 by reference to the third consulship of Marcus and second of Lucius and is dated before 10 December by reference to the fifteenth tenure of the tribunician power in the titles of Marcus Aurelius. The freedom and autonomy of Coronea, attested for the first time in the epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, went back at least to Hadrian because of the reference to more than one ancestor. The same emperors write in practically the same terms to Delphi in No. 172.

The eleventh tenure of the tribunician power, which dates the epistle of Antoninus Pius, ran from 10 December 147 through 9 December 148.

Secondarily, the epistle suggests that the control which, according to W. Williams, *Historia* 16 (1967) 470–483, Antoninus Pius exercised over unnecessary embassies was relaxed by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus and never reestablished.

119. ANTONINUS PIUS TO UNKNOWN, A.D. 139

Pergamum. Formerly (1907) in a local museum but now lost. A search was made for it in October 1973.

F. Schuchart, *AthMitt* 24 (1899) 173 f., No. 17 with drawing; H. Hepding, *AthMitt* 32 (1907) 291; [G. Lafaye, *IGRR* 4 (1927) 356; W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 346].

119

[Αὐτοκράτωρ] Καίσα[ρ, θεοῦ ᾿Αδριανοῦ υἱός],
[θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ] Παρθικ[οῦ υἱόνος, θεοῦ]
[Νέρουα ἔκγονος], Τίτος Αἰῶλιος ᾿Αδριανός]
[᾿Αντωνῖνος Σεβαστός], ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος],
[δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσία]ς τ[ὸ] β[ε] ὑπ[ατος τὸ β],
[πατήρ πατρίδος -----]

The restorations are by Hepding (who first recognized an imperial letter here) except that they have been redistributed between lines 3–6.

120-124. THE DOSSIER PROVING CYRENE'S METROPOLITAN STATUS, A.D. 154

Cyrene. Three large and six smaller fragments of a block of white marble (*non vidi*) are now No. 1640 in the Casa Parisi Storeroom of the Department of Antiquities in Shahat. Five fragments from top to bottom of the left side join as one. All the fragments can be located in respect to each other except a small fragment from the right edge. The block contains the following documents:

No. **120**, an epistle of Hadrian to Cyrene with an appendix on what Hadrian wrote to the archon of the Panhellenes on the same subject;

No. **121**, extracts from another epistle of [Hadrian] to the Cyreneans (lines 13–24);

No. **122**, section from a speech of [Hadrian at Cyrene] (lines 25–68?);

No. **123**, extract of an epistle of Antoninus Pius on requests of Bereniceans and Cyreneans (lines 69–77);

No. 124, an epistle of Antoninus Pius to Ptolemais-Barca (lines 78–85).

For all practical purposes the first edition is that of Joyce Reynolds, "Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and the Cyrenaican Cities,"

JRS 68 (1978) 111–121. Earlier students who knew just two fragments had no way of seeing the extent and purpose of the inscription, which was to strengthen the claim of Cyrene to be the metropolis of the Cyrenaica against the rivalry of another city, which J. H. Oliver identifies with Ptolemais-Barca.

**120. EPISTLE OF HADRIAN TO THE CYRENEANS ON
ADMISSION TO THE PANHELLENION, A.D. 135**

J. Reynolds, *JRS* 68 (1978) 111–121 with photographs, two more fragments and new data. The earlier discussions (P. M. Fraser, “Hadrian and Cyrene,” *JRS* 40 [1950] 77–87 with photograph of the one fragment of the epistle known at the time; J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 20 [1951] 32 f.; J. A. O. Larsen, “Cyrene and the Panhellenion,” *ClPhil* 47 [1952] 7–16; C. B. Welles, *AJA* 56 [1952] 76 f.; J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* [*Hesperia* Suppl. 13, 1970] 96–99, No. 7) are now outdated.

120

Θ ε ό ς Τ ύ χ[α] Ἀ γ α θ[ᾱ]
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τρα[ιανοῦ] Παρθικο[ῦ υἱός, θεοῦ]
 Νέρουα υἱόνος, Τραιανὸς Ἀδριαν[ός Σεβα]στός, ἀρχιε[ρὺς μέγιστος],
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰθ, ὑπατ[ος τὸ γ], πατὴρ πατρ[ίδος]
 5 Κυρηναίους [] χαίρ[ειν]
 Ο ἄρχων τοῦ Πανελληνίου ἐφθάκει ἐπιστεῖλαι μοι π[ερὶ τῆς δ]ζιώσεως ὑμῶ[ν
 -----]
 τὰ δόξαντά μοι ἀντέγραψα καὶ ὑμεῖν ἔπεμψα τὴν προ[κειμένην]ν ἀπό[κρισιν
 ----- Σαλούσιος]
 Κᾶρος ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος vacat Εὐτυχεῖ[τε vacat -----]
 δέχεσθαι δεῖ ν οὐ μέντοι δίκαια δξιοῦσιν τῶν αὐτῶ[ν ἐπιέμενοι ὥνπερ οἱ
 Κυρηναῖοι, ὧν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ] γέ
 10 νος Ἀχαιὸν καὶ ἀκριβῶς Δώριον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἰθαγενε[ῖς -----]ον δὲ
 προσεκτήσαντο τὴν προσαγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπικρα[τ -----]ν πό
 λιν· Κυρηναίων δὴ δύο συνέδρους πεμπόντω[ν -----] νν

Translation

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, [son] of divus Trajan Parthicus, grandson of [divus] Nerva, pontifex [maximus], tribunician power for the nineteenth time, consul [thrice], pater patriae, to the Cyreneans greetings. The archon of the Panhellenion has already [had occasion] to write to me [concerning]

your claim [— — — —] I wrote back what I thought and for you I sent (a text of) the reply pertaining thereto, [which my friend? Salvius] Carus the clarissimus proconsul [will give you]. Farewell. [The Barcans? say that] one ought to accept [delegates also from them]. Their vindications, however, are not justified. [They aspire to] the same [rights as do the Cyreneans, whose] ancestry [away back was] pure Greek and specifically Dorian. They themselves [long ago were] aborigines [and not Hellenes for the most part. Rather] they acquired the classification from [— — — — —] city. With the Cyreneans sending two delegates [— — — —].

Commentary

The epistle is dated to Hadrian's nineteenth tenure of the tribunician power, so that it is assigned securely to the neighborhood of A.D. 135, when he was in Rome. According to M. Hammond's reckoning it would be the year running from 10 December 134 through 9 December 135; according to Follet, *Athènes*, 53, it would be the year running from sometime in January 135 into January 136. It concerns a request apparently made by the Cyreneans themselves. The admission of some city into the Panhellenion as an old Greek community was involved. The archon of the Panhellenion consulted the emperor, who in turn replied to him and had a copy of the reply made for the Cyreneans. The epistle ends with a reference to the governor, who would receive the pouch from Rome.

The whole reply to the archon of the Panhellenion may not be given, certainly not the heading. What runs through line 12 from the end of line 8 may be all that the emperor sent. In it the emperor rejects as unfounded the claim of some group to representation in the Panhellenion on a par with Cyrene. All the rest of the reply cannot have been devoted to praise of the Cyreneans; some of it must have explained why he thought the claim of the other group was unfounded. Therefore it is not likely that the adjective *ἰθαγενεῖς* [ῖς was a mere compliment to the Cyreneans as Reynolds was willing to interpret it. It forms part of a contrast between original settlers of Cyrene who were purely Greek and precisely Dorian in ancestry and the founders of the city who were Libyan aborigines (*ἰθαγενεῖς*). The other group had acquired recognition as a Greek city, but as far as eligibility for the Panhellenion went, they were not on a par with the

Cyreneans. Hadrian seems to have concluded that with the Cyreneans sending two synhedroi the Greeks of the region were well represented.

The first question that arises is the identity of the other group. Until the discovery of the lower part of the inscription there was absolutely no clue to their identity in the inscription itself. Now the new and old fragments together show us two complete documents, the epistle of Hadrian to the Cyreneans (with its appendix) in lines 2–12 and an epistle (No. 124) of Antoninus Pius to the Ptolemais-Barcans in lines 78–85. Between them are three incomplete documents (Nos. 121–123) cited to illustrate the special regard in which Cyrene was held by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius and her superior status as metropolis of all the Greek cities of the Cyrenaica. The frame of the inscription is not the contemporary and recent territory of Cyrene but all the Cyrenaica. It is the epistle of Antoninus Pius to Ptolemais-Barca which closes the series and explains the inscription. Ptolemais-Barca had tried to challenge the preeminence of Cyrene at the *agon Capitolinus* in Rome in the summer of 154. It is the ambition and contentiousness of Ptolemais-Barca which are set off against the dignity and *eugeneia* of Cyrene. The rivalry of Ptolemais-Barca, which was destined one day to supplant Cyrene, went back at least to the first years of the Panhellenion.

In line 10 the use of the word Ἀχαιῶν in the sense “Greek,” or rather “pure Greek,” still presents a problem, as Reynolds shows. It can be explained by comparing Pliny, *Ep.* 8.24.1: “cogita te missum in provinciam Achaïam, illam veram et meram Graeciam, in qua primum humanitas, litterae, etiam fruges inventae esse creduntur.” The area which later became the province of Achaia first came under direct Roman control with the defeat of the Achaeans, after which the Commonalty of the Achaeans was placed under the supervision of the governor of Macedonia. In 27 B.C. this area, which comprised somewhat more than that of the Commonalty of the Achaeans but to which the free cities did not strictly belong, was officially separated from Macedonia and called Achaia. Pliny (8.24.1) reflects the language used in 31–25 B.C. by Greeks and Romans to justify the (proposed) separation. So does Hadrian. For the Ptolemais-Barcans, who prided themselves on being Hellenes, the distinction Ἀχαιῶν and ἰθαγενεῖς was far less offensive than the antithesis “Hellenes and barbarians” would have been. One might compare also the

distinction made between Ἀχαιῶν and κοινῶς Ἑλλήνων by Arrian, *Tactica* 33.4, speaking of religious rites adopted by the Romans from others: τὰ γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δρώμενα εἰς τοῦτο ἔτι τὰ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν νόμῳ δρᾶσθαι λέγεται, τὰ δὲ κοινῶς Ἑλλήνων. This usage of the term Ἀχαιοί for Greeks of the original stock owes even more to the Homeric tradition than to geography.

121. SECTIONS FROM EPISTLE OF DIVUS HADRIAN, UNDATED

P. M. Fraser, "Hadrian and Cyrene," *JRS* 40 (1950) 77–87 with photograph; J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* Suppl. 13 (1970) 96–99, No. 7; J. Reynolds, *JRS* 68 (1978) 111–121.

121

Κεφάλαια ἐξ ἐπιστολῆ[ς ἄλλης θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ]
 Προσκειμένου δὲ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΟΥΣ ἐνί, ὅτι ἄρα ἐπεθεσ[-----]
 15 συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει προῦποσυλλέγειν αὐτὸν ἐπι[-----]
 ἀνάμνησιν τῆς παλαιᾶς ὑμῶν εὐγενείας διεσ[----- ορ]
 θωθήσεσθαι δοκεῖ ἐπέδωκέ μοι ὅ [S] ὅ νῦν [-----]
 πολυανθρωποτάτην καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν γένος [-----]
 μητρόπολις καὶ τὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔργα Α[-----]
 20 γραφα ὅτι καλὰ καὶ πρέποντα αὐτοῖς ἔστιν [-----]
 εἶναι δίκαιον τὸ πρὸς τὴν μητρόπολιν εὐ[-----]
 θεσιῶτας τὴν ἐπικουρίαν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλή[νων -----]
 Ὡς μὲν βούλομαι πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν παρα [----- τὸ]
 πᾶν [γ]ένος καὶ πολὺ δὴ μᾶλλον τὴν Κυρη[ναίων πόλιν]

The text is that of Reynolds. 14 Ἐπιτέλους Fraser and Reynolds, ἐπὶ τέλους Oliver. 21 κα] or με]. 24 [γ]ένος or [ἔ]θνος.

Commentary

As Fraser identified them, the extracts are from another epistle of Hadrian, which Reynolds thinks is later because rightly or wrongly she assumes chronological order. The emperor's appeal to the memory of Cyrene's ancient *eugeneia* (16) and his repeated reference to Cyrene's metropolitan status explain the selection of these paragraphs from a letter of encouragement after the Jewish disturbances and possibly later difficulties.

**122. SECTION FROM ADDRESS OF HADRIAN TO
CYRENEANS, A.D. 123(?)**

J. Reynolds, *JRS* 68 (1978) 111–121 with photographs, three more fragments, and new data. The earlier studies by P. M. Fraser, *JRS* 40 (1950) 77–87 and J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* Suppl. 13 (1970) 96–98, are now outdated.

122

25 Κεφάλαιον ἐκ ὁ[ῆ]μηγορίας θεοῦ ᾿Αδριανοῦ]
 Βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς μὴ τῷ φόβῳ τῶν Ε[-----]ω[ς]
 εἴξαν
 τας καὶ ἀναμνησθέντας ὅτι αἰσχρὸν ἐστι [----- πόλιν διὰ] χρησμούς τοῦ
 ᾿Απόλλωνος ὥκισμένην ἀναξίως καὶ Τ[----- τ]ῆς παλαιᾶς
 δια
 κειμένην συνελθεῖν καὶ συναιξήσαι τ[ὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν καὶ οὐ μόνον ο] ἰκῆ
 τορας ἀλλὰ
 30 καὶ οἰκιστὰς γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος νν [vacat] vacat
 Πυνθάνομαι τὸ γυμνάσιον ὑμῶν ΚΑ [----- μα] νθάνων
 πολ
 λούς ἤδη παῖδας τρεφομένους καὶ αὖξ[ανομένους -----] Ν μὴ ἐν τῷ
 κο[ι]
 νῷ γυμνασίῳ συναναφύρωνται τοῖς Α[----- ἐ] φηβικὴν
 ἰδίᾳ
 εἰς ἣν φοιτῶντες καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ποι[ούμενοι -----] λήμψονται
 τὰς
 35 παρ' ἐμοῦ διδομένας vacat [vacat] vacat
 Ὁ μάλιστα ἀνανακαῖον ἦν, ὡς ἡξιώσατ[ε ----- νομοθε]σίαν
 ἐποι[σ]ά
 μην, ἔστιν δὲ οὐδὲν νόμου προῦρ[γιαίτερον -----] ὦν ἀφ' οἷων ὑμεῖς
 κατοικιζομένην ν τινὲς δ' ἂν νό[μοι ----- Α] ακωνικῶν
 καὶ τύχη τινὶ ἀγαθῇ τῆς Κυρήνης [-----] Ν τοῖς Λακεδαι
 40 μονίοις ἐπηνορθωκῶς τοὺς [-----] vacat
 Π[.] ΤΗCΕΝ τ[ὴ]ν χώρα[ν] Ν [-----] τέσσερα ν
 Δωριέων γάρ ἀνθρώπων [ν ----- Λα] κωνικῇ
 σωφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀσκη[σις -----]
 Ὁ[ρ]ῷ γάρ καὶ διὰ τὸ γεγ[-----]
 45 ατω τῶν [-----]
 μην ὑμ[-----]
 Καὶ τη [-----]
 [.] Ο[-----] Ν Α[-----]
 [.] Κ[-----] ὦν τ[-----]
 50 [----- ἱερῷ] σύνη τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν [-----]
 [-----] ὡς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ [-----]
 [-----] ὑμεῖν μὴ ἀπολει[-----]

- [----]αζε σπουδη[-----]
 [--- Κλα]ύδιον Ἰάσ[ονα -----]
 55 [----]κι ἐὰμ [-----]
 [----]ΑΟ[-----]
 [-----]
 [-----]
 [-----]
 [-----]
 [-----]
 [-----]
 63 κἀγὼ πάνυ ἡδέως ἀνεθέμ[ην -----]
 καὶ τῶν δι' ὑμᾶς ὑπαρξάν[των -----]
 "Οσοι ἄν ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας πό[λεως -----]
 ται παρ' ὑμεῖν ἐργάσσονται [-----]
 67 τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ ὅσοι ἀναλο[γ -----]
 τεθνάναι δεσμοῦ προστε[μ -----]

A loose fragment from the right edge is to be placed somewhere between lines 41 and 63:

]α πρὸς
] vacat
]σε εἰς τὸ
]δεύονται
 ι]σταμαι
]λιπου
] vacat
]Ν
]ς

The text is based on the new edition by Reynolds but with changes. 25 δ[ημηγορίας or δ[ιαλέξεως Oliver, δ[ιατάγματος R. 37 ἔστιν δ' οὐδὲν νόμῳ πρὸ ὑμ[R. 41 begins [. .]τησεν σ[.]ν χωρᾶ[in R.'s text without extending into the margin. 52 ἀποδέχ[εσθαι R. 55 [κατοι]κίσαν[τες? R.

Commentary

Hadrian may have visited Cyrene as he sailed from Carthage to Alexandria in 123 and may have delivered an oration, even if no such visit is recorded. The document is suspiciously long for an edict (at least to line 55, probably to line 66) and employs the second person more frequently than is to be expected in an edict. The speaker (or writer) is someone who gave money for ephebic training and could direct the hearers to the proconsul. This seems indeed to have been the emperor Hadrian as Fraser inferred.

them]. It [seemed] to me, however, very difficult for an addition to be made to the assizes, because, as also you know, the proconsul, [being in charge] of both Crete and [Cyrene], is not in a position to spend more time [among] you than he does now. With the Bereniceans asking [then] that the assize be held in each city in turn I replied "It is unclear [whether the] cities which now have the assize will accept not [to have] it every year as they used to." That the have-been stripped so that it be given to the have-nots seems to me [an act of injustice] unless the establishment of such a sharing were with your consent.

Commentary

The epistle of lines 70–71 on the request of the Bereniceans formed part of an epistle (to the Cyreneans) and omits other material which did not enhance the status of Cyrene. The passage is engraved because it guaranteed the position of Cyrene as an assize town of the province of Crete and Cyrene. For the governor's *conventus* the reader may consult particularly G. P. Burton, "Proconsuls, Assizes and the Administration of Justice under the Empire," *JRS* 65 (1975) 92–106 and the literature there cited. Whether or not Cyrene was the only city where an assize court was located in the Cyrenaica does not emerge clearly. The omission of beginning and end, however, raises the suspicion that Cyrene shared the advantage with one other city (Ptolemais-Barca).

The textual problems were solved by Reynolds with exceptions, of which the first occurs in line 69, where the heading is in much larger letters (size unreported) than those in lines 13 and 25. Does the heading apply to both epistles, the one in lines 70–77 and the other in lines 78–85, or to this one alone? The restoration should be ἐπιση[τολή], because κεφάλαιον is not the right word for a complete letter like that in lines 78–85 and because the two questions of the passage, lines 70–77, are so closely related linguistically and in subject that the sections must have come from a single letter. The large size of the lettering was meant to give Antoninus equal prominence and to separate the lower part from the Hadrianic upper part of the inscription. In line 70 the restoration ἀγορά[ν δικῶν] by Reynolds is convincing but her interpretation of the continuation ("should be held") is not right for the aorist. In line 76 EIHN calls for emendation or explanation.

**124. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE PTOLEMAIS-BARCANS ON
THE CAPITOLIA, A.D. 154**

J. Reynolds, *JRS* 68 (1978) 111–121; J. H. Oliver, “Antoninus Pius to Ptolemais Barca,” *GRBS* 19 (1979) 157–159.

124

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἀ[δριανοῦ υἱ]ός, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱονός,
θεοῦ Νέρωνα ἔγγ[ο]
νος, Πίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριαν[ός Ἀντωνε]ῖνος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,
δημαρχικῆς ἐξ[ου]
 80 *σίας τὸ ιζ΄, αὐτοκράτω[ρ τὸ β΄, ὕπα]τος τὸ δ΄, πατὴρ πατρίδος, Πτολεμαεῦσι*
Βαρκαίοι[ς]
χαίρειν vacat [Θαυμάζω] ὅτι μηδέποτε ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ
διαπέμψαν[τες καὶ]
συνθύσαντες εἰς τὸν τῷ[ν Καπετω]λίῳ ἀγῶνα νῦν πρῶτον ἀπεστείλατε· οὐ γὰρ
ἀγνοεῖ[τε ὅτι]
τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα καινοτομ[εῖν αἰτί]αν παρέχει ταῖς πόλεσι φιλονεικίας ὃ ἐγένετο
τοίνυ[ν ἡ συν]
θυσία ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους [ἀνὰ τὸν ἀ]γῶνα. Ἐπρέσβευεν Οὐαλέριος Πausανίας, ὃ
τὸ ἐφόδι[ον δοθή]
 85 *τω εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσ[χετο. Εὐτυ]χεῖτε vacat*

The text is based on that of Reynolds except for Καπετω]λίῳ (Κυρηνη]αίῳ Reynolds) in line 82 and [ἀνὰ τὸν ἀ]γῶνα ([.]ενα Reynolds) in line 84.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian [Anton]inus Augustus, [son] of divus [Hadrian], grandson of divus Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divus Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the seventeenth time, imperator [twice, consul] four times, pater patriae, to the Ptolemais-Barcans, greetings. [I marvel] that you who in all the time gone by have never sent a delegation or shared in the sacrifice have now for the first time sent representation to the contest of the [Capitolia]. For you are not unaware that the making of such innovations brings upon cities the [charge] of contentiousness. Well, [the joint] sacrifice on behalf of the region did take place [during the] contest.

As ambassador Valerius Pausanias served, to whom let the

travel money be paid unless he promised to go at his own expense. Farewell.

Commentary

The epistle, dated by the emperor's tribunician power and the festival to the summer of 154, is addressed to the Ptolemais-Barcans, i.e., the men of a single community comprising Barca and its port Ptolemais about 16 km. away. This city, the rival of Cyrene in the region, apparently tried to challenge the preeminence of the old mother city by sending a delegation to the Capitoline festival at Rome in order to offer the sacrifice for the "ethnos," perhaps "Upper Libya" apart from Cyrene (cf. *Année ép.* [1972] no. 575, where a slightly later governor is called proconsul of Crete, Cyrene, and Libya). On the Capitolia, the magnificent penteteric festival established at Rome by Domitian in honor of Jupiter Capitolinus and held for the first time in the summer of 86, see Wissowa, *RE* 3 (1899) 1527–1529, s.v. Capitolia; L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*¹⁰, 4:276–280; L. Robert, "Deux concours grecs à Rome," *CRAI* (1970) 6–27. For the rivalry of cities see No. 135A and the other literature cited by L. Robert, *HSCP* 81 (1977) 21–38.

125. UNKNOWN TO UNKNOWN ON MYRA'S IMPORT AND EXPORT TAXES

Myra. A fragment from the bottom of a local limestone stele was found in the Theatre in 1966 and was still there in 1973.

M. Wörrle in J. Borchhardt et al., *Myra, eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1975) 286–300, with excellent photograph and rich commentary.

125

[-----]
 [- δημοσιωνικὸν νόμον ἢ β]ο[υ]λῇ ἔχε[ι, τέλος]
 [διδόναι τοῦ]ς εισφέροντάς τι εἰς τὴν Μ[υρέων]
 πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης εἰς τὸ διηνεκῆ[ς ἀπο]
 γραφομένων πάντων τῶν εἰσαγομέν[ων πρὸς τὸ]
 δημοσιώνιον, καὶ δίδοσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς π[όλεως τῶ]

10 ἔθνει εἴτε διὰ τῶν ὠνητῶν εἴτε διὰ τῶν [— — —]
 των ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν Μύροις μόνου δημοσιω[νίου ἀπὸ]
 τῆς τεσσερακοστῆς τῶν εἰσαγομένων [ἀπὸ τῆς]
 ξένης καὶ καταπιπρασκομένων ἐν τῇ Μυ[ρῶν πό]
 15 λει ἐκάστου ἔτους * ἑπτακισχίλια ὕ Μέρο[ς —]:
 τῶν δὲ ἐκκομιζομένων ἀπὸ τῆς Μυρῶν πόλεως
 ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης εἰσκομισθέντων, κὰν εἰς
 ἑτέραν τῆς Λυκίας πόλιν ἐξάγῃ τις ᾧτινι οὖν τρόπῳ,
 δίδοσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκκομίζοντος τοῖς τοῦ ἔθνους δη
 15 μοσιῶναις τὸ ὠρισμένον τῆς τεσσερακοστῆς τέλος
 ἢ ὑποκεῖσθαι στερέσει κατὰ τὸν δημοσιωνικὸν νόμον.
 Εὐτυχεῖτε.

Translation

— — — the] Council has [a law (to respect)], that those who import anything into the city of the Myreans [pay a 2 1/2 percent tax], with all the importers in perpetuity making their declarations to the customs office, and that each year 7,000 denarii [from] the 2 1/2 percent tax on wares being imported [from] abroad and sold in the city of the Myreans be paid by the city to the Confederacy for the customs office alone at Myra, either through the tax farmers or through the [— — —].

[— — —] section: And that where the exports from the city of the Myreans come out of what has been imported from abroad, even if one should be exporting to another city of Lycia in any way whatsoever, the 2 1/2 percent tax that has been set be paid by the exporter to the tax farmers of the Confederacy or (the wares) be liable to confiscation according to the law on the leasing of taxes.

Farewell.

Commentary

The closing formula identifies the document as an epistle. The document concerns the respective claims of Myra and the Lycian Confederacy to the disposal of import and export duties at Myra, and it is hard to see whether the recipient of the epistle was the city or the Confederacy. It may, as Wörrle notes, have been either. The authority who sent the epistle stood outside and above, hence a Roman authority, either the emperor or the

governor, for the lettering and decoration suggest the Hadrianic period. The farewell formula *εὐτυχεῖτε* is suitable for Hadrian and later emperors.

The restorations are by Wörrle except for line 1, where his reading $\text{[[.]} \text{H}$ makes the interpretation $\beta[\theta[\nu]\lambda\eta$ almost irresistible. This would be the federal *boule* of the Lycian Confederacy (J. A. O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* [Oxford, 1968] 240–263). The reference in line 16 to the whole background as the *δημοσιωνικός νόμος* suggests the restoration for line 1. At the beginning of line 8 we have the end of a word, probably [*εἰκοσιπρῶ*]των (see Wörrle's discussion).

The purpose behind the first section may have been to guarantee that all the import duties went to the city's tax farmers apart from 7,000 denarii, which was an annual contribution to the Lycian Confederacy, and that this contribution would be counted as the Confederacy's share of local import duties and not interpreted as covering part of any other obligation of the city.

The purpose behind the second section was to close a loophole and to confirm the right of the Confederacy's tax farmers to the export taxes in all cases, even in exceptional cases. The phrase "in any way whatsoever" means, as Wörrle notes, whether by land or by water.

For the modern reader the great interest of the inscription lies in the information about a fixed contribution of 7,000 denarii from one member (Myra) to the Confederacy and about the arrangement for sharing taxes.

126. ANTONINUS PIUS TO [NEOI] AT PERGAMUM,

A.D. 140–144

Pergamum. Fragment of white marble from left side of a plaque with raised margin, found in the German excavations, in the precinct of Athena, and now in the Pergamum Museum in East Berlin, where it was reexamined in September 1972. H. 0.30 m., W. 0.31 m., Th. 0.09 m.

M. Fränkel, *IPerg* 2 (Berlin, 1895) 275 with drawing; [mentioned by Lafoscade as No. 50 but not reproduced]; G. Lafaye, *IGRR* 4 (1927) 357; [W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 346 f.].

126

On margin

Π[ρὸ] ἑ Κα(λανδῶν)

Σ[ε]πτεμ

[βρ]ίων

ἀπὸ Κα

πύης

Αὐ[τοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἀδρια]
 νοῦ υἱός, θε[οῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ]
 υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ν[έρουα ἑγγονος Τ]
 Αἴλιος Ἀδριαν[ός Ἀντωνεῖνος Σε]
 5 βασιτός, ἀρχιε[ρεὺς μέγιστος, δη]
 μαρχικῆς ἐξ[ουσίας τὸ ---, ὕπα]
 τος τὸ γ, πατ[ὴρ πατρίδος, τοῖς]
 ἐν Περγὰμ[ωι νέοις χαίρειν]
 vacat
 Καὶ τὰ ἀλ[λα -----]
 10 ΕΙΝΕΚΑΣ[-----]
 τη συνε[-----]
 ὑπὲρ τῆς [-----]
 γνωμο[-----]
 [-----]

127. UNKNOWN EMPEROR (ANTONINUS PIUS?) TO THE PERGAMENES

Pergamum. Three fragments of white marble found on the Acropolis near the Traianeum and now in East Berlin in the Pergamum Museum, where, together with *IPerg* 276, they were examined in September 1972, in order to make sure that No. 276 was not part of the same inscription. No. 276 is 0.055 m. thick, while this inscription (No. 277) is roughly 0.04 m. thick and clearly distinct as Fränkel edited it, with the exception of Fragment B, which could perhaps belong to 276. The fragment No. 276, though it probably came from an imperial letter, is here omitted for lack of proof. Fabricius thought that both Nos. 276 and 277 were similar enough in lettering to 275 (= No. 126 *supra*) to be assigned to Antoninus Pius.

M. Fränkel, *IPerg* 2 (Berlin, 1895) 214, No. 277 with drawing.

Fragment A: H. 0.24 m., W. 0.20 m., Th. 0.04 m.

Fragment B: H. 0.13 m., W. 0.13 m., Th. 0.05 m.

Fragment C: H. 0.14 m., W. 0.12 m., Th. 0.04 m.

127

A

[-----]

[ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημα]ρχικῆς [Υ]

[ἐξουσίας τὸ -, αὐτο]κράτωρ τὸ [-],

5 [ὑπατος τὸ —, πατὴρ πα]τρίδος, Π[ε[ρ]
 [γαμηνῶν τοῖς ἀρχου]σι καὶ τῇ vv
 [vvvv βουλῇ καὶ τ]ῷ δήμῳ vvvv
 [vacat χαίρειν] vacat
 [-----]ωρμηκ[-----]

B Lacuna of unknown extent

[-----] ἄλλου[-----]
 [----- β]ουλοίμ[ην ἄν -----]
 [-----] ἄπαν[-----]

C Lacuna of unknown extent

] vacat [
] vacat [
 [-----]ογένη[ς -----]
 [----- Ἰο]ύλιος [-----]
 [-----]ιάδη[ς -----]

Most of the restorations go back to Fränkel.

128. ANTONINUS PIUS TO GUILD OF ATHLETES, A.D. 143

Rome. Now Inv. No. 2404 in Archaeological Museum at Naples, where it was examined on 17 July 1971, it is engraved on plaques of white marble, 0.04 m. thick, which were sawn from a base.

The front plaque has lost most of the moulding at the top, also the upper left corner of the engraved surface. Preserved height 1.13 m., width 0.70 m. (0.76 m. with moulding at the bottom). Height of letters 0.07 m. in line 1, 0.055 m. in lines 2–3, 0.05 m. in lines 4–5, 0.06 m. in line 6, 0.04 m. in lines 7–10.

Side: Two complete plaques form one piece with moulding above and below. Height 1.17 m., width 0.74 m. Height of letters 0.02 m.

J. Lipsius, *Auctarium to M. Smetius, Inscriptionum antiquarum, quae passim per Europam, liber* (Leyden, 1588) 58; J. Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani in corpus absolutiss. redactae* (Heidelberg, 1603) CCCXVI; J. Franz, *CIG* III (1853) 5907; G. Kaibel, *IG* XIV (1890) 1055; R. Cagnat, *IGRR* I (1911) 146; L. Moretti, *IGUrbRomae* I (1968) 236 with photographs.

See bibliography of No. 86 *supra*.

On front

128

[Α ὁ] τ ο κ ρ ά τ ο ρ ι
 [Καί]σαρι Τίτωι Αἰλίωι
 Ἀδριανῶι
 Ἀντωνεῖνω Σεβαστῶι
 Εὐσεβεῖ
 Μ. Οὔλπιος
 Δομεστικός
 ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς
 τοῦ σύνπαντος ζύστου καὶ
 ἐπὶ βαλανείων Σεβαστοῦ

On side

- Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός,
 θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱόνος, θεοῦ Νέρουα
 ἔγγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος
 5 Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
 τὸ ζ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β, ὑπατος τὸ γ, πατὴρ πατρίδος συνόδῳ
 ζυστικῇ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν ἱερoneικῶν στεφα
 νειτῶν χαίρειν
 Ἐκέλευσα ὑμεῖν ἀποδειχθῆναι χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατα
 10 θήσεσθε καὶ τὰ γράμματα, πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς Θερμαῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ
 τοῦ θεοῦ πάππου μου γεγενημέναις, ὅπου καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς
 Καπιτωλείοις συνέρχεσθε ^{vv} Εὐτυχεῖτε. Ἐπρέσβευεν ^{vvv}
^{vv} Οὔλπιος Δομεστικός ἐπὶ βαλανείων μου vacat
 Ἐγράφη πρὸ ιζ Καλ. Ἰουν. ἀπὸ Ῥώμης Τορκουάτῳ καὶ Ἡρώδῃ ὑπάτ(οις)

Translation of lateral inscription, lines 2–14

Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Traianus Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the sixth time, imperator for the second time, pater patriae, to the Athletic Guild of the Athletes Devoted to Heracles, sacred victors entitled to a crown, greetings. I ordered that you be assigned a place in which to deposit your sacred objects and your papers, beside the Hot Baths themselves constructed by my

grandfather where you assemble particularly for the Capitoline Games. Farewell. Ambassador was Ulpius Domesticus, director of my baths. Written May 16 from Rome in the consulship of Torquatus and Herodes.

Commentary

The negotiations of Ulpius Domesticus began with Hadrian (No. 86 *supra*). From Antoninus Pius he acquired "for the Entire Portico" a *temenos*, as it is called in two other inscriptions, *IG XIV 1109 = IG UrbRomae 237* and *IG XIV 1110 = IG UrbRomae 238*. The *temenos* contained chapels, archives, *xystos*, the headquarters for an oecumenical society.

129–130. UNKNOWN (ANTONINUS PIUS?) TO ODESSOS(?)

Odessos in Moesia. A block of marble, now Inv. II 117 in the Archaeological Museum at Varna, where it was examined in April 1974. The extant top and sides are not original.

K. Škorpil, *BIAB* 14 (1940–42) 16, No. 26 (*non vidi*); G. Mihailov, *IGBulg* I (1956) 69. See also J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1948) No. 156 (*REG* 61, 180).

129

— — —
] τέταρτο[ν
]πης ὁ δημ[ο
]ον ἀπὸ χρυσῶ[ν
]έγων καὶ ἦν στ[
] ἀποδεχόμενος οὖν [
] τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας [
]έλυσα ἥτ' ἂν δεξε[
] vacat [

130

θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱοῦ]νός, θεοῦ [
]υτερον [
]αν ὑμᾶ[ς
]'NT[
 — — —

131–133. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE CITIZENS OF ODESSOS (?)

Odessos in Moesia. A block of marble, now Inv. II 840 in the Archaeological Museum at Varna, where it was examined in April 1974 (Plate 9). The right side is preserved.



Plate 9. Nos. 131-133.

K. Škorpil, *BIAB* 14 (1940–42) 16, No. 27 (*non vidi*); G. Mihailov, *IGBulg* I (1956) 70 with photograph. See also J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1948) No. 156 (*REG* 61, 180).

131-133

- 131 [-----]
[----- δημ]αρχικῆς ἐ
[ξουσίας -----] τοῖς θεοῖς διὰ
[-----] νηθη πρὸς τοῦ[ς]
[-----] αμια καὶ τὰ τῇ[ς]
[-----] vacat
- 132 [----- ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχι
[κῆς ἐξουσίας -----] χαίρει]ν ὧ Τὴν εὐνοίαν
[-----] σης τὰ ἐν ἐνοί
[κ-----] τε καὶ αὐτὸν
[-----] vacat
- 133 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ ----- Τ. Αἴλ. Ἀδρι]ανὸς Ἀντω
[νῖνος -----]

134. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE ATHENIANS, A.D. 140–144

Athens, in the Tower of the Winds as when Graindor copied it. It bears the Roman Agora No. 640. Reexamined on 20 October 1973.

P. Graindor, "Antonin le Pieux et Athènes," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 6 (1927) 753–754; [R. Cagnat and M. Besnier, *Année ép.* (1928) 142]; [W. Hüttel, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 371].

H. 0.19 m.; W. 0.31 m.; Th. 0.13 m. Height of letters 0.011–0.016 m. A raised margin of 0.09 m. along the preserved left side has been chipped level.

134

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραι-
ανοῦ υἱόνος, θεοῦ [Νέρουα Ἐκγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος]
Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντω[νείνος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς]
μέγιστος, δημ[αρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ —, ὑπατος]
τὸ γ', πατὴρ πα[τρίδος, τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ]
καὶ τῇ βουλῇ [τῶν Φ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων]
χαίρειν. Περὶ ὧν ----- ἐπέ]

στειλα αὐτ[-----]
[-----]

1–2 Oliver. 3–6 Graindor. 7 πε[ρὶ ὧν Graindor; ἀπέ Graindor, ἐπέ Oliver.

Antoninus Pius was consul for the third time in A.D. 140 and for the fourth time in A.D. 145.

135A–B. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE EPHESIANS ON TITLES OF MOTHER CITIES, A.D. 140–144

Ephesus, from the proscenium of the Odeum. Now in the British Museum, where it was seen in October 1972 in the Duveen Basement North. In the reconstruction the back is no longer visible. H. 1.02 m., W. 1.94 m., Th. probably 0.02–0.03 m. LH 0.06 m. in line 1, 0.05 m. in line 2, 0.045 m. in line 3.

W. H. Waddington, “Mémoire sur la chronologie de la vie du rhéteur Aelius Aristide,” *MémAcInsc* 26.1 (1867) 253.

J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877) Inscriptions from the Odeum, No. 2; E. L. Hicks, *BMusInsc.* 3 (1890) CCCCLXXXIX; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*² (1898) 404; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 51; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ (1917) 849; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 100; W. Hüttel, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 350 f; L. Robert, *HSCP* 81 (1977) 21–38.

135 A

- Αὐτοκρ[άτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδ]ριανοῦ
 υἱός, θεο[ῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱων]ός,
 θεοῦ Νέρ[ουα ἔκγονος, Τ Αἴλιος Ἀδρι]ανός
 Ἀντωνεῖν[ος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέ]γιστος.
 5 δημαρχικῇ[ς ἐξουσίας τὸ . . . αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β], ὑπατος
 τὸ γ, πατὴρ πα[τρίδος, Ἐφεσίων τ]οῖς [ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ] βουλῇ
 [vacat καὶ τῷ δ]ῆμῳ χαίρ[ειν vacat]
 Περγαμηνο[ὺς ἀπεδε]ξάμην ἐν τοῖς πρ[ὸς ὑμᾶς γ]ράμμασιν
 χρησαμένο[υς το]ῖς δνόμ[α]σιν οἷς ἐγὼ χρῆσθαι τὴν πόλιν
 10 τὴν ὑμετέραν [ἀπ]εφ[η]νάμην· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Συμωναίους κατὰ
 τύχην παραλ[ελ]οπέναι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς συνθυσίας
 ψηφίσματι, τοῦ λοιποῦ δὲ ἐκόντας εὐγνωμονῆσαι ἐὰν
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοῖς γράμμασιν δν [π]ροσῆκει
 τρόπον καὶ κέκριται τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν [φαίνησθ]ε μεμνη

15 [μ]ένοι · Τὸ ψήφισμα ἔπεμψεν Σουλπίκιος Ἰου[λι]ανὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ῥοπός μου
 vacat Εὐτυχεῖτε vacat
 [Τὸ] δὲ ψήφισμα ἐποίησεν γραμματεῶν Πο. Οὐδίδιος Ἀν[τωνε]ῖνος

The text is based on that of E. L. Hicks with a slight change in line 15.

Translation

Imperator [Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian] Antoninus [Augustus], son of [divus] Hadrian, [grandson] of divus [Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson] of divus Nerva, [pontifex] maximus, tribunician [power for the – – time, emperor for the second time], thrice consul, pater patriae, to the [archons], council, demos [of the Ephesians], greetings.

I approved the way the Pergamenes in their epistle to you employed the titles which I permitted your city to use. I think that the Smyrneans have omitted them accidentally in the decree concerning the joint sacrifice and that in the future they will comply willingly, if, that is, you too appear in your letters to them to be mentioning their city in the manner that is becoming and has been decided. Sulpicius Julianus, my procurator, sent me the decree. Farewell.

P. Avidius Antoninus as secretary drafted the decree.

Commentary

The document is dated by the reference to the emperor's third consulship. Restoration in line 14 is imposed by the evidence of a second copy (No. **135B**). The rivalry of Smyrna and Ephesus is mentioned by Dio Chrysostom 34.48 and reflected in Aelius Aristides 23 (Keil). The cities select titles for themselves and then obtain recognition of the titles from the emperor, whose interest it is to prevent strife. The absurdity of the ambition behind vain titles is obvious, but the seriousness of the rivalry is best understood from Robert's account of the rivalry between Nicaea and Nicomedia.

135B. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE EPHESIANS ON TITLES OF MOTHER CITIES, SECOND EXEMPLAR

Ephesus. Now at London in the British Museum, where it was examined in September 1972 in the Duveen Basement North.

Three pieces of a block of white marble join as two fragments, a and b. Fragment a with the two contiguous pieces preserves the right side (with anathyrosis) and the rough picked back: H. 0.22 m., W. 0.82 m., Th. 0.28 m. LH 0.03 m. Fragment b consists of one piece broken above, below, in back and on the sides: H. 0.28 m., 0.51 m., Th. 0.20 m. LH 0.028 m.

E. L. Hicks, *BMusInsc* 3 (1890) CCCCXC.

135 B

[Περγαμηνούς · ἀπεδεξάμην ἐν τοῖς] πρὸς ὑμ[ᾶς γράμμασιν ·]
 [χρησα]μένους · το[ῖς ·] ὀνόμασιν · οἷς ἐγὼ [· χρῆσθαι · τὴν]
 [πόλι]ν · τὴν · ὑμετέ[ρ]αν · ἀπεφηνάμην <[οἶμαι · δὲ · καὶ]
 [Σμυρ]ναίους · κ[ατὰ ·] τύχην · παραλε[λοπέναι · ταῦτα ·]

δν π]ροσῆκει <τρόπ[ον
 τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶ]ν <φαίνεσθ[ε]

Here the dividers indicate the end of the block, not the end of the line. The epistle proper (see No. 135A supra) begins with the word *Περγαμηνούς*, which must accordingly have stood at the beginning of the line. This establishes also the beginning of other lines. The excess then was engraved on a second block now lost.

136. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE COMMONALTY OF THE LYCIANS ABOUT JASON SON OF NICOSTRATUS

Near Cyaneae, on a smooth face of rock, a series of documents in honor of the ex-Lyciarch Jason son of Nicostratus.

R. Heberdey and E. Kalinka, "Eine neue Ehrenliste aus Lykien," *Serta Harteliana* (Vienna, 1896) 1–7; [R. Cagnat, *IGRR* III (1906) 704; W. Hüttel, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 331]. Mentioned as No. 53 by Lafoscade but not reproduced.

G. Fougères, *De Lyciorum communi* (Paris, 1898) 127; A. Stein, *RE* 10 (1919), 1073–1074, s.v. Junius, 115; W. Hüttel, op. cit., 2: 110–111; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1389; J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (*Vestigia* 6, 1965) 74–80; W. Williams, "Antoninus Pius and the Control of Provincial Embassies," *Historia* 16 (1967) 476–477; J. A. O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford, 1968) 263.

The rock wall is covered first by a list of decrees and of epistles written to governors and of replies from governors, all concerning the Lyciarch of A.D. 139 and benefactor, Jason son of Nicostratus, with exact dates. In this list of honors is mentioned an epistle of Moles called Alcimus to the governor Junius Paetus (*PIR*² J 792), who replied. There was also an ἐκκλησίας ἀπόλογος, presumably a defense of Jason by the Lycian Assembly. Then another letter of Moles called Alcimus to the governor Junius Paetus, who again replied. There was also a βουλῆς ἀπόλογος, a defense of Jason by the Council of the Lycian League. We learn nothing of the grounds for Moles' attack on Jason, which took place in 143. The texts of two decrees (II A and B), one by Myra, the other by Patara, follow. We need not reproduce them. We give merely the section concerning the epistle of Antoninus Pius (III D) and the decree of the Commonalty which is connected therewith (III B–C).

136

III B-C

- [Ψ]ήφισμ[α κοινοῦ · Τύχη Ἀγα]θῇ προβουλευσ[.]
 [----- γ]ενέσθαι ψήφισμ[α]
 ε[ὐ]χαρισ[τ]η[τι]κὸς[τ]ω τῷ μεγί[σ]τ[ω] Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσ[αρι]
 [Τί]τῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀν[τωνεῖ]νῳ Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ,
 5 πατρὶ πατρίδος, [. . .] ΑἰΟ[.] εφύλα[ξ]ε καὶ αὐτὸς[ς] τὴν [τ]ο[ῦ] ἔ
 θνους γνώμην περὶ ὧν ἐψηφίσατο [τ]ει[μ]ῶν Ἰάσονι Νεικοσ
 τράτου, γεγονότι Λυκιάρχῃ, καὶ ἔδοξ[εν] συγγραφῆναι τὸ ψή
 φισμα ὃ καὶ ἀνα[δ]ο[θῆν]αι τῷ μεγίστῳ α[ὐ]τ[ο]κ[ρά]τορι ὑπὸ Γαίου
 [Αἰ]κ. Φρόντωνος, εἰσηγησαμένου Γ. Αἰκινίου Φρόντωνος υἱοῦ Σε[κ]ο
 10 [υν]δεῖνου, ἐπιψηφισαμένου δὲ Ὀπραμόου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου,
 ἔδοξε τῇ κοινῇ τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους ἐννόμῳ βουλῇ· ἐπεὶ ὁ μέ
 [γ]ιστος[ς] καὶ ἐνφα[νέ]στ[α]τος[ς] θεῶν Αὐτοκ[ρά]τωρ Καῖσαρ Τίτος
 Αἴλιος Ἀδρ[ιαν]ὸς Ἀν[τωνεῖ]νος Σεβαστὸς Εὐσεβῆς, πατὴρ
 πατρίδος[ς], πάσας ε[ὐ]ε[ρ]γε[τ]ῶν τὰς ἐπαρχείας παρέχει [δ]ικαιο
 15 σύνην ε[ἶ]ναι το[ῖς] πᾶσι α[ὐ]τῶν ἀνθρώποις[ς], ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀχθ[εῖ]σῃ
 ἐπ' αὐτὸν [κατ]ηγ[ο]ρίᾳ ὑ[π]ὸ Μολέους [. . .] α[.] ἐπιγν[ο]ύς[ς] [σ]υκ[ο]
 φαντούμε[νο]ν [Ἰ]άσωνα Νεικοσστράτου τὸν ἀξιολογώ[τα]
 τον Λυκιάρχην κα[ὶ] γέ[ν]ους ἔνεκεν κα[ὶ] ἰδ[ί]α οὐδενὸς [τ]ῶν
 ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ δεύτερο[ν], ἐτή[ρ]ησεν [μὲν] τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους γν[ώ]
 20 μιν, συνεφύλα[ξ]εν δὲ καὶ ἐπεκόσμησ[ε]ν τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς [τειμ]ήν,
 ὡς διὰ τὴν ἱερὰν αὐτοῦ κ[αὶ] ἀσύνκριτον κρίσιν ἀνεστάλθ[αι] μὲν
 τὴν τοῦ Μόλ[η]τος προαίρεσιν, ἀποδεδόσθαι δὲ τῷ [Ἰάσονι]

- 25 [πάσας] τὰς καὶ τοῖς
[ἄλ]λοις *Λυκιάρ[χα]ις*
[δεδ]ομένας τειμὰς·
Τύχη Ἀγαθῇ δεδόχθαι
τῇ κοινῇ τοῦ Λυκίων
ἔθνους ἐννόμῳ βουλῇ
30 [εὐ]χ[αρι]στηθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ
το[ύ]τοις τὸν μέγιστον
καὶ θεῶν ἐνφαν[έ]στατον
Αὐτοκράτορα [Κα]ίσαρα
Τ[ί]τ. Αἴλιον [Ἀδρ]ιανὸν
Ἀντωνεῖ[νον] Σεβαστὸν
35 *Εὐσ[εβῆ, π]ατέρα πατρίδος,*
[ἐπειδὴ] καὶ ἐν τούτοις
[ἐπηύξ]ησεν ἡμῶν
τὴν [Λυκ]ιαρχεάν.

III D

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεο[ῦ]*
Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ
Παρθικοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ Νέρουα
ἑγγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός
5 *Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός, [ἀρχ]ιερεὺς*
μέ[γι]στος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
τὸ ἡ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β̄, ὑπατος τὸ [δ̄],
πατ[ῆρ] πατρίδος, τῷ [κ]οινῷ τῷ Α[ν]κ[ίων]
χαίρειν
10 *Ὁ ἰσηφρόνησα ὑ[μῖν .]οιν[.]ην περὶ*
Ἰάσονος τοῦ Λυκιάρ[χου .]ο[.....]
εἰς ὅσον [.]σθηθ[.....]ελ[.....]
τεκμηρίοις τοῖς [ἐπεσταλμέ]νο[ις]
ὑφ' ὑμῶν [π]ρὸ[ς] ἡμ[ᾶ]ς.
15 *Ἐπρέσβευεν Λικίννιος Φρόντων.*
Εὐτυχεῖτε. Πρὸ [-----]
Σεπτεμβρ(ών) ἀπὸ [Ῥώμ]ης

III B-C: 1–4 H/K. 5 *συν?* ἐφύλαξε H/K, [διότι] ἐφύλαξε καὶ αὐτό[ς] Fougères; [τ]ο[ῦ] H/K. 6–7 H/K. 8 *ἀνα[δ]ο[θῆν]αι* Fougères; α[ὐτ]οκ[ρά]τορι H/K. 9–14 H/K. 15 *εἰ[ναι]* το[ῖς πᾶ]σι α[ὐτῶ]ν Oliver; *ἀνθρώπ[οι?]* H/K; *ἀχθ[εῖση?]* H/K. 16–36 H/K. 37 *ἐπηύξ]ησεν* Oliver, *ἐκόσμ?]ησεν* H/K. 38 H/K.

In line 5 Fougères's restoration is impossible according to D.

Knibbe and G. Maresch, who kindly checked the reading on the squeeze at Vienna. Between lines 6 and 7 there is indeed a violation of syllabic division (Knibbe/Maresch).

III D: 5–8 H/K. 10 Oliver. 11 H/K. 12 Fougères. 13–17 H/K.
In line 10 perhaps *ισηφρόνησα* by analogy with *ισηγορέομαι*.

Translation of III B–C and D

Decree [of the Commonalty. To Good Fortune]. Preliminary draft [– – – – –] that a decree of thanks be passed for our very great Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, pater patriae, [because] he himself [joined in] upholding the opinion of the League about the honors it had voted to Jason son of Nicostratus after his service as Lyciarch, and it was decided that the decree be drawn up to be transmitted to our very great emperor by C. Licinnius Fronto. On the proposal of Fronto's son C. Licinnius Secundinus, with Opramoas son of Apollonius putting it to a vote, it was decreed by the ordained common Council of the Lycian League.

Whereas the most visible of gods, our very great Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, pater patriae, by his beneficence to all the provinces provides justice for all their inhabitants, and, in the case of the accusation by Moles brought to him, by recognizing as unfairly indicted the most worthy Lyciarch, Jason son of Nicostratus, a man second to none in this province either in family or on his own merit, he upheld the opinion of the League and he joined in preserving it and added to the man's dignity, so that through his sacred and incomparable judgment the intention of Moles has been thwarted and to [Jason] have been restored all the honors that had been granted to the other Lyciarchs.

To Good Fortune, that it be decreed by the ordained common Council of the Lycian League to thank for this too the most visible of gods, our very great Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, pater patriae, [because] also with these decisions he [strengthened] our institution, the Lyciarchate.

III D: Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the eighth time, imperator for the second time, consul for the [second time], pater patriae, to the Commonalty of the Lycians, greetings.

Wherein I quite agreed with you [— — — concerning] Jason the Lyciarch [— — — — —] by the evidence sent to us from you. Licinnius Fronto was the ambassador. Farewell. August (or September) [. .], from Rome.

Commentary

The imperial letter (III D) is dated by the emperor's eighth tenure of the tribunician power and by the notation at the end between 14 August and 13 September of A.D. 145; the decree of the Commonalty (III B–C) would date from the same year.

The Commonalty gives Antoninus the epithet Pius all three times, but Antoninus himself does not use it.

Williams argues that the emperor's failure to mention the travel allowance indicates that he thought the embassy unnecessary.

137. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE CITIZENS OF ANTINOOPOLIS, A.D. 149

Egypt. Papyrus of unstated origin, now *P. gr.* 2610 at Strasbourg.

E. Kimmel, *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg* 14 (1935) 170, No. 130; [*Sammelbuch* 8012].

137

- [*Αὐτοκρα*]άτωρ *Καῖσαρ*, θεοῦ
 [*Ἀδ*]ρια<ν>οῦ υἱός, θεοῦ *Τραιανοῦ*
 [*Πα*]ρθικοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ
 [*Νέ*]ρ[ο]να ἔγγονος, *Τίτος Αἴλιος*
 5 [*Ἀδριανός*] Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστ(ός),
 [ἀρχιερ]εὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικ[ῆς]
 [ἐξουσία]ς τὸ ἰβ̄, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β̄,
 ὑπατος τὸ δ̄, πατὴρ πατρίδος,
 [*Ἀν*]τινοσέων *Νέων Ἑλλήνων*<ν>
 10 [τοῖς ἀρχο]υσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
 [δήμῳ χαί]ρειν · Ὀκισμένου
 [... ὑπὸ] τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς
 εἰκός ἐστιν εὐχεσθαι τὸ ἡ
 [μ]έτερον γένος ὧς εἰ[...]
 15 [-----]...α..λογο
 [-----]

Translation

Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius [Hadrian] Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician [power] for the twelfth time, emperor for the second time, four times consul, pater patriae, to [the archons], Council, and [Demos] of the Antinoeis New Hellenes, greetings.

Since your category has been founded by my father, it is natural that you offer prayers as — — —

Commentary

The neuter noun understood with ὠκισμένον in line 11 is (τοῦ ὑμετέρου) γένους, and the ἡ | [μ]έτερον in lines 13–14 should be interpreted as a misspelling of ὑμέτερον. The restoration of line 12, e.g., ποτὲ ὑπό, is by Oliver, the other restorations are by Kimmel.

The epistle may have coupled approval of special honors for Hadrian with refusal of excessive honors for himself. Antinoopolis was founded by Hadrian in A.D. 130 in memory of Antinous (E. Kühn, *Antinoopolis* [Göttingen, 1913]; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* [Oxford, 1937] 312–313). The terms Ἀντινοεῖς Νέοι Ἕλληνες and [Παλ]αιοὶ Ἀρσινοεῖται (No. 105) seem to have been adopted at much the same time and may have been contrasted.

138–140. THREE EPISTLES SIDE BY SIDE AT EPHESUS

138. FIRST EPISTLE OF ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE
EPHESIANS ON VEDIUS ANTONINUS, A.D. 145

Ephesus. From the proscenium of the Odeum. Now in the British Museum, where it was seen in the Duveen Basement North on 27 September 1972. Whether or not they were engraved at the same time, the three epistles 138, 139, and 140 are by the same hand and engraved side by side so that they form one inscription. The length of the lines is determined by the number of letters needed to fill eighteen (or nineteen) lines, so that each epistle stands in a complete column by itself. Plaque 1 is 0.92 m. high and 1.57 m. wide. LH 0.04 m. in line 1, 0.035 m. in lines 2–3, 0.025–0.03 m. in lines 4–19.

W. H. Waddington, "Mémoire sur la vie du rhéteur Aelius Aristide," *MémAcInsc* 26. 1 (1867) 210; and J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877) Inscriptions from the Odeum, No. 3; E. L. Hicks, *BMusInsc* 3 (1890) CCCCXCI; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*² (1898) 405; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 54; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ (1916) 850; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 101; [W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 351]. See also W. Williams, "Antoninus Pius and the Control of the Provincial Embassies," *Historia* 16 (1967) 470–483.

138

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσ[α]ρ, θε[οῦ Ἀδ]ρι[ανο]ῦ
[υἱός, θεοῦ Τραι]ανο[ῦ Παρθ]ικο[ῦ υἱώ]νός,
[θεοῦ Νέρουα ἔ]κγον[ος, Τίτος] Αἴλιο[ς Ἀδρι]ανός
[Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβα]στό[ς, ἀρχιερεὺς μ[έγιστος, δη]μαρ
5 [χικῆς ἐξουσίας] τὸ ἥ, α[ὐτοκράτωρ τ]ὸ β̄, ὑπατος τ[ὸ δ̄].
[πα]τήρ π[ατρίδος, Ἐφεσ]ίων τοῖς [ἄρ]χουσι καὶ τ[ῇ] βουλῇ καὶ
[τῷ δήμῳ χ]αίρει[ν ὡς Τ]ὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἣν φιλοτιμεῖται
[πρὸς ὑμ]ᾶς Ο[ὐ]λ[ιαν]οῦ Ἀντωνεῖνος ἔμαθον οὐχ οὕτω[ς] ἐκ
τῶν ὑμετέρων [ν γραμ]μάτων ὡς ἐκ τῶν [ἐκ]είνου· βουλόμε
10 νος γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν βοηθείας [εἰς τὸ]ν κόσμον τῶν
ἔργων ὧν ὑμεῖν ἐπηνεῖλατο, ἐδήλ[ωσεν ὅσα κ]αὶ ἡλικὰ οἱ
κοδομήματα προστίθουσιν τῇ πόλ[ει, ἀλλ' ὑμ]εῖς οὐ[κ] ὁρ
θῶς ἀποδέχεσθε αὐτόν· καὶ σ[υνέ]λαβον α[ὐτῷ] [εἰς]
ἃ ἡτήσατ[ο] καὶ ἀπεδεξάμην ὅτι [οὐ] τὸν π[ολλῶν τῶ]ν πο
15 λειτευομένων τρόπον, οἱ τοῦ [παρ]αχρη[μα εὐδοκίμ]ειν χά
[ρ]ιν εἰς θεὰς [κ]αὶ διανομάς καὶ τὰ τῶ[ν ἀγώνων θέματα ἀν]ήλ[ω
[σα]ν φι[λοτιμ]ίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' οὐ πρὸς τὸ [μέλλον ἐλπίζει καὶ σ]εμνο
[τέραν ποιή]σειν τὴν πόλιν, προήρη[ται. Τὰ γράμματα ἔ]πεμψεν
[..... Ἰου]λιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύ[πατος ὡς Εὐ]τυχεῖτ[ε ὡς]

1–12 Waddington/Wood. 13 συν[έλαβον αὐτὸς ὅς] Hicks, αὐτῷ[εἰς] Oliver. 14–15 Hicks. 16 ριν εἰς θεὰς καὶ διανομάς καὶ τὰ τῶν Waddington/Wood; ἀγώνων θέματα? δαπανῶ[σιν]? Hicks, ἀν]ήλ[ω Oliver. 17 [σα]ν Oliver, τὴν φιλοτιμίαν Waddington/Wood; [μέλλον συνοίσει?, σ]εμνο Hicks, ἐλπίζει Dittenberger, καὶ Oliver. 18 [τέραν ποιή]σειν Hicks; cetera Waddington/Wood. 19 Waddington/Wood.

Translation

Imperator Caesar [T.] Aelius Hadrian [Antoninus] Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus,

great-grandson [of divine Nerva], pontifex maximus, tribunician [power] for the eighth time, [imperator] for the second time, consul [for the fourth time], pater patriae, to the archons, Council, demos of the [Ephesians], greetings.

As for the noble ambition which Vedius Antoninus displays in a benefaction to you, I learned of it not so much from your letter as from his. For he wished to obtain aid from me toward the order and beauty of the works he announced to you, and he explained how many buildings and what kind he was offering to you but that you did not accept in the right spirit what he is trying to do. I myself lent him a hand in what he asked, and I approved that not in the manner of many of those in public life who for the sake of immediate popularity spent a gift of noble ambition on spectacles, distributions, and money for the [games], but looking toward the [future] he has formed a plan with which [he hopes] to make the city even more impressive. [— — — —] Julianus, the clarissimus proconsul, sent [the letter]. Farewell.

Commentary

The language of Antoninus Pius, especially in the words κόσμος, φιλοτιμία, and σεμνοτέραν, reflects Aristides, *Roman Oration* 94–95 or raises the possibility that in the Roman Oration Aelius Aristides caught and transformed some of the inspiration of Antoninus Pius. Hicks comments on lines 14–18 that “it is interesting to find the Emperor deprecating the popular rage for θεάς καὶ διανομάς, which is a Greek equivalent for *panem et Circenses*.”

The restoration proposed by Hicks for line 16 is too long. In error likewise is his punctuation making the phrase σ]εμνο | [τέραν ποιή]σειν τὴν πόλιν depend on προήρη[ται of line 18 instead of the verb lost in the lacuna of line 17. On the proconsul see *PIR*² J 76.

The benefactor, Vedius Antoninus, had promised to construct certain buildings for the city but had then found that he could not do so. Alternatives had been proposed by others. Vedius Antoninus, however, turned to the emperor for help, and the emperor with an expression of sympathy for the right choice of priorities and criticism of the lack of Ephesian support for Vedius made a financial contribution and notified the Ephesians that he was doing so.

One epistle had been sent to the emperor by the city of Ephesus through the *cursus publicus* in the diplomatic pouch of the proconsul, and another epistle, also probably in the proconsul's diplomatic pouch, had reached the emperor from Vedius Antoninus. In his reply to the city the emperor himself emphasizes the noble ambition of Vedius and rebukes the Ephesians, who apparently had placed the emphasis on the moral and legal obligation of Vedius to spend money on the convenience or pleasure of the city. A *pollicitatio* was enforceable under certain circumstances (*Digest* 50.12).

On the identity of the benefactor see J. Keil, *RE* 15 (1955) 565–567, s.v. Vedius Antoninus 3.

139. SECOND EPISTLE OF ANTONINUS PIUS ON VEDIUS ANTONINUS, A.D. 150

Ephesus. From the proscenium of the Odeum. Now in the British Museum. This epistle is partly on Plaque 1 and partly on Plaque 2 (see the foregoing).

W. H. Waddington, "Mémoire sur la vie du rhéteur Aelius Aristide," *MémAcInsc* 26.1 (1867) 210 and J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877) Inscriptions from the Odeum, No. 4; E. L. Hicks, *BMusInsc* 3 (1890) CCCCXCII; Lafoscade, *De epistulis* 55; [W. Hüttel, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 354]. See also W. Williams, "Antoninus Pius and the Control of Provincial Embassies," *Historia* 16 (1967) 470–483.

139

[Αύ]τοκράτω[ρ Καί]σαρ, θε[οῦ]
 Ἀδριανοῦ υ[ι]ός, θεοῦ Τραια[νοῦ]
 Π[αρ]θικοῦ υ[ι]ώνος, Ν[έρ]
 οῦα ἔκγονος, Τ[ίτος Αἴλιος Ἀ]δριανὸς
 5 Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβασ[τός] ἄρχιερεὺς
 μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
 ἰγ, αὐτοκράτωρ [τ]ὸ [β, ὑπατο]ς τὸ δ,
 πατὴρ πατρί[δος, Ἐφεσίων τοῖς]
 ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ β[ουλῇ καὶ] τῷ δή[μῳ]
 10 vacat χαί[ρειν] vacat
 Εἰδὸτι μοι δηλοῦτε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν]
 ἣν Οὐή[δος] Ἀντ[ων]εῖνος φιλοτιμεῖ

15 ται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ[ς] γε κα[ὶ τὰ]ς παρ' ἐμοῦ
 χάριτας εἰς τὸν [κόσ]μον ἀ[εὶ] τῆς πό
 vacat λέως [κα]τέθετο vacat
 [Τ]ὸ ψήφισ[μα ἔπ]εμψεν <Φλ[άουιος]
 [Τι]τι[ανὸς ὁ ἐπίτρο]πός [μου]
 [Εὐτυ]χεῖ[τε]

1–12 Waddington/Wood. 13 ἀ[πάσ]ης Hicks, ἀ[εὶ] τῆς Oliver. 14–15 Hicks. 16 Φλ[άουιος] Oliver, cetera Wood. 17 ἐπίτρο]πος Hicks, cetera Oliver. 18 Hicks.

Translation

Imperator Caesar T. [Aelius] Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the thirteenth time, imperator for the [second] time, [consul] for the fourth time, pater patriae, to the archons, Council, demos [of the Ephesians] greetings.

I already knew, before your explanation, about the noble ambition which Vedius Antoninus displays in a gift to you people, a man who earned credit also for the presents from me toward the adornment forever of your city. Fl[avius Ti]ti[anus, my] procurator, sent the decree. Farewell.

Commentary

For Vedius Antoninus see commentary on No. **138**.

Hicks placed new fragments and prepared a better edition. The small fragment with the letters χεῖ, which he placed uncertainly in line 17, goes better in a line by itself to make room for the enclitic μου and to balance the one word in line 10. The name of the procurator is probably (but not certainly) Flavius Titianus (*PIR*² F 386). The nomen is surely Flavius and there is a noticeable tendency to end a line with a complete word. Line 17 accordingly began with the cognomen. If one restores, as one should, the article ὁ before the word ἐπίτρο]πος, the cognomen consisted of eight letters, of which the third and fourth were τι. The inscription recorded by J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877) *Inscriptions from the Great Theatre*, No. 10, attests for Flavius Titianus, prefect of Egypt, a previous connection with Ephesus.

140. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE HELLENES OF ASIA, A.D. 150

Ephesus, from the proscenium of the Odeum. Now in the British Museum, where it was seen on 27–28 September 1972 in the Duveen Basement North. Plaque 2, on which this epistle was engraved, is 0.94 m. high, 1.63 m. wide, 0.02 m. thick and has a smooth back. As reconstructed in the museum the inscription has errors; a loose fragment from line 18 of the preceding epistle was erroneously placed in this one, while three fragments of this one were left out entirely. Hicks, however, has all these pieces correctly located in his texts. LH 0.04 m. in line 1, 0.035 m. in lines 2–3, 0.025–0.03 m. in lines 4–18.

E. L. Hicks, *BMusInsc* 3 (1890) CCCCXCIII; [Lafoscade, *De Epistulis*, No. 56; W. Hüttel, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 354 f. with errors].

140

- [Α]ὐτοκρά[τωρ Καί]σαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδ[ρ]ιανοῦ υἱός,
 [θ]εοῦ Τραϊα[νοῦ] Παρθικοῦ υἱῶν[ός],
 θεοῦ [Ν]έρο[υ] Ἐ[κ]κ[ο]νος, [Τ]ίτος Αἰλίου
 Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστ[ός], ἀρχιερεὺς
 5 μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς [ἐξουσί]ας τὸ [ιγ], αὐτοκ[ράτωρ] τ[ὸ β],
 [ὑπατος] τ[ὸ δ'], πατή[ρ] πα[τριδ]ος, τοῖς ἐ[πι] τῆς Ἀ[σίας] Ἑλ[λ]
 [λησιν χαίρ]ε[ι]ν · Κα[λὸν] μὲν [-----]
 Ἐφεσίων καὶ σεμν[ὸν] ----- τοι
 αὐτῇ πόλε[ι · φ]ίλον γ[ὰρ] Ἰσ[τ]ως π[-----]
 10 ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ὑπε[ρέχου]σιν ο[ὕτω] -----
 [·]αι ἐπὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν [ταῖς] προεχ[ούσαις] -----
 π[.....]η[·]ν[η]·] εἰκὸς ἡσθῆναι τῇ τε δ[ι]νομασθείσῃ ἐν τοῖς
 πρ[οτέρ]οις Ἐφεσίοις μεγαλοψυχί[ᾳ] καὶ ----- Οὐ[κ]
 [δίου] Ἀ[ντωνεῖ]νου ἐ[ν] ἐργεσί[·] ----- κ[αὶ] ἐγ[ὼ]
 15 [συν]έπραξα αὐτ[ῷ] καὶ σ[υνέ]λαβον ὡς α[ὑξ]οντι τὸ κά[λλος] ν
 vacat τῆς [πόλεως] καὶ κό[σμο]ν τῇ[ς] Ἀ[σίας] vacat
 [Τὸ] ψήφισμα ἐπ[ε]μψε[ν] Ποπίλλ[ιος] Π[ρε]ῖσκος ὁ [κρά]τισ ννν
 vacat το[ς] ἀνθύπα[τος] vacat[Ε]ὐτυχεῖτε vacat

1–12 Hicks. 5 ιγ et β Oliver, cetera Hicks. 13 πρ[οτέρ]οις Hicks; [καὶ τῇ Ποπλίου Οὐ] Hicks. 14 ἐ[ν] ἐργεσί[α] ἐν τῷ παρόντι χρόνῳ et cetera Hicks. 15–18 Hicks.

Translation

Imperator Caesar [T. Aelius] Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, [son] of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the [thirteenth time], emperor for the [second time], four times [consul], pater patriae, [to the Hellenes] in [Asia] greetings.

-----] natural [for you] to delight in both the greatness of soul [renowned among the] Ephesians [of yore and the -----] benefaction [by Vedius] Antoninus. I too [joined with] him [and] took a hand [-----] beauty of the [city] and glory of [Asia]. Popillius Priscus, the most distinguished proconsul, [sent the] decree. Farewell.

Commentary

The decree by the *koinon* normally called *οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλληνες* (Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1294 f.) presumably praised Vedius Antoninus. On greatness of soul, see R.-A. Gauthier, *Magnanimité, l'idéal de la grandeur dans la philosophie païenne et dans la théologie chrétienne* (Bibliothèque Thomiste 17, Paris, 1950).

The proconsul Popillius Priscus was dated by Hüttl (2:49–50) in 149/50. Since this is the third epistle of the inscription, it is natural to treat it as no earlier than No. 139, hence of A.D. 150.

141. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE COMMONALTY OF THE
LYCIANS, A.D. 151(?)

Cyanae. A squeeze at the Kleinasiatische Kommission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences was kindly placed at my disposal through F. Schachermeyr and D. Knibbe. The inscription was said to have disappeared by 1957.

R. Cagnat, *IGRR* III (1906) 702 from E. Kalinka's copy; [W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 331].

141

[-----]
[Λυκίων ἔ]θνει θεῖα γρά[μμα]
[τ]ά ἐστιν [κ]αθώς ὑπογέγ[ρα]
[π]ται vacat ϐ

5 [Α]ὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεο[ῦ]
 [Ἀδρια]νοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραῖα
 [νοῦ] Παρθικοῦ υἱωνός, θε
 [οῦ Ν]έρουα ἔγγονος, Τίτος
 [Αἰλι]ος Ἀδριανός Ἀντωνεῖνος
 10 [Σεβ]αστός, ἀρχιερεὺς [μέγισ]το[ς],
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰδ',
 αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ [δ'],
 πατὴρ πατρίδος, τῷ κο[ιν]ῷ τ[ῷ]
 [Λυκίων χαίρειν]
 [-----]

Translation

— — is for the Lycian nation a sacred (= imperial) letter as has been inscribed below.

Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the fourteenth? time, emperor for the second time, [four?] times consul, pater patriae, to the League [of the Lycians, greetings.

Commentary

The squeeze suggests the numeral ΙΔ at the end of line 10, where Kalinka did not restore anything. If this very uncertain reading is correct, it implies the year from 10 December 150 through 9 December 151. Otherwise the date falls anywhere between 142 and 161.

The only other problem in setting up the text comes at the beginning of line 5, where the first visible letter falls under the omicron and this fact suggests either a ligature or the omission of a letter in the lacuna since there is really no more space available at the end of line 4. The name, however, is not in doubt.

All restorations except those in lines 10–11 are by Kalinka.

142–153. DOCUMENTS CONCERNING OPRAMOAS ON THE FRONT OF HIS TEMPLE AT RHODIAPOLIS

Rhodiapolis. Sepulchral temple, heroon of Opramoas, inscribed on three sides with decrees and epistles concerning him and his benefactions.

O. Benndorf and E. Niemann, *Reisen in südwestlichen Kleinasien* (Vienna, 1884–1889) 2: 77 ff.; R. Heberdey, *Opramoas: Inschriften von Heroon zu Rhodiapolis* (Vienna, 1897) 32–37; [Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, Nos. 37–48; R. Cagnat, *IGRR* III (1906) 739]; W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) *passim* [with text of documents 37, 38, 40–42, 44, 46–51 on pp. 332–335]; see also A. Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 3 (1900) 61 and Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1388–1390, 1395. The great edition now is that of E. Kalinka (and J. Keil), *TAM* II, fasc. 3 (1954), 905, especially the section with documents 37–51 on pp. 337–339. See also W. Williams, “Antoninus Pius and the Control of Provincial Embassies,” *Historia* 16 (1967) 470–483.

Here we reproduce only the section containing documents 37–51 from the excellent Austrian publication, but the letters copied by Löwy and Petersen which were no longer visible when Heberdey and Kalinka made their examination in 1894 are not, as in *TAM* II 905, signaled by half brackets.

The documents are:

- Doc. 37, Antoninus Pius to the Citizens of Myra, A.D. 139, = No. **142**
- Doc. 38, Antoninus Pius to the Citizens of Tlos, A.D. 140, = No. **143**
- Doc. 39, missing
- Doc. 40, Antoninus Pius to the Commonalty of the Lycians, A.D. 143, = No. **144**
- Doc. 41, Antoninus Pius to Unknown, A.D. 144, = No. **145**
- Doc. 42, [Antoninus Pius] to Commonalty of the Lycians, A.D. 146, = No. **146**
- Doc. 43, Rupilius Severus to the Commonalty of the Lycians (see No. **146**)
- Doc. 44, Antoninus Pius to Commonalty of the Lycians, A.D. 150, = No. **147**
- Doc. 45, Rupilius Severus to the Lyciarch (see No. **147**)
- Doc. 46, Antoninus Pius to the Citizens of Limyra on Opramoas, A.D. 151, = No. **148**
- Doc. 47, Antoninus Pius to the Corydallians, A.D. 151, = No. **149**
- Doc. 48, Antoninus Pius to the Citizens of Nisa, A.D. 151, = No. **150**
- Doc. 49, Antoninus Pius to Commonalty of the Lycians, A.D. 151, = No. **151**
- Doc. 50, Antoninus Pius to the Gagatae, A.D. 151, = No. **152**

Doc. 51, Antoninus Pius to the Commonalty of the Lycians, = No.
153

142. Antoninus Pius to the Citizens of Myra on Opramoas, A.D. 139

143. Antoninus Pius to the Citizens of Tlos on Opramoas, A.D. 140

144. Antoninus Pius to the Commonalty of the Lycians on
Opramoas, A.D. 143

145. Antoninus Pius to unknown on [Opramoas], A.D. 144

146. [Antoninus Pius] to the Commonalty of the Lycians on
Opramoas, A.D. 146

147. Antoninus Pius to the Commonalty of the Lycians on
Opramoas, A.D. 150

148. Antoninus Pius to the Citizens of Limyra on Opramoas, A.D.
151

149. Antoninus Pius to the Corydallians on Opramoas, A.D. 151

150. Antoninus Pius to the Citizens of Nisa on Opramoas, A.D. 151

151. Antoninus Pius to the Commonalty of the Lycians on
Opramoas, A.D. 151

152. Antoninus Pius to the Gagatae on Opramoas, A.D. 151

153. Antoninus Pius to the Commonalty of the Lycians on
Opramoas, A.D. 151 or later

142-153

142 *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀ[δριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ νύων]ός,*
θεοῦ Νέ[ρου]α [ἔ]γγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδ[ρι]
ανός Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστό[ς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξ]ουσίας τὸ
· β', [ῥ]πατος τ[ὸ β', π]ατήρ πα
τρίδος, Μυρῶν τοῖς ἀρχο[νσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. μετὰ τὸ
ῆ]δη [πρίν] ἐγν[ωκέν]αι μ[ε] [περὶ Ὀπραμό]ου τοῦ
Ἀπολλωνίου, ὡς φιλότειμός [ἐστιν, πάλιν, ὅσα νῦν ἐφιλοτειμήσατο, ἡδέως
ἔ]μαθον ἐξ [ῶ]ν ἐψηφίσ[ασθε]. ἐπρέσβενεγ
Κλαύδιος Π[----- ἐντυχείτε. ----- ἀπό
Ῥώμης. ἀν]αγγέγραπ[ται ἐ]πὶ ἀρχ[ι(ερέος) Ἰάσ]ονος τοῦ
[Νεικοστράτου? -----].

143

Αὐτοκρά[τ]ωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τρα[ιανοῦ Παρ]θι
 κοῦ υἱώνος, θεοῦ Νέρουα ἑγγονο[ς],
 Τίτος Αἰλ[ί]ος Ἀδ[ρ]ιανός Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέ[γισ-
 τος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ · γ´, [ὑπα-
 τος τὸ] γ´, πατήρ πατρίδος ·, Τλω[έ]ων τοῖς ἄ[ρχ]οῦσι καί τῃ βουλῇ
 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. οὐκ ἂπ' ἐλπίδος
 ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς Ὀπραμόα μαρτυρεῖν ἐπιδόντι πε[ν]τε μυριάδας τῇ πόλει· ἔτι
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προθυμοτέ[ρους
 ἡγεῖσ]θε τοὺς πολεῖ[τ]ας ὑμῶν ἔσεσθαι τῶν [ἀγαθ]ῶν ἑ[π]αίνου
 χάριν. ἐπρέσβευεν Λικίνιος Ποπέ[λ]ιος.
 εὐν[υ]χεῖτε. πρὸ · ζ´ [κ]αλ (ανδῶν) Δ[ε] κενβ[ρ]ίων ἀπὸ [Ῥώμης.
 ἀνα]γέγραπται ἐπὶ ἀρχι[ε]ρέος Ἰουλίου Ἡλιοδώρου Παυ[λ]ήμον[ος].

144

[Αὐτο]κράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θε
 [οῦ Ἀ]δριανοῦ υἱός, θε
 [οῦ Τ]ραιανοῦ Παρθικ[οῦ]
 5 [υ]ίωνος, θεοῦ Νέρουα
 ἑγγονος, Τίτος Αἰλῖος
 Ἀδριανός Ἀντωνεῖ
 νος Σεβαστός, ἀρχι
 ρεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρ
 10 χικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ · ς´,
 αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ · β´ ·, ὕ
 πατος τὸ · γ´ ·, πατήρ
 πατρίδος·, τῷ κοινῷ
 τῷ Λυκίων · χαίρειν.
 Ὀπραμόας Ἀπολλω
 15 νίου εἰ πρὸς μίαν πό
 λιν ἦν πεφ[ι]λοτειμημέ
 νος, εἰκότως ἐτύν[χα]
 νεν μαρτυρίας πα[ρ] ἑ
 κείνης μόνης· ἐπεὶ δ[ὲ]
 20 πολλαῖς πόλεσιν, ὧ[ς]
 ἐπιστέλλετε, συν[βέ]
 βληταί τι εἰς ἐπανό[ρ]
 θωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 σεισμοῦ πεπονηκό
 25 των, προσῆκον ἦν τὸ ἔ
 θνος αὐτῷ μαρτυρ[ῆ]

- 30 *σαι. ἐπρέ{υ}σβευεν Εὐ*
 πόλεμος Εὐπολέμο[υ]
 [*Εὐτυ*]χεῖτε · *Πρὸ ι΄*
 [*καλανδῶν*] Ὀκτω[ν]
 [*βρίων ἀπὸ ῥώμης. ἀνα*]
 [*γέγραπται ἐπὶ ἀρχι(ερέος)*]
 [-----]
 [-----]
- 145 *Αὐτ[οκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θε]*
 οὔ Ἀδρια[νοῦ υἱός, θε]
 οὔ Τραιαν[οῦ Παρθικοῦ]
 υἱωνός, θεο[ῦ Νέρουα]
 5 *ἔγγονος, Τίτ[ος Αἴλιος]*
 Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖ
 νος Σεβ[αστός, ἀρχιε]
 ρεὺς μέγ[ιστος, δημαρ]
 χικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ζ΄,
 10 [*αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β΄, ὅ*]
 [*πατος τὸ γ΄, πατήρ*]
 [*πατρίδος, -----*]
 desunt 12 fere versus
 25 [*ἀπὸ ῥώμης. ἀν]α[γέγ]ρα*
 [*πται ἐπὶ ἀρχι(ερέος) Κ]λαν(δίου)*
 [*Ἀντιμάχου Πα]νήμου*
- 146 [*Αὐτοκράτωρ Κα]ῖσ[αρ, θε]*
 [*οὔ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, θε]*
 [*οὔ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ]*
 [*υἱωνός, θεοῦ Νέρουα]*
 [*ἔγγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος]*
 5 [*Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖ*]
 [*νος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιε]*
 [*ρεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρ]*
 [*χικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ θ΄*]
 [*αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β΄, ὅ*]
 10 [*πατος τὸ δ΄, πατήρ πα*]
 [*τρίδος], τῷ κο[ι]νῷ τῷ [Λύ]*
 [*κ]ίων <χ>αίρειν. Μέμ[νη]*
 μαι ὧν καὶ πρότερον [ἐ
 πεστέιλαι Ὀπραμ[όα],
 15 *τῷ Λυκιάρχ[ῃ], μαρτυ*
 ροῦντες, ὡς [κα]ί τὰ ἄλ
 λα προθυμουμενῶ

- 20 *περί τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ταῖς*
ὑπὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ πεπ[ο]
νημέναις πόλε[σ]ιν [ἐκ]
τενῶς π[εφ]ιλοτειμημέ[ε]
ν[φ] - - - - -
[- - - - -]
[- - - τὸ ψήφισμα ἔπεμ]
 25 *ψεν Οὐοκῶνιος Σ[άξας],*
ὁ κράτιστος. <Ε>[ύτνχεῖ]
τε. Πρό [- - καλανδῶν Φε]
βραρίω[ν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης. Ἄνα]
γέγρα[πται ἐπὶ ἀρχι(ερέος) Λι]
 30 *κι[ν]ίου Στασιθέμιδος].*

[Ῥο]υπίλιος Σεουήρος τῷ κοι[ν]ῷ Λυκίω[ν] χαίρει[ν]. Τῶν μαρτυριῶν
καὶ τῶν ἐπιβοήσεων ὑμῶν, ἃς [εἰς μεγ]ίστην [πέρυσιν ἐποιήσασθε]
τειμήν Ὀπραμόου, μνημονεύ[ων, καὶ ὁ]σα ὑ[πο]γύ[ως] ἡτέτε[ς] [αὐ]
τῷ μαρτυρεῖν προσηρμένονι κ[ατ' ἔτος, κ]αὶ τούτοις ἡδομ[αι ὁρῶν ἄλ]
5 λους ἐξ ἔτους τῆς παρ' ὑμ[ῶν] τειμῆ[ς]. Ἐρῶσ[θαί] ὑμᾶς
εὔχομαι· Ἀναγέγραπται· ἐ[πὶ ἀρχι]ερέος· Οὐήρα(νίου)· Τληπολ[έμου]
Πανήμον.

- 147 *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδρι[ανο]ῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ [Π]αρθικοῦ*
υἱώνος, θεοῦ Νέρουνα ἑγγονος, [Τίτο]ς Αἰλίου Ἀδριανὸς Ἀ[ν]τωνεῖ
νος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγ[ιστο]ς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσία[ς]
τὸ · ιγ´, αὐτοκράτωρ · τὸ · β´, [ὑπα]τος · τὸ · δ´, πατὴρ π[ατρίδος],
 5 *τῷ κοινῷ τῷ Λυκίων χαίρειν. [ἔμαθον] καὶ πρὸς ὅσας πόλεις ἐ[πο]*
λειτεύσατο καὶ ἐν καιροῖς τίσ[ιν] Ὀπρα[μόας] Ἀπολλωνίου δια
νομ[ᾶς] ἰδίᾳ κοι[νῇ] τε πεποι[ή]ται. τὸ ψ[ή]φισμα ἔπεμψε Ῥου[πί]
λιος Σεουήρος, ὁ] κράτιστ[ος τοῦ ἔθνους] ἡγεμῶν. Εἰ[τ]υ[χ]εῖτε].
[Π]ρό . . [ε]ἰ[δῶν] (<Α>[πρειλ?])ῶν [ἀ]πὸ Ῥ[ώμης]. Ἄνα[γέγραπται]
 10 *[ἐ]πὶ ἀρχι(ερέος) Με[ττ]ίου (<Α>ν[δροβίου] [.] κα´.*
Ῥουπίλιος Σεουή[ρος] Ἀν[δροβί]ου Λυκιάρχη · χαίρει[ν]. ἐπ[ε]ῖ ἡ κρα
τίστ(η) τοῦ ἔθνους βουλή ἐπεβοήσατο τὸ ψήφισμα διαγρα
φῆναι ὑπὲρ Ὀπραμόα Ἀπολλωνίου πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον Αὐτο
κράτορα, δύνασαι ποιεῖν, ὃ βούλονται. Ἐρῶσθαί σε εὔχομα[ι].

- 148 *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ*
υἱώνος, θεοῦ Νέρουνα ἑγγον(ος), Τίτος Αἰλίου Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος
Σεβαστός, ἀρχιε[ρ]εὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας · τὸ · ιδ´,
αὐτοκράτωρ [τὸ] β´, ὑπατος · τὸ · δ´, πατὴρ πατρίδος, Λι
 5 *μυρεῦσι, τοῖς ἀ[ρχου]σι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, χαίρειν.*
Ὀπραμ[όαν] Ἀπολ[λ]ωνίου φιλο(τ)είμῳς κεχρησθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν [ταῖς]
ὑπὸ τὸ ν (<λί)αν τῷ σει[σμῷ] πε[πο]νημέν[αις] πάλλ(ι)ν[(πληρ)]
ἔστατ[α]

- δεδωκ[ότ]α τοὺς πόρους τοὺς ἀνανκ[α]ίο[υ]ς [ἐμ]α[θ]ο[ν] [παρὰ τοῦ]
καί [το]ῦς λ[ογισμοῦς]? τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλε[ο]ς ἐνχειρίσαντος αὐτῷ
10 Ῥο[υπ]ιλ[ί]ου Σεουήρου, τοῦ κ[α] ρατίστ[ο]υ πρεσβευτοῦ μου, (ἐ)ξ
(ε)ως
ἐξ [ἰ]δί[ας] κ[α]ί ἐξ ὧν ὑμεῖς ἤν ἐπεστ[ε]ίλατε. τὸ ψήφισμα ἔπεμ
ψε Ῥ[ο]υπ[ί]λιος Σεουήρου, ὁ κράτιστος τοῦ ἔθνους ἡγεμῶν. Εὐν
χεῖτε · [Πρὸ α' εἰδῶ?]ν · Φεβρ(αρίων) · ἀπὸ Ῥώμης · Ὑποτέτακται
ἐπὶ ἀρχι(ερέος) Ἀντιχάρου δις Περειτίου · κθ'.
- 149 Αὐτοκ[ρά]τωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, [θ]εοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ
υἱῶ[ν]ός, θεοῦ Νέρουνα ἔ[γ]γονος, Τίτος Αἰ[λ]ίος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος
Σεβ[ασ]τός, ἀρχιερεὺς μ[ε]γίστος, δημαρχ[ικ]ῆς ἐξουσίας · τὸ · ιδ',
αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος · τὸ [δ'], πατὴρ πατρίδος · Κορυ
5 δα[λλ]έων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ κα[ὶ] τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Τίνα
[τρόπον] συνεχῶς Ὀπραμό[α]ς Ἀπολλωνίου φιλοτειμ[εῖ]ται περ[ὶ] ὑμᾶς,
[ἔμαθον] ἐξ ὧν ὑμεῖς μοι ἐπε[σ]τείλατε · ὥς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἐφι
[λοτειμήσατο] πόλεις τὰς τῷ σεισμῷ πεπονηκυίας, με[μ]αθήκειν ἐκ τῶν
[ὑπ' ἐκείνων] ἐψηφισμένων. τ[ὸ] ψήφισμα ἔπεμψε Ῥο[υ]πίλιος Σεουή
10 [ρος, ὁ κράτιστος τοῦ ἔθνους] ἡγεμῶν · Εὐτυχεῖτε. Πρὸ · α' · ἰ(δῶν) ·
[Φεβρ(αρίων)] ἀπὸ Ῥώμης. Ὑποτέ[τα]κται · ἐπὶ ἀρχι(ερέος) Ἀντι[χ]
άρους δις

Ξ[αν]δικοῦ · σ' ·.

- 150 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδρι]ανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ
[υἱῶνός, θεοῦ Νέρουνα ἔ]γγονος, Τίτος Αἰ[λ]ίος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος
[Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστ]ος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσι[α]ς · τὸ · ιδ',
[αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατ]ρος · τὸ · δ' ·, πατὴρ πα[τ]ρίδος · Νεισεῶν
5 [τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ] τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. [Ὡς καὶ] πρὸς τῇν
[ὑμετέραν πόλιν] Ὀπραμό[α]ς Ἀ[πολλωνίου] φιλο[τ]ειμούμενος δια
γέγονε [καὶ] πρὸς ἄλ[λ]ας [πόλεις] πολλὰς, ἐμάνθανον ἐκ τε ὧν [ἐ]κεῖ[ναι]
αἱ πόλεις ἐπέστειλάν μοι καὶ ἐξ [ῶ]ν ὑμεῖς γεγράφατε. τὸ ψήφισ[μα]
ἔπεμψε Ῥουπίλιος Σεουήρος, ὁ κράτιστος τοῦ ἔθνους ἡγεμῶν. [Εὐ]
10 τυχεῖτε · Πρὸ α' εἰδῶν · Φεβρ(αρίων) · ἀπὸ Ῥώμης · Ὑποτέτακται [ἐπὶ]
ἀρχι(ερέος) Ἀντιχάρου δις Ξανδικοῦ · κη' ·.
- 151 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθι
κοῦ υἱῶνός, θεοῦ Νέρο να ἔγγονος, Τίτος Αἰ[λ]ίος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντ
ωνεῖνος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ · ιδ',
αὐτοκράτωρ · τὸ · β' ·, ὑπατος [τ]ὸ · δ' ·, πατὴρ πατρίδος, τῷ κοινῷ
τῶν Λυκίων · χαίρειν ·. Καὶ ἐξ [ὧν] πρό[τε]ρόν μοι ἐπεστείλατε [Ὀπ]ρα
μόα Ἀπολ[ω]νί[ο]υ μαρτυροῦ[ν]τες τὰ εἶ[ς]? πεπολιτευμένα α[ὐτῶν] περὶ
ὑμᾶς ἡπισ[τάμ]ην. Τὸ ψή[φ]ισμα ἔπεμψε Ῥουπίλιος Σεο[υ]ήρος, ὁ κρ[ά]
[τι]στος τοῦ [ἔθ]νου[ς] ἡγεμῶν. Εὐ[τυ]χ[εῖ]τε. Πρὸ · ις' · κ[α]λ[αν]δῶν
- - -]
[ἀπὸ Ῥώμης]. Ἀ[μ]α γέγραπται ἐπὶ {ι} [ἀρχι(ερέος) Ἀντιχάρου δις]
Πανήμου.

- 152 *Αὐτοκρά[τωρ] Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, [θεοῦ Τραι]ανοῦ Παρθικ[οῦ] υἱόνος, θεοῦ Νέρουα ἑγγονος, Τίτος Αἰλ[ιος] Ἀδρ[ιανός] Ἀντων[εῖ]νος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας [τό] · ιδ' ·, αὐτοκράτωρ · τό · β' ·, ὑπατος · τό [δ', πατὴρ*
 5 *πατρί[δος], Γαγατῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δ[ήμ]ῳ χαίρειν. Εἰκότ[ως] Ὁ[π]ραμόα Ἀπολλωνίου μαρτυρεῖτε βαλανεῖ[ον] ὑμῶν κατὰσκέυ[ε]ται ἐντελές καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς πολλοῖς οἷς [ἐν] ἄλλαις πόλε[σιν] φαίνεται πεποιθώς ·, τὸ ψήφισμα ἔπεμψε Ρου[πίλιος] Σεου[ρος], [ὁ] κρ[ά]τιστος τοῦ ἔθνους ἡγεμών. Εὐτυχεῖτε. [πρὸς α' ?]*
 10 *εἰδ[ῶν] Φεβρ[ουαρίου] ἀπὸ Ρώμης · ὑποτέτακται ἐπὶ ἀρχι[ερέος] [Ἀντιχάρου]*
δὲς Δύστρου · κζ' ·.

- 153 *Αὐ[τοκράτωρ] Καῖσαρ, θε[οῦ] Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, [θεοῦ] Τραιαν[οῦ] Παρθικ[οῦ] υἱόνος, θεοῦ [Νέρουα ἑγγονος, Τίτος Αἰλ[ιος] Ἀδριανός Ἀντωνεῖ]νος Σεβαστός, ἀρχ[ιερεὺς] μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιε' ·, αὐτοκράτωρ · τό [β', ὑπατος τὸ δ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, τῷ]*
 5 *κοινῷ τῶν Λυκίων [χαίρειν. Ὡς καὶ τὰ πρὶν γενόμενα ψηφίσματα] ἐδήλου πολλάκι[ς] Ὁ[π]ραμόαν Ἀπολλωνίου πρὸς πάσας τὰς τῆς Λυκίας πόλεις πεπο[λει]μένον, οὕτως καὶ τὰ νῦν ψηφισθέντα ἀπέδειξε] κακεῖνον περὶ ὑμῶ[ς] φιλοτιμούμενον καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ μαρτυροῦντας. τὸ ψήφισμα · ἔπεμψεν [— — — — —, ὁ κρ[ά]τιστος τοῦ ἔθνους ἡγεμών].*
 10 *Εὐτυχεῖτε ·. πρ[ὸ] — — — — ἀπὸ Ρώμης. ἀναγέγραπται ἐπὶ ἀρχι[ερέος]*
 spatium 6 fere versuum vacat

Translation

Document 37, A.D. 139

- 142 **Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus,** [son] of divine [Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus], great-grandson of divine Nerva, [pontifex maximus, tribunician] power for the second time, consul for the [second time], pater patriae, to the archons, [Council, and Demos] of Myra, [greetings]. [After] having already [previously] learned [about Opramoas] son of Apollonius, that he was public-spirited, I heard [with pleasure] as a result of your decree [again how much he did just now for the community]. Claudius P[— —] was the ambassador [Farewell. — — — —].

Recorded in the high priesthood of Jason son of [Nicostratus].

Document 38, A.D. 140

- 143** Emperor Caesar [T.] Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the third time, [consul for the] third time, pater patriae, to the archons, Council and Demos of Tlos, greetings.

It comes as no [surprise that I see you] giving recognition to Opramoas upon his further gift to the city of 50,000 (denarii). Because of this too feel confident that your fellow-citizens will be all the more zealous to do good for the sake of praise. The ambassador was Licinnius Popel[lius. Farewell]. Nov. 25, from Rome.

Recorded in the high priesthood of Julius Heliodorus, (month of) Pan[emus].

Document 39 missing

Document 40, A.D. 143

- 144** Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the sixth time, emperor for the second time, consul for the third time, pater patriae, to the Commonalty of the Lycians, greetings.

If Opramoas son of Apollonius had displayed public spirit toward just one city, he would justly receive recognition from her alone, but since, as you write, he has contributed something to many cities toward a rehabilitation of those who had suffered by the earthquake, it was proper for the federation to show recognition. The ambassador was Eupolemus son of Eupolemus. Farewell. Sept. 22, [— — — — —]

Document 41, A.D. 144

- 145** Emperor [Caesar] T. [Aelius] Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, [son of divine] Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan [Parthicus], great-grandson of divine [Nerva], pontifex maximus, tribunician [power for the seventh time, — — — — —]

Recorded [in the high priesthood of] Claudius [Antimachus], (month of) Panemus.

Document 42, A.D. 146

- 146** [Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, — — — — —], to the Commonalty of the [Lycians], greetings.

I remember what you wrote before when you were giving recognition to the Lyciarch Opramoas, that he was zealous in regard to the federation and had shown intense [public concern] for the cities that had suffered in the earthquake [— — — — — — — — —]. Voconius S[axa the] clarissimus [sent the decree. Farewell]. March [. . . , from Rome].

Recorded [in the high priesthood of] Licinnius [Stasithemis].

Document 43

Rupilius Severus to the Commonalty [of the Lycians] greetings.

Remembering the recognition and acclamations of approval which you made last year to the very great honor of Opramoas, I rejoice in all this too which you recently were presenting as a bill after formulating a policy of giving him [annual] recognition, [for I see many (coming forward)] year after year worthy of the honor from you. Farewell.

Recorded in the high priesthood of Veranius Tlepolemus, (month of) Panemus.

Document 44, A.D. 150

- 147** Imperator Caesar [T.] Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, [son] of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the thirteenth time, imperator for the second time, consul for the fourth time, pater patriae, to the Commonalty of the Lycians, greetings.

[I have learned] with how many cities Opramoas son of Apollonius dealt and in what emergencies he has made distributions privately and publicly. Rupilius Severus the clarissimus governor of the province sent the decree. Farewell. [Date], from Rome

Recorded in the high priesthood of Mettius Androbius.

Document 45

Rupilius Severus to Androbius Lyciarch greetings.

Since the most distinguished Council of the federation approved by acclamation that the decree in favor of Opramoas son

of Apollonius be transmitted to our very great emperor, you may do what they wish. Farewell.

Document 46, A.D. 151

- 148** Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the fourteenth time, emperor for the second time, consul for the fourth time, pater patriae, to the archons, Council, and Demos of Limyra, greetings.

That Opramoas son of Apollonius has shown public spirit in dealings with the cities which had suffered severely in the earthquake and has given once again the necessary funds I learned from Rupilius Severus, my clarissimus legate, who had entrusted him with (the task of checking) the accounts of your city. I learned of it from him directly and from what you write just now. Rupilius Severus, the clarissimus governor of the province, sent the decree. Farewell. February [. . .], from Rome.

Appended in the high priesthood of Antichares son and grandson of Antichares, twenty-ninth of (the month) Peritius.

Document 47, A.D. 151

- 149** Emperor [Caesar] T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of [divine] Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson [of divine Nerva, pontifex] maximus, tribunician power for the fourteenth time, emperor [for the second time], consul for the [fourth] time, pater patriae, [to the archons], Council and Demos of the Corydallians, greetings.

What [kind] of public spirit Opramoas son of Apollonius [constantly] displays in your direction [I learned from what] you wrote [to me]. And that he displayed his public spirit toward other [cities] too [which] had suffered by the earthquake I had learned from what [had been decreed by them]. Rupilius Severus, [the clarissimus] governor [of the province], sent your decree. Farewell. [Date, from Rome].

Appended in the high priesthood of Antichares son and grandson of Antichares, sixth of (the month) Xandicus.

Document 48, A.D. 151

- 150** [Imperator Caesar] T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus [Augustus], son of [divine] Hadrian, [grandson of divine] Trajan Parthicus, [great-grandson of divine Nerva], pontifex maximus, tribunician

power for the fourteenth time, [imperator for the second time, consul] for the fourth time, pater patriae, [to the archons, Council and] Demos of Nisa, greetings.

[That Opramoas] son of Apollonius had continued to display public spirit toward [your city] and toward [many] other [cities] I learned from the letters which they sent to me and from what you have written. Rupilius Severus, the clarissimus governor of the province, sent the decree. Farewell. February 12, from Rome.

Appended in the high priesthood of Antichares son and grandson of Antichares, twenty-eighth of (the month) Xandicus.

Document 49, A.D. 151

- 151** Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the fourteenth time, imperator for the second time, consul for the fourth time, pater patriae, to the Commonalty of the Lycians, greetings.

Even from [what] you previously wrote to me as you were giving recognition to Opramoas son of Apollonius, I understood that [good] public action had been taken by him in connection with you. Rupilius Severus, [the clarissimus governor] of the province, sent the decree. Farewell. [Date, from Rome].

Recorded in the high priesthood of Antichares son and grandson of Antichares, (month) Panemus.

Document 50, A.D. 151

- 152** Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of [divine] Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the fourteenth time, imperator for the second time, consul for the [fourth] time, pater patriae, to the archons, Council and Demos of the Gargatae, greetings.

You are right in giving recognition to Opramoas son of Apollonius who is building a complete set of baths for you, and that in addition to all the many things which he is seen to have done in other cities. Rupilius Severus, the clarissimus governor of the province, sent the decree. Farewell. February [. .], from Rome.

Appended in the high priesthood of [— — — — —], twenty-eighth of (the month) Dystros.

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Document 51

Imperator Caesar [T. Aelius Hadrian] Antoninus Augustus, [son of] divine [Hadrian], grandson of divine Trajan [Parthicus], pontifex [maximus, tribunician power for the – – time], imperator for the [second time, consul for the fourth time, pater patriae, to the] Commonalty of the Lycians, [greetings].

[Just as the previously enacted decrees] made clear that [Opramoas son of Apollonius] often had taken public action [to help all the] cities [of Lycia, so the decrees that have just now been passed showed] he is [full of public spirit] in regard to you and that you give him recognition. [– – – – the clarissimus governor of the province] sent the decree. [Date, from Rome].

Commentary

Opramoas son of Apollonius, whose career began under Trajan and continued under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, was the outstanding man of his time in Lycia; *καὶ | <γ>ένε(ι κ)αὶ ἀξιώματι διαφέρων παρ' ἡμεῖν* say the Lycians in Document 31, who voted him honors at least twenty times. On the walls of the sepulchral temple are preserved in part sixty-nine documents which illustrate his fame. Prominence was given particularly to epistles from Antoninus Pius, in whose reign his activity reached its peak. These, inscribed on the front of the monument, are here reproduced from TAM II 905. They are dated by reference to the emperor's tribunician power and to known high priests.

For the Commonalty of the Lycians the reader may consult Magie, *Roman Rule*, J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage*, and J. A. O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford, 1968) who on p. 263 comments: "Many documents connected with Opramoas show that an effort was being made to call him to the attention of the Roman officials, obviously in the hope of securing citizenship for him, but this failed, and Opramoas remained non-Roman to the end."

Opramoas gave the Commonalty 55,000 denarii in or about A.D. 131 and became Lyciarch in 136. The imperial letters of the sepulchral temple date from 139 through 151. Three of them, on the epistyle, are up rather high to be read easily; they are to the cities of Myra and Tlos and probably to another city (lost). The best area was reserved for correspondence with the Commonalty of the Lycians and for more imperial letters to cities.

A summary of the benefactions is given by T. R. S. Broughton in T. Frank's *Ec. Survey*, 4:780.

154. ANTONINUS PIUS TO USENOPHIS, ca. 150

Egypt. Extract from Col. ii of a papyrus (*P. Harris* 67) now in Woodbrooke College, Birmingham, England.

J. Enoch Powell, *The Rendell Harris Papyri* (Cambridge 1936) 48–50, No. 67; B. Snell, *Gnomon* 13 (1937) 577, n. 1; U. Wilcken, *ArchP* 12 (1937) 235.

154

ὁμ(οίως) ἐρμηνεία Ῥωμα[ῖ]κῶν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν·
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀντωνεῖνος Οὐσενώφει Δ...ειτρί...^{[[^{ov}]]}
 ἀντίγραφον βιβλιδίου δοθέντος μοι ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Ζωίλου
 ὁμοίως καὶ τῆς ὑπογραφῆς μ[ο]ῦ ὑποταγῆναι ἐκέλευσα,
 15 κεινηθεῖς οὐ μόνον τῷ τοῦ ἐπιδόντος ὀνόματι ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ παράδειγμα, εἰ ἀδίκως οὕτως μέλλουσιν
 ἐνοικοῦντες κακοὺς μ...α[]. οὔτινος δ...χρῶ
 ..[...έ]ν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἢ ἀ[φ]ορμὴν παρέχοντος η...
 20 [...]. αἱ ἢ πρέποντα[] α διὰ τοῦ γ[] αε. ηἱ[
 έ]ν τούτῳ τῷ γένει τῶν[
 έλ]ήμφθη ἐνυπ[αρχ
]. θε[

Translation

Likewise (a rescript in) as faithful a translation of the Latin as possible:

Imperator Antoninus to Usenophis son of — —

Of a petition to me from Valerius Zoilus I have ordered a copy to be appended, likewise of my subscript reply. Influenced not only by the reputation of the petitioner but also with a view to the precedent itself if people are to occupy premises unlawfully in this way — —

Commentary

The main interest of the papyrus lies in the information that the subscription was issued in Latin to an Egyptian, for according

to Wilcken's theory (*Hermes* 55 [1920] 6–8), the response to a Greek *libellus* was always given in Latin. The reference to a translation supports Wilcken's theory at least for this period.

In the subscription much interest attaches to the phrase *πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ παράδειγμα*, which Powell translated as “precedent” with a reference to *P. Oxy.* 237 iv 37, vi 29 and viii 8.

The restorations are by Powell except for ἐλ]ήμφθη (Snell) in ii 21.

**155. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE PANHELLENION ABOUT
ULPIUS EURYCLES, A.D. 157**

Aezani, formerly on the temple, but now lost.

J. Franz, *CIG* III (1853) 3833 (from copies by Keppel and de Laborde) with addendum on p. 1064; Ph. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique . . .*, 3. *Explication des Inscriptions* (Paris, 1870) 866 (the fundamental text); [Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 59]; W. Dittenberger, *OGIS* (1905) 506; [G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 575]. [W. Hüttel, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 347.]

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[Αὐτ]οκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱό[ς],
[θεο]ῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱωνός, θεο[ῦ]
[Νέρ]βα ἔκγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός
[Ἀντ]ωνεῖνος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέ
5 [γιστ]ος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ κ', αὐ
[τοκρ]άτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ δ', πατὴρ πα
[τρίδ]ος, τῶι Πανελληνίῳ χαίρειν
[Οἱ] πρὸ ὑμῶν Πανελλήνες Οὐλ
[πιο]ν Εὐρυκλέα ἀπεδέξαντο ὥς ἐπ
10 [ει]κῇ ἔμαθον ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπ
[εστ]αλμένων ὧν Εὐτυχεῖτε · Πρὸ μι[ᾶς]
[κα]λανδῶν Δεκεμβρίων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης[ς]

Translation

Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of [divine] Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the twentieth time, emperor for the second time.

consul for the fourth time, pater patriae, to the Panhellenion greetings.

The Panhellenes who preceded you, so I learned from the epistle they had sent, expressed appreciation of Ulpius Eurycles for his fairness. Farewell.

November 30, from Rome.

Commentary

For the Attic Panhellenion, consisting of representatives of ancient Greek cities and leagues who were elected for terms of four years, the reader may consult J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 13, 1970) chap. 4 and J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1972) No. 139. In their epistle to Aezani (*Marcus Aurelius* No. 28 = *OGIS* 505 = *IGRR* IV 574) the Panhellenes and their outgoing archon say:

... M. Ulpius Eurycles ... collaborated with us during all the time of the congress patiently and in such a way that he has captivated us individually ... and has ... distinguished himself for culture and his general excellence and fairness ... he has shown toward the community of the Panhellenion and particularly toward our most marvelous archon ... a noble ambition which reflects credit not only upon Eurycles himself but also upon your most distinguished city. He has all the while continued to say and to do what is worthy of her and of his family and of the virtue inherited from ancestors. We wrote concerning him to the provincial assembly and to our most divine emperor, because we judged him worthy of such appreciation.

A similar epistle from the Panhellenes and their new archon went to the Hellenes of Asia (*Marcus Aurelius* No. 30 = *OGIS* 507 = *IGRR* IV 576). Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus appointed Eurycles as *logistes* of the Ephesian Gerusia (No. 170 *infra*).

156. ANTONINUS PIUS TO A CITY OF UPPER MACEDONIA, A.D. 158

Anonymous ancient city of the Strymon Valley on site formerly called Sveti Vrač, now Sandanski. The lower part of a marble plaque was found in 1946 and is now No. 119 at the Archaeological Museum at Sofia, where it was examined on 4 April 1974.

E. Dečev, *JÖAI* 41 (1954) 110–118 with photograph; J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 79 (1958) 52–60; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1956) 159 and (1959) 246; B. Gerov, *Westthrakien* 1 (Sofia, 1959–1960) 194–198 (non vidi); G. Mihailov, *IGBulg* IV (1966) 2263, with a photograph and improved readings, especially in lines 4–6, after a careful reexamination of the stone itself.

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[-----]
 ...ωρήσουσιν οἱ ξέν[ο]ι -----
 ...ους ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας, ὅποτε οἱ πολεῖται - ca. 9 litt. -
 ων καὶ δούλων καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων, ἃ οὐκ οἷκ[εῖα κτ]ήματα
 ἐστίν, τοσοῦτον τελεῖτε. εἴ τι αὐθις πράτ[τ]ε[σθα]ι περὶ τοῦ
 5 του διδάζαιέν με, ὃ ἄξιόν ἐστιν γινῶναι ὑμᾶς, εἴσῃσθε.
 συνχωρῶ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις, ἃ [δι]ὰ χρό
 νου φόρον διδόνασιν, δηνάριον ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβαλεῖν, ὥς
 καὶ τοῦτον σχοίητε πρὸς τὰ ἀνankaia ἔτοιμον πόρον. [β]ου
 λευταὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ὑμῖν ἔστωσαν, διδόντω δὲ ἕκαστος
 10 πεντακοσίας Ἀττικάς, ἵνα ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς βου
 λῆς ἀξίωμα ὑμῖν προσγένηται, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων,
 ἃ δώσουσιν, πρόσδοδος. οἱ ἐνκεκτημένοι παρ' ὑμ[ῖ]ν ὑπακουέ
 τωσαν τοῖς ἀρχουσι πρὸς τὰς δίκας καὶ διώκοντες καὶ φεύ
 γοντες μέχρι διακοσίων πεντήκοντα δηναρίων. ἐπέρσ
 15 βουσιν Δημέας Παραμόνου καὶ Κρίσπος Τόσκου, οἷς τὸ ἐ
 πόδιον δοθήτω, εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηται. εὐτυχεῖτε.
 vacat
 Ἐ γ ρ ά φ η καὶ ἐ τ έ θ η π ο λ ι τ α ρ χ ο ύ ν τ ω ν τ ῶ ν π ε
 ρ ῖ Ο ύ α λ έ ρ ι ο ν Π ύ ρ ρ ο ν ἔ τ ο υ ς θ π ρ'.

Translation

— — — the outsiders — — — for the land, when you, the citizens, pay so much [for the — — —] and slaves and objects of silver which are not for use in your own house and property. If they were again to inform me that something was being done about this, which is right for you to decide, you will know. I grant to you permission to impose also a tax of one denarius apiece on those free persons who regularly pay a poll tax, in order that you may put your hands on this tax too as a ready source of income for your compelling needs. Let your council be one of eighty councillors, and let each contribute 500 Attic drachmas, in order that there may come to you prestige from the importance of your

council and an income from the sums which they will contribute. The outsiders who have acquired estates in your territory shall be subject to the jurisdiction of your magistrates, both as plaintiffs and as defendants, in cases up to 250 denarii. As ambassadors were acting Demeas son of Paramonus and Crispus son of Tuscus, to whom the travel money is due unless they have offered to bear the expense themselves. Farewell.

It was drafted and ordained in the term of the politarchs Valerius Pyrrhus and his colleagues, in the year 189.

Commentary

The epistle concerns several questions about which the city has sent an embassy to the emperor. The preserved part begins with the question whether the city may make independent landowners pay duties on what they import other than for their own use. The decision is not clear. With line 3 the reader may compare *SIG*³ 332, 28–31: *δίδωσι δὲ καὶ ἀτέλειαν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ εἰσάγοντι καὶ ἐξάγοντι τῶν ἐπὶ κτήσει*. Also *Digest* 50.16.203. The subject of *διδάξαιεν* would be the ambassadors, according to Mihailov.

Furthermore, the emperor permits the city to impose a *tributum capitis* of one denarius on free persons who are not exempt. These would not be independent landowners but workers without local citizenship and their relatives.

Likewise he establishes the rule that the independent landowners (on the *ἐνκεκτημένοι* see nos. 56 and 110 *supra*) are to be subject to the city's own courts for suits up to 250 denarii, both as plaintiffs and as defendants. Beyond that minimum they may presumably take the case to a Roman court, that of the proconsul or his legate. This is not the situation in an epistle at Sparta, No. 91 *supra*, where a minimum of 900 denarii is mentioned for appeals by local citizens to the emperor. The two epistles concern groups of different status and referrals or or appeals to courts of different levels.

Finally the emperor ratifies the usual claim to a travel allowance for the two ambassadors.

The inscription is dated by the local politarchs, who are the typical magistrates of a Macedonian city, and by the Augustan era. What city is not yet attested.

Note that the *summa honoraria* of line 10 is not given in denarii like the sums mentioned in lines 7 and 14.

**157–158. MARCUS AURELIUS AND ANTONINUS PIUS TO
DIONYSIAC SOCIETY AT SMYRNA, A.D. 158**

Smyrna. Known only from a copy published by Spon.

Iacob Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitatis* (Lyons, 1685) Sect. X, 93, pp. 353–354 “*ex Erud. Gallandi schedis*”; A. Boeckh, *CIG* II (1843) 3176; W. H. Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques de l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1872) No. 139; Th. Mommsen, *Hermes* 8 (1874) 205; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*¹ (1883) 289, *SIG*² (1898) 406; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 62; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ (1917) 851; G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 1399; [W. Hüttel, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 349 f.]. See also A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII 1 (1947) 207 and 237 (on the *Fasti Ostienses* for A.D. 147); [J. Krier, *Chiron* 10 (1980) 449–456. K.C.]

157

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Καῖσαρ, Αὐτο
κράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου
Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ
πατρὸς πατρίδος υἱός, δημαρχι
κῆς ἐξουσίας, ὑπατος τὸ β', συνό
δῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Βρεισέα Διόνυσσον
χαίρειν

5

Εὐνοια ὑμῶν, ἣν ἐνεδείξασθε συν
ησθέντες μοι γεννηθέντος υἱοῦ, εἰ καὶ
ἐτέρως τοῦτο ἀπέβη, οὐδὲν ἥττον φα
νερὰ ἐγένετο. τὸ ψήφισμα ἔπε<μ>ψεν
Τ. Ἀτεῖλιος Μάξιμος ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθ
ὑπατος καὶ φίλος ἡμῶν. Ἐρρωσθαι ὑ
μᾶς βούλομαι. Πρ(ὸ) ε' Καλ(ανδῶν) Ἀπριλ(ίων) ἀπὸ

10

15

Λωρίου
Τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ποιήσαντος Μ. Ἀντω
νίου Ἀρτεμᾶ δωρεᾶς ταμιεύοντος
Σουλπικίου Ῥουφείνου

158

20

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱό
νός, θεοῦ Νέρουα ἑγγονος, Τίτος Αἰ
λῖος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός,
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς
ἐξουσίας το κα, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β',
ὑπατος τὸ δ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, συν
όδῳ τῶν ἐν Σμύρνη μυστῶν χαίρειν
[-----]

25

Translation

M. Aurelius Caesar, son of pater patriae Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, tribunician power, consul for the second time, to the society around the cult of Briseis Dionysus, greetings.

The goodwill which you displayed in rejoicing at the birth of a son to me, even if this event turned out badly, was none the less clear. T. Atilius Maximus, the clarissimus proconsul and friend of ours, forwarded the decree. Farewell. March 28. From Lorium.

M. Antonius Artemas had the inscription engraved at his own expense when Sulpicius Rufinus was treasurer (of the society).

Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the twenty-first time, imperator for the second time, consul for the fourth time, pater patriae, to the society of the mystae at Smyrna, greetings.

Commentary

The child, whether or not T. Aelius Antoninus (*PIR*² A 140), died before Marcus Aurelius had a chance to reply to the congratulatory letter, which, however, cannot have been composed in A.D. 147. The *Fasti Ostienses* for 147 contain the notation: *Pr. k. Dec. Aurelio Caesar(i) | [ex A]nnia Faustina filia nata est. K. Decem. Aurelius Caesar | [trib(uniciam)] pot(estatem) iniit et Faustina Aug(usta) cognominata est.* The fasti for 146–148 contain no reference to the birth of a son. Hence Degraffi concludes that either the stonecutter or the copyist omitted a numeral after recording the tribunician power. The epistle from Antoninus Pius, engraved below, dates from A.D. 158. The epistle from Marcus Aurelius may have been from 158 or earlier.

The formula and sense require ἔπε(μ)ψεν (*correxī*) for Spon's (unbracketed restoration?) ἐπέγραψεν in line 11.

The interest of the epistle from the future emperor Marcus Aurelius lies in one more demonstration of his urbanity and of the close tie between Asia and the imperial family, in the mystic synod (cf. D. J. Geagan, *TAPA* 103 [1972] 133–160), and in the farewell formula, which is not yet the usual εὐτυχεῖτε of a post-Trajanic emperor.

For further information on the Dionysiac Artists at Smyrna, see G. Petzl, "Urkunden der smyrnäischen Techniten," *ZPE* 14 (1974) 77–87, and No. 168 infra.

159. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE CITIZENS OF BALBURA,
A.D. 158

Balbura. A statue base in what appears to be the temple of Nemesis.

R. Heberdey and E. Kalinka, "Bericht über zwei Reisen in südwestlichen Kleinasien," *Denkschriften Wien* 45 (1897) 37–38, No. 49; G. E. Bean, "Journeys in Northern Lycia," *TAM Ergänzungs.* 4, *Denkschriften Wien* 104 (1971) 11–12, No. 14. Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 61; R. Cagnat, *IGRR* III (1906), 467; W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius* 2 (Prague, 1933) 329.

K. J. Rigsby, "An Imperial Letter at Balbura," *AJPh* 100 (1979) 401–407.

159

[A]ὐτο[κρά]τω[ρ] Καῖσαρ, [θ]εοῦ
 Ἀδρι[α]νοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ
 Παρθικ[οῦ υἱ]ωνός, θεοῦ Νέρουα
 Ἐγγονος, Τ[ί]τος Αἴλιος Ἀδρια
 5 νός [Ἀ]ντ[ω]νεῖνος Σεβαστό[ς],
 ἀρχιερεὺς μ[έ]γιστος δημ[αρχικῆς] ἐξ(ουσίας)
 τὸ κα', αὐτοκράτ[ω]ρ τὸ β', ὑπατος
 τὸ δ', π(ατήρ) π(ατρίδος), Β[α]λβουρέ[ω]ν τοῖς
 10 ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
 δήμῳ χαίρειν
 Τὴν φιλοτειμίαν ἣν ἐπιδέδει
 κται πρὸς ἡμᾶς Μελέαγρος
 Κάστορος [ἐπὴν]ῆσα [...]ΝΤΑ[...]
 [...] δγῶνα γυμνικὸν μουσικόν [τε]
 15 ἐν τῇ [ύμετ]ῆρα πόλει· ἔστω δ[ὲ]
 π[α]ντα εἰ[ς] τὸν αἰ κύρια τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ
 ἐπιτελ[εῖ] αὐτοῦ ὀρισθέν
 τα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς
 μου Τερμησεῦσι συνεχωρή
 20 θη τοῦτο ἐφ' ὁμοίας ὑποσχέ
 σος ἦν καὶ ὑμεῖς τῷ ψηφίσ
 ματι ἐνεγράψατε vacat
 [Εὐτ]υχεῖτε

1–8 H/K. 13 Bean (see commentary). 14 οἶκ]ον G. Maresch
apud Bean, ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν μουσικόν [τε] Rigsby. 15–17 Bean.
23 H/K.

Translation

Imperator Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of divus Hadrian, grandson of divus Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divus Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the twenty-first time, imperator for the second time, four times consul, pater patriae, to the archons, Council, and Demos of Balbura, greetings.

I commended the noble ambition which Meleager son of Castor has displayed toward <you>, (the gift of) [– –] talents (?) [for a gymnastic and] musical [contest] in [your] city. Let all the conditions specified for its accomplishment be valid for all time, inasmuch as this privilege was granted by the divus my father to the Termessians on a similar promise which you recorded in your decree. Farewell.

Commentary

Bean's readings of lines 12–22 appear to be more complete, and he has greatly improved the text by recovering convincingly the wording of lines 15–17. In line 12 where Heberdey and Kalinka read περ[ὶ ὑμᾶς] and Bean πρὸς ἡμᾶς, we follow Bean, who had a squeeze, but Rigsby, who explains ἡμᾶς as a scribal error (for ὑμᾶς) due to similarity of pronunciation. In line 13, where the discrepancy between Heberdey and Kalinka and Bean is more disquieting, perhaps [τάλα]ντα [. .] should be read with [εἰς at the beginning of line 14, but we have retained Bean's text on principle. Rigsby, who thinks Bean has misread two letters, argues for [δωρ](ησ)ά[μεν]ος.

Antoninus Pius commends the formal commitment of a 'pol-licitatio' binding in law, which a certain Meleager has made to establish a contest, not only musical but, as Rigsby shows from other inscriptions, also gymnastic. An endowment for a contest (so Rigsby) was more likely to elicit a supporting declaration from the emperor than one for a building (as Bean restored it). For the donor's well-known family the reader may consult Rigsby. The last sentence refers to a similar case at Termessus πρὸς Οἰνοάνδοις under Hadrian.

160A. [ANTONINUS PIUS?] TO THE EPHESIANS ON THE ACCOUNTS OF EX-MAGISTRATES, COPY I

Ephesus. The inscription was found in 1928 in the excavation of the Theatre Gymnasium, where it had been reused as one of the covering blocks of a drain. An unavailing search for it was made in October 1973.

J. Keil, *JÖAI* 27 (1932) Beiblatt 21–25; [Cagnat and Besnier, *Année ép.* (1932) 50].

160 A

- [-----]
- [... εἴ]κοσιν ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ λογισμοὶ τυγχάνειν ἐξετάσεως, [τὸν λο]
 [γιστὴν αὐ]τὸν τούτους περαίνειν καὶ τοῦτο ὁμοίως μὲν φυλάττειν ἐπὶ τῶν
 [ζώντων], ὁμοίως δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων· τῶν δὲ τεθνηκότων οὐκ εἰ
 [ἤρξε]ν πρὸ ἐτῶν δέκα, ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν δέκα, ἀνυπεύθυνος
- 5 [ἔστ]αι, ἀλλὰ εἴ τις πρὸ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν ἐτελεύτησεν, τούτου οἱ κληρονό
 [μοι] τοὺς λογισμοὺς οὐχ ὑφέξουσιν· εἰ μέντοι τὰς καλουμένας λοιπογρα
 [φὰς] ἑαυτοῖς πρόσηψαν, εἴτε τῶν ζώντων τινὲς εἴτε τῶν τετελευτη
 [κό]των, ταῦτα δηλονότι ὡς ὀφλήματα ὁ λογιστὴς ἀπαιτήσῃ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
- 10 [οἶδα ἐν] τῷ τοιούτῳ ῥαδίως τινὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις ἀπαντῶντας <ὡς> ἐνπο
 [δί]ζοιεν τοὺς λογισμοὺς, ἐνετειλάμην καὶ τοῦτο, ὅπως μηδενὸς ἐπικλήσεις
 [πρὸ ἀπ]οφάσεως λαμβάνοι, ἀριστα δὲ ποιήσουσιν καὶ οἱ τὰς εὐθύνas ὀφεί
 λοντε[ς]
- [εὐθὺς δό]ντες τοὺς λογισμοὺς, ἵνα αὐτοὶ τε θάπτον ἀπαλλαγεῖεν τῶν πραγ[μά
 των]
- [ἥ τε πό]λις κομίσαιτο τὰ αὐτῆς ὃ τε λογιστὴς θάπτον ἐπιδεξαίτο μοι τὰ δι[ο]
 [κονομηθέν]τα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐνχειρισθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ vacat
- 15 [τῆς πρώτης κα]ὶ μεγίστης μητροπ[όλεως -----]
- [-----]

The text is based on Keil's except for the addition of ὡς in line 9 and the initial supplements of lines 10 and 11.

Translation

See under No. **160B**.

Commentary

The end of the document on B 15–18 is that of an epistle from an emperor no earlier than Hadrian. The titles which Ephesus received from Antoninus Pius (see No. **135**) are treated

with such pride that Keil considered them new and rightly preferred to identify the sole emperor with Antoninus Pius. The subject is the course which will be followed by a *logistes*: that is, the *curator civitatis* whom an emperor, from the time of Domitian on, occasionally appointed at a city's own request to help straighten out its finances. For the twenty years mentioned in line 1 Keil cited Trajan to Pliny 10.11, "*quidquid ergo ex hac causa actum ante viginti annos erit omittamus*." The problems are those of accountings which ex-magistrates never submitted.

The main textual problem is the restoration of lines 9–10, where Keil read ἀπαντῶντας ἐνπο[[δίξει]ν. In this section of the epistle the other copy has [ἐνπ]οδίζειν. The choice in Copy I seems to lie between a change in construction, as Keil edited it, or the assumption of a short omission from sigma to sigma, ἀπαντῶντας (ὥς) ἐνπο[[δίζοι]ν, which seems preferable. Either is possible. For the optative after a leading verb which implies a reference to the past as well as the present, see W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*² (1889) 115, §323. For the use of the participle in indirect discourse after οἶδα, see Goodwin §904.

In lines 8–11 (= B 7–9), if the word ἐπίκλησις means "appeal," the order to the *curator civitatis* seems to be not to forward elsewhere anyone's appeal until a verdict has been reached in his own court. This interpretation is of course based on the restoration [πρὸ ἀπ]οφάσεως in line 11 (= B 8), where Keil has [ἀπὸ ἀπ]οφάσεως. The victim of injustice still has recourse to the governor or emperor after completion of his trial before the *logistes*, but the danger that the work of the *logistes* will be complicated further or made actually impossible by the evasion of his examination is removed. The meaning of the word λαμβάνοι in line 11 (= B 9) is "accept for transmission." If an ex-magistrate says "I appeal unto Caesar," the *logistes* will not transmit the appeal unless a decision has already been reached in his own court. No one but an emperor could give such an order.

160B. [ANTONINUS PIUS?] TO THE EPHESIANS ON THE
ACCOUNTS OF EX-MAGISTRATES, COPY II

Ephesus. Thirty fragments of a marble block from the Theatre. The inscription could not be found in October 1973.

R. Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesos* 2 (Vienna, 1912) 123–124, No. 24; J. Keil, *JÖAI* 27 (1932) Beiblatt 21–25.

160 B

[-----]
[εἴ]κοσιν ἤρ[ξαν]το [δ]ὲ αὐτῶν οἱ λογισμ[οὶ] τυχάνειν ἐξετάσεως, τὸν
λογιστὴν αὐτὸν τοῦτους]
[π]εραίνειν κ[αὶ] τοῦτο ὁμοίως μὲν φ[υλάττειν ἐπὶ τῶν ζώντων, ὁμοίως δὲ ἐπὶ
τῶν τετελευ]
[τῇ]κότων· τῶν [δὲ] τεθνηκότων οὐκ [εἰ ἤρξεν πρὸ ἐτῶν δέκα, ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ
ἐντὸς τῶν]
δέκα, ἀνυπεύ[θυν]ος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ εἴ τι[ς] πρὸ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν ἐτελεύτησεν, τούτου
οἱ κληρονόμοι]
5 τοὺς λογισμο[ὺς ο]ὐχ ὑφέξουσιν· εἰ μὲντοι τὰς καλουμένας λοιπογραφὰς
ἑαυτοῖς πρόσηψαν],
[εἴτ]ε τῶν ζώντ[ων] τινὲς εἴτε τῶν [τετελευτηκότων, ταῦτα δηλονότι ὡς
ὀφλήματα ὁ λογιστῆς]
[ἀπα]ιτήσῃ. Ἐπ[εὶ] δὲ οἶδα ἐν τῷ τοι[ούτῳ] ῥαδίως τινὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις
ἀπαντῶντας ὡς]
[ἐν]π[ο]δίζοιεν τ[ο]ῦς λογισμοῦς, ἐνε[τε]λάμην καὶ τοῦτο, ὅπως μηδενὸς ἐπὶ
κλήσεις πρὸ ἀπο]
φάσεως λαμβά[νο]ι, ἄριστα δὲ ποιήσ[ουσιν] καὶ οἱ τὰς εὐθύνas ὀφείλοντες
εὐθὺς δόντες τοὺς λογισ]
10 μούς, [τ]ὴν αὐτοῖ τ[ε] θᾶ[ττον] ἀπαλλαγεῖ[εν τῶν πραγμάτων ἥ τε πόλις κομί
σαιτο τὰ αὐτῆς ὅ τε λογισ]
τῆς [θᾶ]ττον ἐπιδ[εῖξα]ιτό μοι τὰ διοικ[ονομηθέντα] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· ὃν γὰρ ὅτι
ἐνχειρισθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τῆς]
[π ρ ὦ τ] ἥς κ α [ὶ μ] ε γ ἰ σ τ ῇ [ς μ η τ ρ ο π ὁ λ ε ως τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν
προστασίαν]
[π]αρέξεται τιν[α σ]πουδὴν ω[-----]
----- συστή]
[μ]ατα μόνον ἀλλ[ὰ] κ[αὶ] τοὺς πολεῖ[τα]ς ἰδ[εῖ]ν[-----]
-----]
15 καὶ τοὺς ὄρους το[ὺ]ς ἱεροὺς καὶ δημο[σίους] -----
vacat Εὐτυχεῖτε]
Ἐπρέσ[β]ευεν Φλ[ά]υιος Ἀθη[ν] ----- φ
τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθῇτω],
vacat ε[ὶ] μ ῆ π[ρ]οῖκα ὑ[π]έσχηται πρεσβεύειν vacat]
18 vacat Π[ρὸ] . . κ[αὶ] ἀλ[φ] (ἀνδῶν) · Ἀπριλ[ίων] ἀπὸ ----- ὑπάτοις]

1–5 Keil. 6 [εἴτ]ε τῶν ζών[των] Heberdey, cetera Keil. 7 Ἐπ[εἰ] Heberdey; ὥς] Oliver; cetera Keil. 8 [ἐμ]ποδίζοιεν τ[οῦ]ς ἐτ[ρο]φάσεως Heberdey; ἐν[ε]τειλάμην καὶ τοῦτο ὅπως μηδενὸς

ἐπικλήσεις ἀπὸ προ]φάσεως Keil, πρὸ ἀπο]φάσεως Oliver. 9 ποιήσ[ουσιν καὶ οἱ τὰς εὐθύνας ὀφείλοντες εὐθύς Keil; cetera Heberdey. 10 [ἵ]να αὐτοὶ τ[ε θᾶ]πτον Heberdey; cetera Keil. 11 Keil. 12 τῆς | πρώτ]ης κα[ὶ μ]εγίστη[ς μητροπόλεως ὑμῶν Heberdey, τῆς Ἀσίας προστασίαν] Keil, τὴν Oliver. 13 Heberdey. 14 οὐ τὰ συστή[μ]ατα μόνον ἀλλ[ὰ κα]ὶ Heberdey; πολ[ί]τας πάντας Keil, πολεῖ[τα]ς ἰδ[ί]α Oliver. 15–18 Heberdey.

Translation of Copies A and B

— — — twenty [years] but their accounts have begun to be investigated, [the curator himself] to complete these and preserve this rule equally in the case of the living and in the case of the dead. In the case of those who have died the record will not be exempt from control if [the man held office] more than ten years before but died within the ten years, but if he died more than ten years previously, his heirs will not have to submit his accounts. If, however, certain ones either of the living or of the dead ever acknowledged (the existence of) so-called balances owing from them, the curator obviously will demand payment of these as debts. Since I know that in such an affair certain people are glad to appear at the (courts of) appeal in a way to hinder the accountings, I have given him also this instruction, namely that he accept no one's application for appeal (to another court) [before] a decision. Those who owe reckonings will do best by giving their accounts [at once] in order that they themselves may the sooner be rid of their troubles and the city obtain what is hers and the curator may the sooner show me the administrative steps that have been taken by him. For it is clear that having been entrusted by me [with the protection] of [the first] and greatest mother city [of Asia] he will show some zeal [— — — — —] not only corporations but the citizens privately [— — —] the sacred and public boundaries [— — — Farewell]. Flavius Athen[— — —] was the ambassador. [Let the travel allowance be paid to him] unless [he has promised to go on the embassy] at his own expense. March [— — — — —].

Commentary

See under No. **160A**.

Epaminondas of Acraephia (No. 18; *GRBS* 12 [1971] 223), τὰς δαπάνας . . . ὑποσχόμενος. But προσεδέξατο is equally possible.

162. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE THESSALONICANS,
A.D. 143–161

Thessalonica in the Serapeum. Now No. 821 in the Museum at Thessalonica, where it was examined on 3 May 1974.

Ch. Edson, *IG X 2* (1972) 15 with a photograph.

162

Ἀγαθῇ [Τύχηι]
[Αὐτοκράτωρ] Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδρι[ανοῦ υἱός],
[θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ] υἱόνος, θεοῦ Νέρουα [ἔκγονος],
[Τ · Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνί]νος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς [μέγιστος],
5 [δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ -, αὐτο]κράτωρ · τὸ · β', ὕπατος [τὸ .. πατήρ
πατρίδος]
[Θεσσαλονεικῶν τοῖς ἀρχουσι · καὶ] τῇ βουλῇ · καὶ τ[ῶι δήμῳ] χαίρειν
[-----] ἐν αὐτῇ [-----]
[-----]

163. HEADING OF DECISION BY ANTONINUS PIUS,
A.D. 154–161

Oxyrhynchus. Papyrus in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Society in London.

W. D. Thomas, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 19 (1972) 103–117.

163

[.....].[
.αω[
τ[.]υβ[.]νο[...].γγα[
Τίτου Αἰ[λ]ίου Ἀδρια[νοῦ Ἀντωνε]ί[νου] ca. 15 letters
5 [..]. τρεψ...ος αὐτῷ [.....]. αὐτῇ[ca. 15 letters
.!....].α.μενα vacat [.....].τοις[.].α[ca. 16
καλα[νδῶ]ν Ἀπριλ[ίων ἐ]ν Ῥώμῃ [ca. 5 Αὐτοκράτωρ
Καῖσαρ θ[εο]ῦ Ἀδριαν[οῦ υἱ]ός θεοῦ Τραι[ανοῦ Παρθικοῦ
υἱόνος θεοῦ Νέρ[ουα] ἔκγονος Τίτ[ος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός]

- 10 Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβ[αστ]ῶς Εὐσεβῆς τ. [ca. 14
 παραλημφθεῖσιν Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐήρῳ Καίσαρι
 καὶ Λουκ[ίῳ] Αὐρηλίῳ Κομόδῳ υἱοῖς [μου καὶ ca. 10
 ἐξ ἑκατ[έ]ρας τάξεως ἀνδράσιν ἐπι. [ca. 15
 γνωσιν τὴν περὶ τῶν κατὰ Κλαυδίου [ca. 15
 15 [ca. 9].]ς περὶ αὐτοῦ . [ca. 17
]α vacat ? [

3]νο or]λιο, not τ[ο]ῦ βι[β]λίου. 5 ἐπ[ι]τρέψαντος possible. 6
 τ[ετ]αγμένα possible but not διατεταγμένα; γεγραμμένα not pos-
 sible; τ[οῖς αὐ]τοῖς [ύ]π[α]ρ[ο]ντος possible. 7 or Ἀπριλ[αῖον]ν Ῥώμη.
 11 Αὐρηλίῳ. 12 Κομμόδῳ.

Translation

— — of T. Aelius Hadrianus [Antoninus — — — who permitted]
 him — — —

[In the same year], March — —, at Rome.

[Imperator] Caesar T. [Aelius Hadrianus] Antoninus Augustus
 Pius, son of divine Hadrian, grandson of divine Trajan [Parthi-
 cus], great-grandson of divine Nerva, after consultation with [my]
 sons M. Aurelius [Verus Caesar] and L. Aurelius Commodus and
 with [distinguished] men of both the two orders, [I delivered]
 the decision about the [charges?] against Claudius [— — —]
 concerning him — — —

Commentary

In his excellent publication Thomas rightly said that in line 11
 παραλημφθεῖσιν was a translation of the Latin word *adhibit*is and
 cited several parallels, notably CIL IX 5420 = FIRA I 75: *Imp.*
*Caesar divi Vespasiani f. [[Domitianus]] adhibit*is *utriusque ordinis*
splendidis viris cognita causa inter Falerienses et Firmanos pro-
nuntiavi quod suscriptum est. He rightly interpreted the mention
 of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (as the adopted sons of
 Antoninus Pius were later to be called) and of the distinguished
 men *utriusque ordinis* as a description of the *consilium principis*, in
 which the presence of Lucius Verus, who became quaestor in
 153, consul in 154, is of much significance. The date was in or

after 154, since the two ranking members of the *consilium* were presumably *consulares* as well as sons of the emperor.

Thomas warns the reader that the phrase *περὶ τῶν κατὰ Κλαυδίου* [– – does not necessarily mean that Claudius [– –] was the defendant because in papyri the phrase *τὰ κατὰ τοῦ δεῖνος* may mean no more than “the case concerning X.”

The document, however, is not as Thomas calls it, a rescript. Rather it is a literal translation made by a private person or someone other than a chancery secretary. The imperial chancery of this period composed rescripts in a different format and a different style. The original was a Latin *decretum* published at Rome.

164–166. EPISTLES CITED IN AN ANTINOITE'S PETITION OF A.D. 161–180

Egypt. Papyrus (*P. Würz.* 9) consisting of two large and several small fragments is now at Würzburg.

U. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*, 42–44, No. 26 (lines 53–59 and 66–71 only), and the whole papyrus in “Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrussammlung,” *AbhBerlin* (1933) Heft 6, 60–71, No. 9. Important corrections in Col. I, especially lines 18–28, were reported by Wilcken, *ArchP* 11 (1935) 298–299 after Ibscher's rearrangement of smaller fragments. [Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 507 (lines 28–33 and 53–59 only).]

164. HADRIAN TO THE CITIZENS OF ANTINOOPOLIS

165. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE CITIZENS OF ANTINOOPOLIS, A.D. 152

166. MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS TO THE CITIZENS OF ANTINOOPOLIS, A.D. 161 OR 162

- [-----]. [------]
 [-----]. ου πα[-----]
 5 [------ 'Α]ντ[ιν]οῦ πόλ[.] δι. [.....]
 [-----]. λιτου[ρ]γεῖν ἐτέρᾳ πόλ[ει]]
 [----- 'Αντωνί]νου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς [τῶν κυρίων]
 [ἡμῶν ----- δ] θεὸς πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔδ[ωκε]]
 [-----]. γ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐ[τῶ]ν τῶν ἱερῶν
 10 [-----] υ καὶ οὐ προϋφυλάξαντ[ο] ἐν φιλοκάλοις λα
 [-----] ν τῶν τε κατὰ [καιρ]ὸν ἡ[γ]εμόνων καὶ
 [ἐπιστρατήγων ----- τ]ᾶς διατάξεις αὐ[τ]ῶν κ[α]ὶ ἀπολυσάντων
 [-----] ἐτέρου [δ]νόμ[ατος] κἀμοῦ αὐτοῦ 'Αντινο
 [έως ὄντος -----] ε ἐν τῇ [διὰ πό]λ[ει] τοῦ[τ'] ἔστιν ἐ[ν] 'Αντι]
 15 [νόου ----- οὐ]ε τρανῶ δ[ν]τι τὸ ν δγῶνα γεγυ[μνα]
 [σισαρχικ ----- τοῦ 'Αρσι]νοῦ καὶ [... ας] πρ[ὸς] ὑπηρεσία[ς]
 [-----] καμῆλους [τῆς] 'Ηρακλείδου μερ[ίδος]
 [-----] ως ἔτι ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ Μ[ε]σορῆ μηνὸς [.....]
 [-----] ἡν]γάκασεν [με τοὺς] καμῆλους ἀπ[ὸ] [...]
 20 [-----] . κοντ[.....] ν κτηνῶν [.....]
 [-----] . κα[-----] . [- ----]
 [-----] ωι τῶν τε αὐτοκρατορικῶν καὶ
 ἡγεμο]
 [νικῶν -----] ἀπολυθεί[ς] τῶν ἀντιγράφ[ων]]
 [-----] κελεῦσ[αι] [γραφῇ] ναι τῷ τῆς ['Η]ρακλείδου με[ρίδος] τοῦ
 'Αρσι]
 25 [νοίτου στρατηγῶ] τῇ ὑ[π]ερ[ε]σίᾳ, ἵνα δυνηθῶ ἐκ τῆ[ς] σῆς
 β]οη[θεί]ας
 [.....] μετέχειν [τῶν] δοθ[ε]ισῶ]ν ἡμε[ῖν] ὑ[πὸ] τῶν θε[ῶν] αὐτοκρατό]
 [ρων]] ὡν δωρε[ῶν] vacat Διευτ[ύχε]ι vacat [.....] ἔστ[ι]ν
 164 [Αὐτοκράτ]ωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τ[ρ]αιανοῦ Παρ[θικοῦ] υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρουα
 υἱ[ὸς],
 ['Αδριανός] Σεβαστός, [δ]ρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δη[μαρχικῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ ..],
 30 [ὑπατος] τὸ γ, αὐτοκ[ράτ]ωρ, πατὴρ πατρίδος, 'Αντι[νοέων Νέων] 'Ελλήνων
 τοῖς]
 [ἄρχουσ]ι χαίρειν vacat Μεθ' ἕτερα vacat καὶ λιτουργι[ῶν] πασῶν τῶν
 ἀλλαχοῦ]
 [ἀφίμ]ι ὑμᾶς ἔχοντας ἤδη πόλιν, ἢ λιτουργ[ήσετε] -----]
 [.....] ἰς τὰς χρεῖας ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἰσάγετε vacat ["Ἀλλης ὁμοίως]
 165 [Αὐτοκράτ]ωρ Καῖσαρ, θ[ε]οῦ 'Αδριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιαν[οῦ] Παρ[θικοῦ]
 υἱωνός, θεοῦ]
 35 [Νέρουα] ἔκγονος, Τίτ[ος] Αἴλιος 'Αδριανός 'Αντωνίνος [Σεβαστός, ἀρχιε
 ρεύς μέγ]ι]
 [στος, δημ]αρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιε, αὐτοκράτ[ωρ] τὸ β, [ὑπατος τὸ δ, πατὴρ
 πατρί]
 [δος ^{vv} 'Α]ντινοέων Νέων 'Ελλήνων ἄρχουσ[ι] καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ^v]

[χαίρειν ^{VV}] Καὶ ἐξ ἀ[ρχῆ]ς ἐφύλαξα ὑμῶν τὰς τοῦ 'θεοῦ' πατρὸς μου
 δωρεὰς καὶ νῦν]

vacat

Col. II

- φυλάσσω. Σ]υνεχώρησε δὲ ὑμεῖς[ν], ὅπως μὴ λειτουργοὶ ᾗτε ἄλλ[η]
- 40 πόλει ο[ὕτω γ]ρά[ψ]ας ὅτι ἔχετε ἤδη πόλιν, ἢ λουργήσεται[ε]. Ἔως [τοῦ
 του [τὸ] κ[ε]φ[ά]λαι[ο]ν vacat Ἀ[λ]λῆς ὁμοίως vacat
- 166 Αὐ[τοκρά]τωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀ[ν]τω[ν]ῖνος [Σ]εβ[αστός],
 ἀρχιερεὺς μέ[
 [γιστος], δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπατος τὸ γ̄, καὶ Αὐ[τοκρ]άτωρ [Καῖ]σαρ
 Α[ούκιος]
 Α[ὐρήλι]ος Οὐῆρ[ο]ς Σεβαστός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσί[ας τὸ] β̄, θεοῦ [Ἀ]ντω
 νί[νου] υἱοί,
 45 θεοῦ Ἀ[δρ]ιανοῦ υἱωνοί, θε[οῦ] Τραυανοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἔγ[ο]νοι, θεοῦ Ν[έρ]ουα
 ἀπό[γο]νοι,
 Ἀντινόων Νέων Ἑλλήνων τοῖς ἀρχ[ο]υσι καὶ τῇ βο[υλ]ῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 χαί[ρ]ειν.
 Καὶ ὁ οἰκισμός, ὃν ὁ θεὸς πάπ[πος] ἡμ[ῶν] ἐκτίσεν [τῇ]ν ὑμετέραν πόλιν,
 καὶ [ἡ]
 ἐξ ἐκείνου τειμή, ἥς δ[ι]᾽ ἐπισ]τολῶ[ν] παρὰ τοῦ [πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐτύχετε, αἵτιοι
 ὑμῶν]
 μὲν εὐλογον [π]οιεῖν τ[ῇ]ν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν χαρὰν [διαδ]εξα[μ]ένων [ν τῇ]ν π[α]
 50 τρώων τε καὶ παππῶων ἀρχή[ν], ἡμᾶς δὲ τότε [ἐθέλ]ε[ιν τὰ] δί[κα]ια τῇ]
 πόλει καὶ φυλάττειν ὅσα παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐδ[όθ]η [ὑμ]εῖς κ[αθὼς μέ]
 χρι νῦν ἐτηρήθη vacat
- Πετρώνιος Μαμερτεῖνος Ὁρεῖωνι στρατηγῷ Θεινεῖτου χαίρειν.
 Ἀντίγραφον ἐπ[ὶ]στολῆς γραφείσης μοι ὑπὸ Δημητρί[ου] [...] τῶν ἰς
 55 τὴν Ἀντινόου κεκληρωμένων [ἐκ τ]ῆς Π[το]λεμαῖων πόλεως τοῦ
 τοῖς τοῖς γρ[άμ]μασιν ὑπέταξα βουλόμενός σε φροντίσ[αι, ὅ]πως ο[ἱ] τε αὐ
 τοῦ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἰς τὴν Ἀντινόου ἀπ[ο]κισ[μέ]ων ἀ[ν]τίβρις
 τοι καὶ ἀνεπ[η]ρέαστοι διάγνωσιν ἐν τῷ νομῷ. (Ἔτους) ἰθ̄ θεοῦ [Ἀ]δριανοῦ
 Φαρμού
 θι ἰθ̄ vacat Ἀλλῆς· vacat
- Πετρ[ῶ]νι[ο]ς Μαμερτεῖ[νο]ς σ[τ]ρα[τ]ηγ[οῖ]ς Ἐπ[ὶ] Ν[ο]μ[ῶν] καὶ Ἀρσινοῦτου
 χαίρειν.]
- 60 Ἐντυχ[όν μοι τιν] ἐς τῶν πεμφθέντων ἀποικ[ῆ]σαι ἰς τὴν Ἀντινόου,
 οὗ πόλιν ἐκτῶντο, ἢ λειτ[ουρ]γ[ῶ]ν [α]ς π[οι]ο[ῦ]σ[ι]ν, λέγοντες διὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν
 τῇν
 ἑαυτῶν καταφρονεῖ[σ]θαι. Βούλομαι οὖν <ὑμᾶς> ἐπι[μ]ελῶς συναμβάνειν
 τοῖς
 φροντίζουσιν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἱσπραξίν τῶν ὀφειλομένων[ν] αὐτο[ῖ]ς
 65 καὶ ὅπως τυγχάνωσι τῶν δικαίων. (Ἔτους) κᾱ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Μεχ[ῆρ] λ̄.
 Στατεῖλος Μάξιμος Ὁρεῖωνι στρατηγῷ Θεινεῖτου χαίρειν.

Ἐντυχε βιβλειδίῳ δοθέντι μοι] παρὰ Κάστορος Ἀφροδείσιου, ᾧ ὑπο
 γέγραπ[τ]αι καὶ ἐπισ[το]λὴ τοῦ κρατίστης μνήμης Μαμερτείνου, δι' ἧς
 οὐχ ὅπως τοὺς Ἀντινοέας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἠθέλησεν [ἀν]υβρίσ
 70 [τ]οὺς εἶν[αι, κ]αὶ ἴσθι, ἐ[ἰ] τοῖοῦτον [ἰς] χρεῖαν ἰσ[τά]ξαις, δηλώσαντά με τῷ
 κρα
 τίστῳ ἡγεμόνι. (Ἔτους) ἰθ' θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου Μεσορῆ ἐπαγομένων ᾧ
 Σεμπρώνιος ἐπὶ <δέ> δωκα. vacat

Εἴ τινα δίκαια ἔχεις, τῷ στατηγῶι παραβοῦ
 καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιήσει. Ἀπόδοσ.
 vacat

Translation of lines 28–74

- 164** Emperor Caesar [Hadrian] Augustus, son of divus Trajan Parthicus, grandson [of divus Nerva], pontifex maximus, tribunician [power for the –th time], thrice [consul], emperor, pater patriae, [to the archons of the New Hellenes] of Antinoopolis, greetings.

Further on: and I [release] you [from all] liturgies [elsewhere], for you already have a city to serve [– – – –] you draft to fulfill your own needs. [Of another likewise]:

- 165** Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus [Augustus], son of divus Hadrian, [grandson] of divus Trajan [Parthicus], great-grandson [of divus Nerva, pontifex maximus], tribunician power for the fifteenth time, emperor for the second time, [four times consul, pater patriae], to the archons, [council and demos] of the New Hellenes of Antinoopolis, [greetings]. Both at the beginning [and now] I did and do protect [my] deified father's [grants of] your [privileges]. He accorded to you the privilege of not performing liturgies for another city, when he wrote that you already had a city to serve. End of [the] section.

Of another likewise:

- 166** Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, pontifex [maximus], tribunician power, thrice consul, and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, tribunician power, consul for [the] second time, sons of divus Antoninus, grandsons of divus Hadrian, great-grandsons of divus Trajan Parthicus, great-great-grandsons of divus Nerva, to the archons, council, and demos of the New Hellenes of Antinoopolis, greetings.

Both the foundation whereby our deified grandfather founded your city and the subsequent honor which [you obtained] in

epistles from [our father are reason enough] to make your joy at our accession to our father's and grandfather's office easy to explain and [reason enough] for us then [to maintain] your rights and to guard whatever privileges were accorded to you by both [just as] they have been preserved up to now.

Petronius Mamertinus to Horion strategus of the Thinite, greetings. A copy of a letter written to me by Demetrius [son of — — —], one of those who have been chosen by lot for Antinoopolis from Ptolemais, I have attached below my letter, because I want you to see to it that both his people and those of the others who have been accepted as colonists for Antinoopolis remain draft-free and unmolested in the nome. Nineteenth year of divine Hadrian, Pharmouthi the nineteenth.

Of another:

Petronius Mamertinus to the strategi of the Seven Nomes [and Arsinoite, greetings]. Some of those sent to colonize Antinoopolis, where they have a city for which they perform liturgic services, have petitioned [me], saying that they have met with a lack of consideration because of their absence. Therefore, I want (you) to give careful assistance to those who look after their interests with respect to the collection of what is owed to them and see that they obtain their rights. Twenty-first year of divine Hadrian, Mechir 20.

Statilius Maximus to Horion strategus of the Thinite, greetings. Read a petition presented to me by Castor son of Aphrodisius, a petition to which has been attached also an epistle of the late Mamertinus of excellent memory, in which he desired not only the Antinoites but also their people to be draft-free. And know that if you [draft] such a one [for a service], I shall report it to his Excellency the prefect. Nineteenth year of divine Aelius Antoninus, Mesore first epagomenal day.

(In a second hand) I, Sempronius, have handed in (the application).

(In a third hand) If you have any documents, deposit them with the strategus and he will do what is necessary.

(In a fourth hand) Give it back.

Commentary

The restorations except in lines 48, 50, and 70 (v. infra) are by Wilcken.

The papyrus contains an application (lines 1–27) to an official (the epistrategus) from an Antinoite who had been called to perform a liturgy in the Arsinoite nome in contravention of the privilege of the Antinoites to be free from liturgies outside their own city. The petitioner presents six documents in support of his position: first the basic grant in an extract from Hadrian's epistle (lines 28–33); second, an express renewal of the privilege in an extract from an epistle of Antoninus Pius, No. 165, (lines 34–41); third, the practically complete epistle, No. 166, in which Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus accept congratulations on their accession and reassure the Antinoites on their rights and privileges (lines 42–52); and then two epistles from a well-known prefect of Egypt and one from an epistrategus to strategoi of various nomes.

The petition and its supporting documents form too close a unit to be separated. The petitioner mentions camels in lines 17, 19 and perhaps 20 and 21.

The epistle of Hadrian, No. 164, presents the original prescript except that the petitioner or scribe has dropped the name *Τραιανός* before [*Ἀδριανός*] in line 29 and the words *καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ* after [*ἄρχουσιν*] in line 31.

The epistle of Antoninus Pius of A.D. 152, No. 165, likewise preserves the complete prescript except for *τοῖς* in line 37, unless the address was *ἄρχουσιν βουλῇ δήμῳ*. The word *θεοῦ* at first omitted in line 38, was added above the line.

No. 166, the epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, is for us the main document. In the *editio princeps* Wilcken dated the epistle to A.D. 162 because of the phrase *δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσί[ας τὸ] β* in line 44 among the titles of Lucius Verus. A. Stein, however, suggested *per litteras* that the numeral belonged with the consulship omitted by the scribe: *δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσί[ας, ὑπατος] τὸ] β*. Wilcken reported this correction in *ArchP* 11 and accepted it. The date, then, would be 161. In line 43 the numeral has been omitted after reference to Marcus's tribunician power.

This epistle, not unlike their letter to Beroea (No. 167) in acknowledgement of the joy expressed at their accession, has some special problems. Reference in lines 50–51 to both emperors (e.g., *ἀμφοτέρων*) implies that their adoptive father as well as grandfather was mentioned, and this can have been only in line 48, which read, not *παρ' αὐτοῦ* (so Wilcken), but something like *παρὰ τοῦ [πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐτύχετε, αἵτιοι ὑμῶν]*. The phrase *αἵτιοι*

(sc. εἰσιν) agrees with ὁ οἰκισμός in 47 and ἡ ἐξ ἐκείνου τειμή in 48 and governs two infinitives, one lost in line 50 and φυλάττειν preserved in line 51. The phrase ἡ ἐξ ἐκείνου τειμή, ἥς δι' ἐπιστολῶν παρὰ τοῦ [πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐτύχετε refers to epistles like No. 137 of A.D. 149. The letter of 161 (or 162) guarantees the rights and privileges of the Antinoites. The rights (δί[καια]) come first in line 50 and the privileges come second in line 51. That δί[καια] should be read in line 50 is suggested by line 65 below in an epistle of the prefect Petronius Mamertinus, ὅπως τυγχάνωσι τῶν δικαίων. The lost infinitive of line 50 is not so clear, but [ἐθέλ]ειν, "to maintain," fits the sense and space. The farewell and the place and date of dispatch are omitted as irrelevant.

The first letter of Mamertinus (lines 53–59) was explained by Wilcken with the help of *Chrestomathie*, 28. It protects the relatives who remained back in the nome. The second letter of Mamertinus illustrates the attention of the Roman government to Antinoite interests. It concerns debtors back home who try to evade old debts to the New Hellenes of Antinoopolis. The phrase in line 62 implies that the debtors argued that since they were now performing the liturgies, they no longer owed the debts. The prefect points out that the colonists did have liturgies but at Antinoopolis, and he rules against the debtors.

The letter of Statilius Maximus, epistrategus of the Heptanomia, occupies lines 66–71 and is dated 24 August A.D. 156. Since the Thinite nome belonged to the Thebaïd and not to his own Heptanomia, he expresses himself with circumspection, as he calls for recognition of the freedom from draft enjoyed by the relatives of colonists. In line 70, where Wilcken read and restored εἰ τοιοῦτον . . . [.] . . πράξεις, a different restoration ἰς χρεῖαν ἰσάξεις is suggested by Hadrian's words in line 33, ἰς τὰς χρεῖας ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἰσάγετε.

At the end (lines 72–74) we have the statement or signature of the petitioner Sempronius, then a subscription by the epistrategus, then what Wilcken calls a personal note of the addressee.

167. MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS TO THE BEROEANS, A.D. 161

Beroea (Macedonia). Block of white marble seen on 2 May 1974 in the courtyard of the Ephoreia. Part of the original left

side is preserved but it is elsewhere broken away (Plate 10). H. 0.75 m.; W. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.24 m. Height of letters 0.018 m. in lines 1–5, 0.015 m. in lines 6–14. Veroia Museum no. 147.

With the help of John Touratsoglou I was able to read and restore the fragment (previously unpublished) as follows.

167

[-----]
 [----- θεοῦ]
 ['Αντ]ωνί[νου υἱοί, θεοῦ 'Αδριανοῦ]
 [υἱ]ωνοί, θ[εοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ]
 [ἔκ]γονοι, [θεοῦ Νέρου ἀπόγονοι],
 [Βε]ροιαῖω[ν τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ]
 5 [βο]υλῇ κα[ὶ τῷ δήμῳ^ν χαίρειν^{νν}]
 ["Ω]σπερ ὑμ[εῖς εὐνοϊκῶς δείκνυτε]
 [χ]αρὰν ἐν τ[ῷ ψηφίσματι ὑμῶν ὅτι]
 τὴν πατρῷ[αν ἀρχὴν ἤδη συνδιαδεδε]
 γμένους ἡ[μᾶς καὶ νῦν παραστατοῦν]
 10 τας ἀλλήλ[οις ἴστε, διαφυλάττομεν]
 τό τε ἀξίωμ[α τῆς μητροπόλεως ὑ]
 μῶν καὶ τὰ[ς προνομίας ἃς τῷ λαμ]
 προτάτω Μα[κεδονίας συνεδρίῳ δια]
 [τ]ετάχθ[αι? -----]
 [-----]

Translation

— — sons of [deified] Antoninus, grandsons [of deified Hadrian], great-grandsons [of deified Trajan Parthicus, great-great-grandsons of deified Nerva, to the archons], Council, and [Demos] of the Beroeans, [greetings].

Inasmuch as you [loyally show] joy in [your decree because you know that] we have [already jointly] acceded to the ancestral [office and are now supporting] each other, [we preserve] both the dignity [of] your [metropolitan status] and the [honors which you show?] have been assigned to [the] most splendid [meeting place of Macedonia — — —

Commentary

Touratsoglou estimates that the extant letters of lines 6–14 begin about five or six letter spaces from the left edge. If we assume a raised moulding about three letter spaces wide and a



Plate 10. No. 167.

margin two letter spaces wide, the first visible letters of lines 8–11 and 13 could be edited as the first letters in those lines. This is not strictly necessary but desirable because it enables us to put *χαίρειν* in the same short line with *βο]νλη* and to arrange the prescript with each line ending in a complete word.

In lines 8–9 the emperors may refer to their accession, *τὴν πατρῶ[αν ἀρχήν* and *διαδεδε]γμένους*. In lines 6–7, accordingly, the emperors may have acknowledged the joy which the Beroeans expressed, *ὦ]σπερ ὑμ[εῖς* and *χ]αράν*. In lines 11–13 there may have been compliments such as *τό τε ἀξίωμ[α – – – ὕ]μῶν* and *λαμ]προτάτῳ Μ[ακεδονίας– –*. These conjectures derive a little support from Severus Alexander's reference to the *χαρά* of the Roman world upon the news of his accession (No. 275 *infra*, Col.

II, line 1); and from Hadrian's reference to the *χαρά* expressed at his accession by a synod at Pergamum (No. 58B). They gain much more support from Hadrian's first epistle to the Astypalaeans (No. 64) referring to their delight *διαδεξαμέν[ου ἐμοῦ | τὴν πατρ]ῶαν ἀρχήν*, and from their own letter to Antinoopolis, No. 156, lines 49–50, *τ[ὴν] ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν χαρὰν [διαδ]εξα[μ]ένω[ν τὴν] π[α]τρῶαν τε καὶ παππῶαν ἀρχή[ν]*. Touratsoglou aptly cites *Année ép.* (1900) 131 = Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, 488, first published by M. Rostovtzeff, *Bull. Inst. Arch. Russe à Constantinople* 4 (1899) 170, from Beroea, *Ποπίλλιον Πύθωνα π[ρεσ]βεύσαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος Βερο[ι]ας ἐπὶ θεὸν Νέρουαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνην αὐτὴν ἔχιν τὴν νεωκορίαν τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀξίωμα*.

If the reading *δια[τ]ετάχθ[αι]* is right, it may have depended on a verb like *ἐδηλώσατε*.

**168. MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS TO
DIONYSIAC MYSTAE AT SMYRNA, A.D. 161–163**

Smyrna. Now lost. At least not in either museum at Izmir.

R. Pococke, *Inscr. P.* I 2, 12, p. 25, No. 34 (*non vidi*); A. Boeckh, *CIG* II (1843) 3177. G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 1400.

168

[----- και]
[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσ]αρ Λούκ[ιος Αὐρήλιος]
[Οὐῆρος Σεβ]αστ[ός], δημαρχ[ικῆς ἐξουσίας]
[τὸ ., ὕπα]τος τὸ ·Β·, θεοῦ [Ἀντωνίνου]
[υἱοί, θε]οῦ Ἀδριανοῦ [υἱωνοί, θεοῦ]
[Νέρουα δ]πόγονοι, συ[νόδῳ τῶν περὶ]
[τὸν Βρισεά] Διόνυσο[ν χαίρειν]
[-----]

The date is limited by the absence of the title *Armeniacus* which Lucius Verus acquired in the autumn of 163.

For further information on the Dionysiac Artists at Smyrna, see G. Petzl, "Urkunden der smyrnäischen Techniten," *ZPE* 14 (1974) 77–87, and Nos. 157–158 *supra*.

169. UNKNOWN TO UNKNOWN

Smyrna? Formerly in the Gonzenbach collection acquired by the Museum of the Evangelical School at Smyrna. In 1973 it could not be found in either museum at Izmir and is presumed to have been destroyed.

The Ephoria of the Museum, Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς 1 (1875) 71, No. 22.

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[-----]
 [-----]ειν ἅπαν
 [-----]IT ἀγαθὰ
 [-----]E]πρέσβευεν
 [-----]vac Εὐτυ]χεῖτε vac
 5 [----- date -----] 'A]πὸ 'Ρώμης
 [-----] τοῖς τεχνεῖταις
 [-----] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
 [-----] Τι. Κλ. Εὐτύχου.

The formula of farewell is that adopted by Hadrian and the Antonines. A reference to the (Dionysiac) Artists occurs in line 6.

170. MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS TO ULPUS
EURYCLES AT EPHEBUS, A.D. 163 OR 164

Ephesus. Five blocks from a wall in the Great Theatre. They could not be found in October 1973, apart from one fragment in the British Museum.

E. L. Hicks, *BMusInsc* 3 (1890), No. 497 (lines 41–47 only); R. Heberdey, *JÖAI* 1 (1898) Beiblatt 78 (lines 1–13 only); [R. Cagnat, *Année ép.* (1898) No. 67]; W. Dittenberger, *OGIS* (1905) 508 (lines 1–13 only). The real *editio princeps* is that of R. Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesos* 2 (Vienna, 1912) 119–123, No. 23 with drawing. J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 6, 1941) 93–96, No. 11. See also Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, (Paris, 1926) 436, and Magie, *Roman Rule*, 855–860 (on the Gerusia at Ephesus and elsewhere).

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Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος
 Σεβαστὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος
 Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακός, Οὐλπίω Εὐρυκλεῖ
 χαίρειν.

- 5 Ὅτι μὲν ὑπ' ἀνθυπάτων δοθέντα σε τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν Ἐφεσίων
 λογιστὴν ἐκείνοις ἔδει, περὶ ὧν ἠπόρεις, ἀναφέρειν, αὐτὸς τε εὐγνω
 μόνως ἐδήλωσας ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεμνήσθημεν,
 ὡς ραιδῶς ἀνάγεσθαι τινὰς τῷ παραδείγματι. Ὁ δὲ πρῶτον ἡμῖν ἐκοίνωσας,
 τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀργυρῶν εἰκόνων, πρᾶγμα ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς ἡμετέρας συνχωρήσε
 10 [ως] προσδεόμενον<ν>, δῆλόν ἐστί σοι καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐρωτήσεις
 ἀφορμὴν συμβε
 [βλη]μένον. Τὰς οὖν εἰκόνας τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, ἃς ἀποκεῖσθαι λέγεις ἐν τῷ
 συνε
 [δρί]ω τούτῳ παλαιάς, ἐνὶ μὲν λόγῳ πάσας δοκιμάζομεν φυλαχθῆναι τοῖς
 ὀνόμασιν, ἐφ' ὃ
 [ῖ]ς γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἐκάστη ὧς δὲ ἡμετέρους χαρακτῆρας μὴδὲν τι τῆς ὕλης
 ἐκείνης
 [μ]εταφέρειν. Οἱ γὰρ οὔτ' ἄλλως [εἰς τ]ὰς ἡμε[τέ]ρας τιμὰς ἔσμεν πρόχειροι,
 [πολὸν] δὴ τι ἦτ[τον ἂν]
 15 [ἄλλας εἰς ἡμᾶς μετ]αβα[λλο]μένας ἀνασχοίμεθα· ἄλλ' ὅσαι μ[ὲν αὐτῶν
 αὐτοκράτορος]
 [τινος καὶ νῦν ἔτι παρ]έχουσι τὰς μορφάς, κἂν ὅσον γνωρίζεσ[θαι τῶν
 προσώπων τοὺς χα]
 [ρακτῆρας, ταύτας κα]ὶ σοὶ παρέστη λελογισμένως, ὅτι τοῖς αὐτ[οῖς δεῖ
 φυλαχθῆναι ὀνό]
 [μασιν, ἐφ' οἷς γεγόνασιν]· περὶ δὲ τῶν οὕτως ἄγαν συντεθραυ[σμένων, ὡς
 ἀναφέρεις, καὶ]
 [οὐδεμίαν μορφήν ἔτ]ι φαίνειν δυναμένων τάχα μὲν ἂν καὶ [τούτων ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ
 τοῖς βά]
 20 [θροῖς ἐπιγραφῶν, τ]άχα δ' ἂν καὶ ἐκ βιβλίων, εἴ τινα ἔστι τῷ σ[υνεδρίῳ
 τούτῳ.]
 [— — ca. 14 — — τὰ ὀνό]ματα συνπορισθεῖη, ὥστε τοῖς προγεγονόσι, μᾶλλον
 τὴν]
 vac. [τει]μὴν ἀνανεωθῆναι [ἥπερ διὰ τ]ῆς ἀναχῶν[εὐσεως ἐξαφανισθῆναι τῶν]
 εἰκόνων. Τῇ δὲ χωνεύσει πρῶτον μὲν σε παρὰ τυχ[— — — — 24-26 — — — —]
 ταλαμβάνῃ τοῦ μέτρου τῆς λογιστείας· ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ [— — — — 26-28 — — — —]
 25 ὑπῆρξω καὶ τὸ συγχωρηθῆναι διεπράξω παρ' ἡμῶν [— — — — 25-27 — — — —]
 πραχθῆναι ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλους πρὸς τὸ σοὶ μάλιστα ἀνεσ[— 20-22 — — οὖς ἂν]
 ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος εἴτε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς γερουσίας ε[ἴτε ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν
 πολεῖ]
 τῶν δοκιμάσῃ. vacat Τὸ δὲ κατὰ Σατορνείνον τὸν δημόσιον [— 16-18 — — — —]

- ὃν παρὰ τῶν χρεωστῶν τοῦ συνεδρίου πολλὰ κεκομίσθαι λέγεις [χρήματα, μὴ
 προσηκού]
- 30 σης τῆς εἰσπράξεως, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. Εἰ μὲν γάρ τι εἰσῆνεγκεν, ὧν ἀπ[εἰλήφεν,
 οὐδ' ἄλλο]
 παρὰ τοῦτο εἴη διάφορον, ὅτι οὐχ, ὥς προσῆκεν, ἔδοσαν οἱ δόντες, οἷόν τι καὶ ὁ
 [ἐπίτροπος ἦ]
 μῶν ἐν τοῖς <ς> ἰδίοις τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας λογισμοῖς προσέταξεν φυλάσσεσθ[αι,
 χωρὶς τοῦ]
 βλάπτεσθαι τινα κατὰ τὴν τῶν προσώπων ἐναλλαγὴν τῶν ἀπειληφότων, [τότε
 οὐδε]
 μία ζημία παρηκολούθησεν. Εἰ δὲ κάκεῖνοι δεδώκασιν, ὥς μὴ προσῆκον ἦν, κ[αὶ
 ὁ ἀπολα]
- 35 βῶν ἠφάνισεν τὰ κο[μισθέντα, τότε], εἰ μὲν τι εὐρίσκοιτο ἴδιον ἢ ἔχων ἢ
 καταλελ[οιπῶς]
 ἐκεῖνος, τὸ δὴ προσα[γορευόμενον πε]κούλιον, τοῦτο συλλέξασθαι πᾶν ὀφείλεις·
 [εἰ δὲ]
 κα<ι> οὕτως ὑπὲρ τὴν [δύν]αμιν τὴν [ἐκεί]νου προσδεῖ τι τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν
 εἰσπραχθέντων ὅ
 π' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεσχ[η]μένων, ἐπιγνώ[μ]ων ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος γενέσ[θω
 δ]ιδασ[κόμε]
 νος ὑπὸ σου, πρὸς οὗ[στ]ῆνας ἐπανελθε[ῖ]ν σε δεῖ τῶν ἐκείνων καταβεβληκότων,
 [διακρίνων]
- 40 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου [υ τοῦ μ]εταξὺ διεληλυθότος καὶ τῶν [ἀ]ξίων τοῦ τρόπου
 [-----]
 [---16---τ]ετικῶς ἀποδεικνύει, παρασταίῃ τ[-----]
 [---12---ἀνενε]γκεῖν κελευσθῆναι τὰ κακῶς ἀποδο[θέντα ---14-16---]
 [---16---τ]ῇ ὁδοῖ. vacat Αἱ δὲ συνεχεῖς ἀναβολαὶ τῶν [χρεῶν ---11-13---]
 [---17---]ν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ Σαβεῖνος, ὥς φης, ἐνετ[-----]
 45 [---17---]τῶνα, σχεδὸν ἀνανκαῖον ποοῦσι καὶ σοὶ τὸ χρ[---16-18---]
 [---17---]τὸ συνχωρεῖν ὥσπερ γὰρ αἰδῶ πολλὴν ἀνδ[---16-18---]
 [---17---]σιν Φ οὕτως, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὶ τινες αἰτίαν [-----]
 [..]ασθ[αῖ] τοὺς βλαπτομένους [----- ca. 45 -----]
 [συ]γλόου συνεδρίου κοιν[----- ca. 45 ----- προ]
- 50 σιῖναι τῷ κρ[α]τίστῳ ἀνθυπά[τ]ω ----- ca. 44 -----]
 [.]ου. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ σκέμ[α ----- ca. 44 ----- ἀ]
 ναφοράν, ὡς λέγεις, ἐπὶ τοὺς [----- ca. 44 -----]
 σιν ἐνχωροῦντος εἴτε εἰς παραπ[----- ca. 44 -----]
 ρησιν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, τί ἄλλο [----- ca. 42 ----- γε]
- 55 ρουσία τὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον καὶ ἀ[----- ca. 44 -----]
 ρον ἐνγύθεν ἕκαστα ἐξευρεῖν [----- ca. 44 -----]
 ο. Τὰς μέντοι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτ[----- ca. 44 -----]
 οὐ μόνον κατὰ τάξιν ἐστὶ τὸ προ[----- ca. 44 ----- προσ]
 ῖωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν [----- ca. 45 -----]
- 60 προσίωσι τοῖς καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπ[----- ca. 46 -----]
 μαθεῖν ἐνγύθεν δυ[-----]

1–14 Heb. 15 *αὐτοκράτορος* Oliver, cetera Heb. 16 *τινος καὶ νῦν ἔτι παρ]έχουσι* Oliver, cetera Heb. 17–30 Heb. 31 *ἐπίτροπος ἡ]μῶν* Oliver, *κράτιστος ἡγε]μῶν* Heb. 32–39 Heb. 40 *[αἰ]τίων* Heb., *[ἀ]ξίων* Oliver. 41 Hicks. 42 *προενε]γκεῖν* Hicks, *ἀνενε]γκεῖν* Heb.; *ἀποδο[θέντα* Hicks. 43 *χρεῶν* Heb. 47 *ἐ]χωσι?* Hicks. 48–51 Heb.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Imperator Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus to Ulpius Eurycles, greetings.

That you who had been given by the proconsuls to the Gerusia of the Ephesians as financial commissioner should have reported to them (the proconsuls) concerning your difficulties, you yourself well knew and wisely said so, and we have commented upon this point in order that people might not lightly refer to a precedent here. The first question in your communication to us, the question of the silver images, has obviously furnished you with the occasion for the other inquiries, and it is a matter which requires our permission indeed. In regard then to the images of the emperors, old images which you say are stored in this synhedrion, in brief we think that all of them should be preserved under the names under which each of them came into existence, and that none of that material should be realtered into representations of ourselves. For we who are in no particular way eager to accept our own honors, would still less willingly put up with [those of others] realtered [to represent ourselves]. But it has occurred also to you after considering the matter that as many [of them as even now] retain the features [of some emperor] enough for the [figures] to be recognized, [ought to be preserved] under the same [names under which they came into existence]. In regard, moreover, to those so exceedingly battered [as you report and no longer] capable of exhibiting [any outline], even [their] identifications might perhaps be supplied [from inscriptions on the bases], or perhaps even from inventories, if there are any in [this synhedrion . . .] so that [the honor] might be renewed for [our predecessors rather than disappear through] the melting down of the images. And at the smelting first you . . . of the record of the accounting office. But since . . . you began and brought it about that it was permitted by us . . . and others . . . [whom] the most illustrious

proconsul might approve either from the Gerusia itself [or from the whole citizen body].

And concerning Saturninus the public slave . . . who you say collected from the debtors of the synhedrion a great deal of [money], when it was [not his business] to collect it, the case is as follows: If he has brought in any such [collection], it would simply mean that those who paid have paid to the wrong person (against which our [procurator] warned them in reference to the private accounts of our household) [without] anyone being harmed by the confusion in the persons who have collected; then no injury has followed. But in the case that those people have paid to the wrong person and the recipient has made away with the sums collected: If, on the one hand, it is found that he either holds any such an amount or has bequeathed it, the so-called peculium, you ought to attach all this; [if, on the other hand], even so a part of the sum collected by him for the Gerusia and retained by him still surpasses his assets, then the most illustrious proconsul, informed by you, shall be the judge which ones of those who have paid to the aforesaid you must approach again, . . . from the time that has meanwhile elapsed and from the deserts of (a man's) character . . . having paid, produces proof, would present . . . order to bring again the sums that were wrongly paid . . . at the payment.

The continual postponements of the [debts] . . . his grandfather Sabinus, as you say, . . . make it almost necessary for you also . . . to concede. For as great respect . . . thus, whenever some of them . . . cause . . . the injured parties . . . of the whole synhedrion . . . approach the most excellent proconsul . . . and this question . . . recourse, as you say, to the . . . [Farewell].

Commentary

The date is given by the cognomen Armeniacus borne by Lucius Verus but not yet by Marcus in line 2, A.D. 163/4 rather than 162/3 (see P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser [Hypomnemata 23, 1969] 98*).

The inscription contains a rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the financial commissioner of the Ephesian Gerusia, M. Ulpius Apuleius Eurycles, the same who is honored by Antoninus Pius in No. 155 *supra*. The interest of the inscription

lies in the view it gives of the many areas in which the Gerusia, fundamentally concerned with the affairs of Artemis, found itself involved. The silver statues of former emperors, which were carried in processions, had been stored in the synhedrion of the Gerusia. Many of them in the course of time had become battered beyond recognition. Should they be melted down and recast as statues of the living emperors? No, indeed. To accept statues in precious metals would violate the policy set by Augustus. Every effort should be made to identify them. The question was one on which the emperors themselves had to rule, and it is noteworthy that the emperors so insist while they are careful to remind the curator that he ordinarily reports to and consults, not the emperors, but the proconsul of Asia, the official who appointed him. They might have answered this one question and referred him to the proconsul for his other questions, but they did not, probably because they were unwilling to appear discourteous in the least to a man of such distinction.

From the remark in line 10 we learn that besides the matter of the images at least two other questions of policy formed the subject of the auditor's inquiry and received the attention of the emperors in this letter. A vacant space on the stone marks the transition to a second paragraph, in which the emperors consider the case of the public slave Saturninus, who without any authority collected money owed to the Gerusia. It was the public slave's duty to collect for the city, and those who had given him the money owed to the synhedrion of the Gerusia had done so because he was a recognized government agent.

Another vacant space in the middle of line 43 indicates the beginning of a third paragraph, regarding the continual postponement of debts owed to the Gerusia. The reference in line 44 presumably concerns a case where payment has been successfully evaded by two generations of debtors.

**171. MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS TO THE
[BEROEANS?], A.D. 165**

Copied in a school at Thessalonica by Ch. Avezou and Ch. Picard and published *BCH* 37 (1913) 87–90, No. 2. See also A. Plassart, *BCH* 47 (1923) 184, n. 3. *Non vidi*.

- [Αὐτοκράτ]ωρ Καῖσ[αρ Μ. Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστὸς]
 [Ἀρμε]νιακός, ἀρχιερ[εὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσί]
 ας τὸ ἐννεακαιδέκ[ατον, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ γ', ὑπατος τὸ γ'],
 καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσα[ρ Λ. Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρ]
 5 μενιακός, ἀρχιερεὺς [μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας]
 τὸ ε', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ [γ', ὑπατος τὸ β', ἀνθύπατος, θεοῦ Ἀν]
 τωνῖνου υἱοί, θεοῦ Ἀ[δριανοῦ υἱωνοί, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρ]
 θικοῦ ἔγγονοι, θεοῦ [Νέρου ἀπόγονοι, Βεροιαίων? τοῖς]
 ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ [καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν]
 10 Ὅπως μὲν διακεῖσθαι ![-----]
 χασάμεθα, καὶ τοῖς ὑπα[-----]
 μένοις ἡμεῖν· νῦν δὲ [-----]
 μεμαθήκαμεν ἀλλὰ [-----]
 ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τ[-----]
 15 ἐπανηρόμεθα ὑμᾶ[ς-----]
 νῦν δὲ ἔργῳ πεπειρ[-----]
 ὑμῶν ἀπόκρισιν α[-----]
 οὐχ ὥς ἅπασιν καθα[-----]
 τῶν λειτουργιῶν δια[-----]
 20 τως ἐπιτήδειον εἰ [-----]
 τῶς ἡμεῖν ἐπεσ[-----]
 [.]εἰν ὁ ἀνὴρ φαῖ [-----]
 [---]ίου προεἰ[-----]
 [---]ΙΑΣΕ[-----]
 [-----]

The text is based on that of Avezou and Picard with changes. In 6 ἀνθύπατος and in 8 Plassart's restoration Βεροιαίων have been added; references to the third instead of the second imperial acclamation have been substituted in lines 3 and 6 (see Commentary) and in 6 the original restoration θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀν has been normalized.

Translation

Imperator Caesar [M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus] Armeniacus, pontifex [maximus, tribunician power] for the nineteenth time, [imperator for the third time, thrice consul], and Imperator Caesar [L. Aurelius Verus Augustus] Armeniacus, pontifex [maximus (sic), tribunician power] for the fifth time, imperator for the [third time, twice consul, proconsul], sons of [deified] Antoninus, [grandsons] of deified [Hadrian, great-grandsons] of [dei-

fied Trajan] Parthicus, great-great-grandsons] of deified [Nerva],
to the archons, council [and demos of the Beroeans?, greetings].
— — — liturgies — — —

Commentary

The epistle is safely dated by Marcus's nineteenth tenure of the tribunician power to the year which ran from 10 December 164 through 9 December 165. The third imperial salutation of both emperors occurred at some time during this year, and Lucius Verus adopted the victory epithet Parthicus Maximus when the news arrived, presumably in the late spring or summer. Marcus Aurelius did not accept the victory epithet until 166 (P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser* [*Hypomnemata* 23, 1969] 99).

Line 5 undoubtedly read ἀρχιερεὺς [μέγιστος, but since Lucius Verus did not claim the title *pontifex maximus* in other epistles or in *diplomata militaria* and since the victory epithet Parthicus Maximus is clearly missing in lines 4 and 5, the phrase ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος appears to have been erroneously engraved for Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος. Others (cf. *Historia* 26 [1977] 90–94) tended to give him the title *pontifex maximus* because he was co-ruler on an equal basis; hence the substitution was psychologically easy. It is important to recognize in this a mere error of the engraver or scribe and not a claim by Lucius Verus himself. It follows that the third imperial acclamation had already occurred.

Recipients of the epistle were the archons, council, and demos of an important Macedonian city, not too far from Thessalonica, the name of which would be too long. In line 8 reference to the Beroeans just fits the space and the circumstances. Beroea is known to have had politarchs in the first century after Christ (see I. P. Touratzoglou, Πρακτικὰ β' Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Ἀρχαίας Μακεδονίας [Thessalonica, 1977] 486–493), but the emperors may have addressed the magistrates as “archons” even if the city still had politarchs. For the formula compare No. 167 to Beroea from the same emperors.

172. EPISTLE OF MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS AT DELPHI, A.D. 163–165

Delphi. Three small fragments of an orthostate block from the Temple of Apollo are supposed to be in the storeroom of the

Museum at Delphi. Two fragments from the left side of the block, Inv. Nos. 882 and 755, were examined in 1971, but the third, Inv. No. 1689, could not be found.

A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 116 f., No. 317 with photographs of all three fragments.

172

[*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιᾰκός*],
ἀρχιερ[εὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ᾤ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ Β, ὕπατος]
τὸ Γ^ν []
Αὐτο[κράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιᾰκός, δημαρ]
χ[ικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ -----]

lacuna of uncertain extent

χαῖρ[-
θεκαΙ[-
συνκ[-
πρεσβ[ε-
νηνΙ[-

Frag. 1689

] σεβοντ[
] σου [

Commentary

The two fragments on the left are important in showing the arrangement of the imperial titles on the stone, the identity of the writers, whose equality is illustrated by the *ekthesis* clearly discernible in the photograph of 882, and something of the length of the epistle. The third fragment preserves the word] *σέβοντ[αι* but no better clue to its position.

Although Plassart forgot to allow for *ekthesis* of the first line of each emperor's name extending two spaces into the left margin, he recognized the emperors and made restorations correctly. The length of the line works out best with each emperor having the victory epithet Armeniacus but not the victory epithet Parthicus Maximus, which Verus adopted in the late spring or summer of 165, Marcus in 166. The date could be 163, 164, or 165.

Plassart pointed out that the numeral is treated differently in this inscription (*FD* 3.4, 317) and in the inscription *FD* 3.4, 313 (our No. 177), and for this reason he refused to consider them parts of the same. Suspicion, however, remains. If they are indeed

separate epistles, *FD* 3.4, 313, which acknowledges congratulations and guarantees freedom and autonomy, must be their first letter to the Delphians. It precedes *FD* 3.4, 317, certainly, if 317 is addressed to the Delphians.

173. MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS [TO THE COUNCIL OF THE AREOPAGUS], A.D. 165

Athens. Three fragments of white (Pentelic) marble. Fragment A, preserving part of the smooth back and of the rough-picked left side, was found in 1953 in the Agora excavations in a Byzantine wall. It is now I 6602 in the Agora Museum. Fragment B, EM 8402 of unknown provenience, has been in the Epigraphical Museum for many years; preserving part of the smooth back but broken away above, below and at the sides, it is 0.225 m. high, 0.19 m. wide and 0.068 m. thick (not having any of Fragment A's raised edge). Fragment C was found face down as a drain cover in the courtyard of Roman House H in the Agora excavations. John McK. Camp II, who recognized that it joined Fragment A, so informed the writer, sending a transcript of C (I 7173) and, with the kind permission of T. Leslie Shear, Jr., a photograph. Fragments A and C join as one piece, 1.03 m. high, 0.33 m. wide, and 0.08–0.085 m. thick.

B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 25, No. 26 with photograph (A only); [A. G. Woodhead, *SEG* XXI 508]; J. H. Oliver, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 175–171 (A and B only); J. H. Oliver, "The Actuality of Lucian's Assembly of the Gods," *AJP* 101 (1980) 301–313 (all three fragments with a photograph of the join between A and C).

173

Ἀυτοκρ[άτωρ Καῖσαρ Μ]άρκος [Αὐρήλιος Ἀντω]
 νῖνος Σ[εβαστὸς Ἀρ]μενιᾱκό[ς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγι]
 στος, δημ[αρχικῆς] ἐξουσίας τ[ὸ ἸΘ', αὐτοκράτωρ]
 τὸ Γ', ὑπα[τὸς τὸ Γ'], καὶ Ἀυτο[κράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκι]
 5 ος Αὐρήλι[ος Οὐῆρο]ς Σεβ[αστὸς Ἀρμενιᾱκός]
 Παρθικὸς [Μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας]
 τὸ Ε', αὐτο[κράτωρ τὸ Γ', ὑπατος τὸ Β', ἀνθύπατος],
 θεοῦ Ἀντω[νίνου υἱοί, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱωνοί],
 θε[ο]ῦ [Τρ]αῖα[νοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἔκγονοι, θεοῦ Νέρονα]

- 10 ἀπόγονοι ὧν [τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ ὧν χαίρειν]
 Τὸ συνέδριον τῇ[ς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς, τὸ]
 πρεσβύτατον [τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι συνεδρίων καὶ]
 ἐνδοξότατον [ν -----]
 ὧν, εὐνοίαν [-----]
 15 δια καὶ προθ[-----]
 ἀν αὐτὸ οὐ λό[γων μόνον ----- ἀλλὰ καὶ]
 ἔργων ἐνθα[-----]
 μέντοι καὶ Σ[-----]
 τῆς διανοίας [-----]
 20 ὅσον οἷόν [τε -----]
 τιδὶ ἐν οἷς [-----]
 ὩΣΤΑ παρ[-----]
 [κα]τὰ τὰ πο[-----]
 25 [.]ρα[-----]
 [-----]

Translation

Imperator [Caesar] Marcus [Aurelius] Antoninus [Augustus] Armeniacus, [pontifex] maximus, tribunician power for the [nineteenth time, imperator] for the third time, [thrice] consul, and Imperator [Caesar Lucius] Aurelius [Verus] Augustus [Armeniacus] Parthicus [Maximus, tribunician power] for the fifth time, imperator [for the third time, twice consul, proconsul, sons] of deified Antoninus, [grandsons of deified Hadrian, great-grandsons] of deified Trajan [Parthicus], great-great grandsons [of deified Nerva, to the Council of the Areopagus, greetings].

The synhedrion of the [Council of the Areopagus], oldest [of the synhedria among the Hellenes and] most famous – –

Commentary

The epistle is dated before 10 December A.D. 165 by the reference in line 7 to the fifth tribunician power of Lucius Verus, and it is dated by the reference in line 4 to some time after receipt of the news that Marcus Aurelius had received his third imperial salutation. The third imperial salutation of both emperors occurred at some time during A.D. 165, and Lucius Verus adopted the title Parthicus Maximus when the news arrived, presumably in the late spring or summer. Since Marcus was in Italy and Lucius in the East until 166, the epistle is from one emperor writing in the name of both.

The epistle concerns a synhedrion that is described as the oldest and most famous, and surely this means among the Greeks. The emperor's thought runs in the same groove as two famous literary passages, of which one is Solon's elegy cited by [pseudo-] Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 5, (Attica) *πρεσβυτάτην . . . γαῖαν Ἰαονίας*. The other is Isocrates, *Areopagiticus* 37, *ὥστ' εἰκότως αὐτὴν* (sc. *τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν*) *διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνισι συνεδρίων*. The oldest synhedrion still existing among the Greeks in A.D. 165 was that of the Areopagus, where Aeschylus and Hellanicus located the trial of Orestes (see F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* 323a, F 1). If it is a letter about the Areopagus, the recipient has to be either the whole government of Athens or the Areopagus alone. Since line 10 could not accommodate a restoration of the names of three corporations, the epistle appears to have been addressed to the Areopagus alone. Furthermore, the length of the epistle (at least 25 lines) and the absence of banal formulas indicate that the subject was something important.

Now it becomes clear that this is the epistle in which Marcus Aurelius (No. 184, lines 57–61) tried, in his zeal *ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, to lead the Areopagus back to the ancient custom by which they admitted to the Areopagus only those who could qualify with three generations of free birth. In the *editio princeps* of the edict No. 184 attention was necessarily drawn to the above cited passage of the *Areopagiticus* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 13, 138), so that it is no surprise to find the passage reflected in the epistle too. On the victory epithets of Lucius Verus the reader is referred to P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser* (1969) 97–110 and 120–125. There is no temptation to restore *Μηδικός* in line 6, which reaches an adequate length without it.

In *AJP* 101 Oliver argues that Lucian's Assembly of the Gods was composed in reaction to the excitement and litigation following receipt of this epistle from Marcus Aurelius in the name of both emperors.

174. MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS TO UNKNOWN RECIPIENTS, A.D. 166/7

Egypt. Papyrus from the Fayum, now in East Berlin (Staatliche Museen P 6994). Seen in September 1972. H. 0.11 m., W. 0.09 m.

Paul Viereck, *BGU* I (1892) No. 74 and p. 355; [Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 64]; F. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste* 1:15 with notes from Schubart and Wilcken.

174

- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντ[ωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακὸς
 Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας]
 τὸ κᾱ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ε̄, ὑπατος τὸ γ̄, πατὴρ[ρ πατρίδος, καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ
 Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς]
 Μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ζ̄, [αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ε̄, ὑπατος τὸ γ̄, πατὴρ
 πατρίδος, θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου υἱοί, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱωνοί],
 θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἐγγονοί, θειο[ῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονοι, -----]
 5 χαίρει[ν. Ὡ]τι μὲν τὰς δωρεάς, ὧν ἔτ[ι] δ[-----]
 ἡμεῖν καὶ αὐτοὶ δύνεσθ' ἂν τοῦτο ε[----- τὰ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτο]
 κράτορσιν δόξαντα τιδυκεχρημ[-----]
 καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἄλογον εἶη ὅπόσον μὲν ὑ[-----]
 ἀφαιρετεῖντε ὅτε ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων α[-----]
 10 πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργέτας χάριτι ταῦτα μ[-----]
 σαφῆ δῆλωσιν ἐγ μόνων τῶν γε[-----]
 μενον εἶπερ τι ζητεῖται οὔτε παρα[-----]
 ἐνῆν, ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ τούτων οὕτως ε[-----]
 ταῦτα ἐπιστέλλομεν [ὅ]τι τὰ μὲν δ[-----]
 15 συμβαίνει παρὰ λιτ[ῶ]ν ἡμετ[έρων -----]
 [-----]

6 δύνεσθ' = δύναισθ'. 7 τιδν Schubart, ἥδη Viereck. 9 ἀφαιρετεῖντε = ἀφαιρεθεῖντε. Verso Ἀντίγρ(αφον) ἐπι[σ]τ[ο]λ(ῆς) τῶν κυρίων in second hand (Wilcken).

1 Ἀντ[ωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας] Viereck, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος Oliver. 2 Viereck. 3 ε̄ Oliver; cetera Viereck. 4 Oliver. 5 Viereck. 6 αὐτο] Viereck; cetera Oliver. 14–15 Viereck.

Commentary

The document may be dated between 10 December of 166 and 9 December of 167 by reference to Marcus Aurelius's twenty-first tenure of the tribunician power.

The first subject treated seems to be the gifts and decisions made by previous emperors. Just as Claudius in No. 23 says that he preserves privileges enjoyed κατὰ τὰ δ[όξαντα θε]ῶ Σεβαστῶ, so here Marcus and Lucius. Similar references to previous emperors occur in Nos. 39, 44, 69, 70, and 212B.

Perhaps a new sentence begins in line 7, Τί δ(εἰ) κ(αὶ) χρημ[—
—].

175-177. EPISTLES AT DELPHI, ONE FROM MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS

Delphi. Ten fragments of an orthostate inscribed in two columns. In 1970 the writer examined Inv. Nos. 413, 537, 748, 1372, 2110, in the Upper Lapidarium of the Museum, perhaps also 825, 843, 2862, but could not find 3009.

A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 107-114, Nos. 311-313, with good photographs of all fragments.

Column I contains Nos. **175** and **176**, one above the other and separated by a vacant area equal to four lines. Plassart assigns the unplaced fragments 825 and 2862 to No. **176**; they are by the same hand but may belong to a different document and are here omitted.

175-176. UNKNOWN TO UNKNOWN

175

5

...εὐνοίας

σοι καὶ Κλαυδι

ον τούτων μαρ

? σ]ε ἤδει ὄντα τοι

[οὔτον? ----- 'Ερρῶσθ]αί σε βούλομαι.

No. **175** by a single emperor or prince to an individual antedates the death of Antoninus Pius. The restorations are by Plassart.

Column II: The first nineteen lines contain an epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Immediately below it there comes something else which Plassart thought might be another imperial letter but is here omitted for lack of evidence.

176

[-----] ζ θεοῦ
[-----] ζ μεγι

177. MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS TO [THE
DELPHIANS], A.D. 164/5

177

- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς] ζ Ἀρμεν
[ιακός],
[ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ $\overline{I\overline{H}}$, αὐτοκράτ]ωρ τὸ \overline{B} , ὕ[πατος]
[τὸ \overline{I} , καὶ] vacat []
[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρή]λιος Οὐῆ[ρος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμ]ενιακός[ς,
δη]
5 [μαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ \overline{A} , αὐτοκρά]τωρ τ[ὸ \overline{B} , ὕπατος τὸ \overline{B} , ἀνθ]ύπα[τος],
[θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου υἱοί, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱοί, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ]
[ἔγγονοι, θεοῦ Νέρου ἀπόγονοι, Δελφῶν ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ πόλει ὕ χαιρεῖν]
Πε[ρὶ μὲν ----- Δι]
ονυσ[-----] ἐπέσταλται, χαιρόντω[ν]
10 ἅμα κα[ὶ εὐχαριστοῦντων ἡμῶν καὶ βεβα]ιούντων ὅσα τοὺς τῶν
μεγίσ[των χαρίτων πο]λλ[άκις τετυχηκός]ας ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων ἡ
μῶν [κεκτηῖσθαι] εἰκὸς ἦν. [τὴν τε ἐλευθερ]ίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν
καὶ τὰ δ[ί]καῖα πάντ[α] ὅσα ὑμῶν ἐ[γένετο κ]αὶ ἐφυλάχθη τότε ἡγεῖσθε
καὶ ὑφ' ἡ[μῶν αὐθις δ]εδόσθαι, ὅ τ[ι γε ὁ θεὸς] πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐβεβαίωσεν
15 [ὑμεῖν. Περὶ δὲ τ]ῶ[ν σ]τεφάνων δ[εῖ μὲν τ]ῇ παρ' ὑμῶν προθυμίαι κ[α]
[ταίνειν, ἡ δὲ] ἡμετέρα γνώμη τῷ κ[ηρύγ]ματι προηγόρευται ὕ Ἐπρέ[σ]
[ἔνν βεον Κλαύ]διος Εὐφράτης κ[αὶ -----]ος, οἷς τὸ ἐφόδι ἔν[ν]
[ἔνν ὀν δοθήτω], εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχ[ηνται ὕ Ἀπρι]λλίου λ. Ἀπὸ ἔν[ν]
[ἔνν ---] vacat []

Translation

[Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus] Armeniacus, [pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the eighteenth time], emperor for the second time, [thrice] consul, [and Imperator Caesar Lucius] Aurelius Verus [Augustus] Armeniacus, [tribunician power for the fourth time], emperor for [the second time, twice consul], proconsul, [sons of divine Antoninus, grandsons of divine Hadrian, great-grandsons of divine Trajan, great-great-grandsons of divine Nerva, to the archons and polis of the Delphians, greetings].

Concerning [— — — — — these] have [already] been ordained [as we] expressed joy and simultaneously [offered thanks and] guaranteed all that it was natural for those [to possess who on many an occasion had obtained] the greatest [favours] from our ancestors. [The status of freedom] and autonomy and all the privileges which [were] yours and were preserved at that time, consider that these have been granted by [us again], whatever, [that is, the divus] our father guaranteed [for you. Concerning] the crowns [it is necessary to commend] the zeal on your part [but] our decision has been announced in our proclamation.

As ambassadors came Claudius Euphrates and [— — — — —. Let] the travel allowance [be paid] to them, unless they have promised [to go] at their own expense. April 30. From [— — —].

Commentary

The epistle, dated to 164/5 by the second imperial salutation, concerns two matters. In commenting on the first matter the emperors refer to the many letters which they sent out immediately upon their joint accession in reply to congratulatory letters and honorary decrees. (One such reply is that to Beroea, No. 167.) It seems to have been an inquiry by the Delphians about Dionysiac Artists or Dionysia which elicited this reference to the policy of freedom and autonomy widely publicized in A.D. 161.

The second matter is the offer of gold crowns upon the success in Armenia. The emperors refer to a proclamation declining this *aurum coronarium*. Plassart draws attention to the proclamation of Severus Alexander, who in No. 275 infra cites Trajan and Marcus Aurelius for precedents. It was to this proclamation of Marcus Aurelius (and Lucius Verus) that Severus Alexander pointed.

The restorations in lines 6–8 are by Oliver. Elsewhere Plassart's restorations have been retained with slight adjustments, e.g., *αὐθις* for *ὑμῖν* and the addition of a limiting *γε* in line 14, *δ[ίκαια πάντ]α* for *δ[εδομέν]α* in the first lacuna of line 13, and *δοθήτω* for *δοθῆναι* *χρή* in line 17. The restoration *δ[ίκαια* in line 13 and the limitation in line 14 are best understood by comparing the passage with the epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the Coroneans, No. 109: "Ὅσα τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ αὐτονομίας δίκαια ἐδόθη πρότερον ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ἐτήρησέν [τε ὁ] θεὸς πατὴρ ἡ[μ]ῶν, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς βεβαιούμεν.

**178–179. EPISTLES AT DELPHI, ONE FROM MARCUS
AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS**

Delphi. Three fragments (64, 634, and 3864), presumably from the terrace of the Temple of Apollo, were examined in 1970 in the Upper Lapidarium of the Museum. The main fragment (inv. no. 64) contains the end of a letter of unknown authorship and below it what appears to be the beginning of an epistle by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The non-contiguous fragment 634 belongs to the epistle of the unknown author; the non-contiguous fragment 3864 with concluding formula belongs to the epistle from Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 114–116, Nos. 315–316.

178. Unknown to Unknown

178

ρονι
τ]ῶ διαγράμμι[ατι
εἰ μὴ προῖ]κα ὑπέσχηται, Ε[ὕτχεῖτε.

179. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to Unknown

179

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνο]ς Σεβαστός, Ἀρμεν[ιακός
[καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος Σεβασ]τός, Ἀρμεν[ιακός

634

ηλ|
ησθατ

3864

νσ
προ
τωνε
Ἐπρέσ[βευ-
Εὕτ]τυχεῖτ[ε

Plassart recognized the connection and made the restorations.

**180. MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS TO
UNKNOWN AT DELPHI**

Delphi. Five fragments of an inscription from the terrace of the Temple of Apollo are here reproduced from A. Plassart, *FD*

3.4 (1970) 119–120, Nos. 318–319, with photographs on Plate 20.

180

Αὐτοκράτω[ρ Κ]αῖσ[αρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός ---]

Αὐτο[κράτω]ρ Καῖσαρ[Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος Σεβαστός ---]

vac. ΜΕΛΙΣ[-----]

ιν 4 οὐδ[-----]

]ω χρο ζε[

]εὐχάς νC[

]π' Β[

]ντουδ[

]στε πολλο[

τῇ]ν θεραπεί[αν

]ες καὶ σὲ α[

]οὐδ' ὅς ἐθ[

]τ[

] . σπρ[

]ων

ἐπι]στά[μ]εθα σοῦ¹¹²[

]οτε πρώτον ηκ[

ε]ίληφότας σοῦ δε[

]μεν κα[ι] τὴν πρ[

]κε πε[

ε]ύφροσύνη[

]ἐρρωσθα[σε βουλόμεθα]

vac.

]εποίη[

]ερα οικ[

]σαντος ρ[

]ντα περὶ τ[

]ειμο[

]ων Ῥωμα[

]σε περὶ τρόπου[

μά]λιστα ἐτειμή[σαμεν

vac.

]ομε

]ον ἡμῶν

]ων οἰκει

π'

FD 3.4, 319, is an epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, as Plassart recognized. FD 3.4, 318, on the left, may well be another imperial letter, but it does not require a separate number in our collection. Whether the loose fragments belong in Column I or II is unknown.

181–182. MARCUS AURELIUS FROM VIMINACIUM,

A.D. 172–175

Delphi. Five fragments of an orthostate block came from the Temple of Apollo. The three fragments (Nos. 812, 3610, and

3670), now in the upper epigraphical storeroom of the Museum, were examined in 1971.

A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 323 and 324, with good photographs of all five pieces.

181

[-----]
[.]ν[----- 'Από Οὐίμ]ινακίου
vacat
vacat

182 Αὐτοκ[ρατωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος 'Αντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανι]κός,
ἀρχι[ερεὺς μέγιστος, δη]μαρχικῇ[ς ἐξου]
[σίας τὸ καθ', -----]

lacuna of uncertain extent

[-----]πυ[-----]
[----- 'Ε]πρέσβ[ευε ----- ὃ τὸ ἐφόδιον] δοθῆναι β[ούλομαι]
[----- 'Ερρῶσθαι] ὑμᾶς β[ούλομαι ----- 'Από Οὐί]μινακίου ν []
vacat

A Latin epistle of Commodus

The restorations are by Plassart.

Commentary

Marcus Aurelius received the title *Germanicus* at the end of the campaigning season of A.D. 172 (see K. P. Johne, "Zu den Siegernamen der Kaiser Marc Aurel und Commodus," *Klio* 48 [1967] 177–182, and A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius* [Boston and Toronto, 1966] 234). The line (so Plassart) becomes rather too long if one assumes that Marcus already, as from the summer of 175 on, had both titles, *Germanicus* and *Sarmaticus*.

183. MARCUS AURELIUS TO THE ATHENIANS, A.D. 169–180

Athens. Two fragments, now EM 3157 and 8401 in the Epigraphical Museum, where they were reexamined in May–June 1974, belong to the same inscription. The provenience of EM 8401 was not recorded, but EM 3157 is thought to have come from the Acropolis. This provenience seems to be confirmed by the fact that in Pentelic marble, smooth back, thickness, letter height, spacing, and script this inscription resembles the Julia

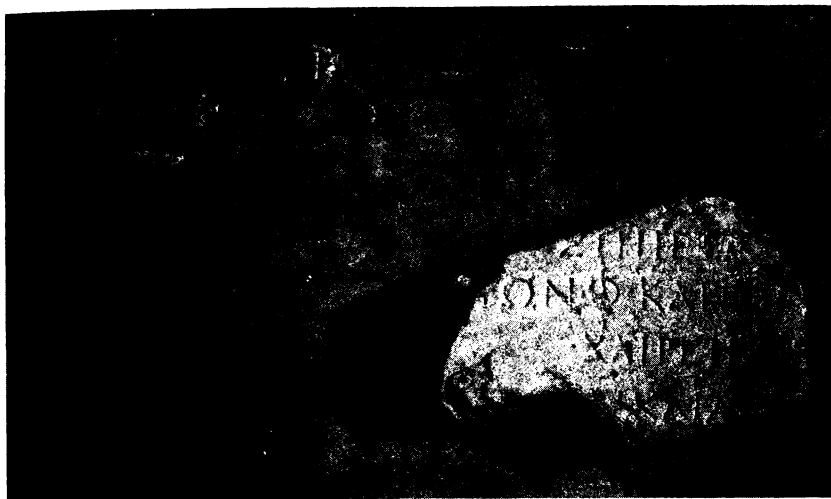


Plate 11 No. 183

Domna inscription from the Acropolis (*Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson* [Cambridge, Mass., 1940] 521–530). (Plate 11).

Fragment a, broken away above, below and at the sides, is 0.11 m. high, 0.18 m. wide and 0.075 m. thick.

Fragment b, preserving part of the right side, is 0.15 m. high, 0.225 m. wide, and 0.077 m. thick.

Both fragments preserve the smooth back and have letters 0.018 m. high, but the back of b has been eroded.

Fragment a is unpublished. Fragment b was published by W. Dittenberger, *IG III* (1878) 62 from a copy by O. Lueders, but it was overlooked by Kirchner.

183

4 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσα]ρ, θε[οῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱός],
 [θεοῦ Οὐδήρου Παρθ]ικοῦ Μεγί[στου ἀδελφός],
 [θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱ]ωνός, θεο[ῦ Τραϊανοῦ]
 [Παρθικοῦ ἔκγονος, θε]οῦ [Νέρουα ἀπόγονος]
 lacuna of uncertain extent
 7 [-----]ος τῇ ἐξ Ἀ[ρεί]
 [ου πάγου βουλῇ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ] τῶν ·Φ· καὶ τῶι
 [δήμῳι τῶι Ἀθηναίων] vac χάρειν v
 [-----]ι καὶ λο
 [-----]

Despite the similarity with the Julia Domna inscription the heading on fragment a cannot be restored with a reference to Commodus in line 2. The restorations of fragment a are by Oliver, those of fragment b by Dittenberger except that he did not realize that the right edge was preserved.

The epistle postdates the death of Lucius Verus, but it may be either of Marcus alone or of Marcus and Commodus.

**184. MARCUS AURELIUS TO THE ATHENIANS ON APPEALS,
TRIGONIA, AND HERODES ATTICUS, A.D. 174/5**

Athens, in the Roman Market Place. More than two hundred fragments of two plaques sawn from large white marble blocks to provide Late Roman flooring for the Roman Market Place (Plate 12a–b). The fragments of Plaque I are now divided between the Tower of the Winds and the Agora Museum; they are A (Agora I 4057+4083), B (Agora I 5754), C (Roman Agora 598a+b), D (Roman Agora 753), and F (Roman Agora 755). Plaque II (= E) has been reassembled in the Epigraphical

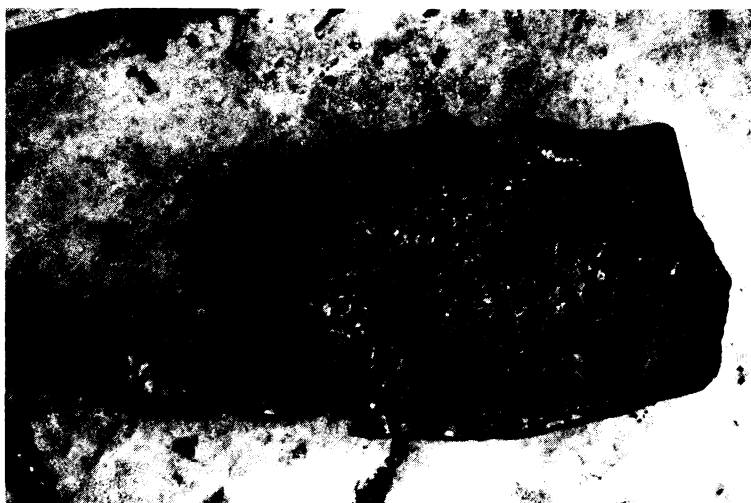


Plate 12 No. 184, D.

Museum as EM 13366, and though in places it is hard to read, it is almost complete.

J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 13, 1970) No. 1 with good photographs, an edition based primarily on autopsy (and a report from D. J. Geagan) before the monument was erected in the Epigraphical Museum and newly cleaned; C. P. Jones, "A New Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Athenians," *ZPE* 8 (1971) 161–183, with much disagreement and new readings from a photograph, some good and some bad; S. Follet, "Lettre de Marc Aurèle aux Athéniens," *RevPhil* (1979) 29–43.

See also J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1971) No. 256; J. H. Oliver, "Notes on Marcus Aurelius, EM 13366," *ZPE* 14 (1974) 265–267, about lines 27–30, 39 and 71–72; *ZPE* 16 (1975) 315 f., about lines 68 and 88–89; K. Clinton, *Sacred Officials* 60–63, 81 and 116, about lines 1–15; W. Williams, "Formal and Historical Aspects of Two New Documents of Marcus Aurelius," *ZPE* 17 (1975) 37–56; J. H. Oliver, "Greek Applications for Roman Trials," *AJP* 100 (1979) 543–558 on lines 1–57 in general and on similar material elsewhere. [W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* II (Hildesheim, 1983) 182–211, No. 189. K.C.]

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PLAQUE I

<p>A]ον υἱὸ[ν]αχθήσεται νν [ὁ κράτι]στος ἀνὴρ εἰς[]ας ὑποτρέφειν [5]ο[.] 'Ηρώιδου μετ[] ἀπευθύνεται προσυ []πέρχωνται διαδοχη []ονο[...]ασου[</p>	<p>B]ω ἐφθ[η]]τηνουκε[] ἡσυχίας []οναγαπαλ[ι] 5]νοίας εἰς τὴν ἀσφ[άλειαν] ὀρῶμαι γὰρ μηι[] δεσπότης τῶ[ν]ημα τοῦ [</p>
<p>C 5]νεμπ[] καὶ προσ[]ξοικισθῆναι δι[]λοις 'Αθηναίοις ἀλγεῖ οἱ[] ὑπέμεινα εἰς νῆσον ἐδοξεν κατα[]ον καὶ πολύπλοκον ὥς βαρὺ τοῖς ε[]ς ἐτεχνάζετο ἀρι[]ντοι προσγ[</p>	

]ται ^{vv} Εὐδοκος 'Ονησίμ[ο]υ οσανευ[
]ικῆς ἐπιτεχνησάμενος ἐφ[
 10]ιε[...].λιω, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ταῖς προτέραις
 τῆς πατρίδος καὶ [τ]ῶν νήσων αὐτῆς ἀπε[χ]έσθω ^v [
 τοῦ] κρατίστου ἀνδρὸς ἔτι καὶ δοῦλον λύσιν οὐκ [
 τοί]ς πραχθεῖσιν οὐδὲν ὀρίσαι ἔδοξεν, βουλοίμην [
 πε]ρίεμειναν μέχρι τοῦ ταῦτα ἀποφῆνασθαι με συνεχῶς [
 15]ν ἐγκλημάτων ἄνω καὶ κ[άτ]ω στρεφομένων ^{vv} Ἐπεὶ δὲ τα[
]σας ἐπὶ τῆς παρ' ἐμοὶ κ[ρίσεως] καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνδ[
]ο τὰς ἀποδοε[μένας -----] ὁ κράτιστος ἀνὴρ ἴδιον δ[
]λας ὑπ[-----] δικάστην] δίδωμι 'Οφίλλιον 'Ινγ[ένωνον
]που[-----]μοι πραχθέντων[

D]ορω διαφορον[
]μη περαιτέρωι και το[
]υ τετυχῆκασιν παρὰ τῆς [
]υ οὔτε ἀπελευθέρους α[
5]τους μετὰ ταῦτα οἷτιν[ε[
] ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς συνηθ[
]ι Ἀθηναίων δίκαιοι σ[
] Ἡρώιδου και [
]αι προσο[

F]λα[
] παραγρα[
] ολλίου προ[
 τ]ήν ἐξέτασιν [
5]πως δὴ σχ[
] καὶ μον[

PLAQUE II

[Ἐκκλητοὶ ἄς] ἐποιήσαντο Αἴλ. Πραξαγόρας, Κλ. Δημόστρατος, Αἴλ. Θεμισίων
 πρὸς Αἴλ. Διονύσιον· δίκαιοι εἶναι φ[αίνονται αὐ]
 [τοὶ οὐδ]ὲ τ[ῶ]ν ἐφ[ε]σ[ε]ων ἐδέχσεν ἀκροάσασθαι· ἐξαρκεῖν ἔδοξεν τὸ τὰς
 ἀρχαιρεσίους ἐνθέσμως ἀχθείσας ε[λ]ιδέναι· δοκιμα[σ]
 [σίαν δὲ τοῦτ]ῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἡγησάμην ἀνανκαῖον εἶναι ὑποστῆναι τῶν
 μηδὲ Ἀθῆναισιν αὐτὴν γ[ι]γνέσθαι. Πρὸς]
 γε μὴν τὸν ἐξῆς χρόν[ο]ν, ἵνα μὴ τι ἀμφίβολον καταλειφθῇ, τοὺς μὲν δαιδουχίαν
 ἢ τινα ἑτέραν ἐβελον[τ]ι με
 5 τῶντας ἱερ[ε]ωσύνην μέζ[ο]να ἢς φθάνουσιν ἔχειν προκατατίθεσθαι δεῖ τὸ
 στρόφιον ἐννόμως· εἰ δέ τις [ὑπὸ
 τοῦ δήμου καλοῖτο, οὐκ ἔσται πρὸς τοῦτον ἀμφισβήτησις ἐὰν μὴ προκαταθῇται
 τὰ πρότερα σύμβολα πρὶν ἀ[πο]
 δειχθῆναι, χειροτονηθεὶς μέντοι καὶ οὗτος τὸ προὔπαρχον αὐτῶι καταθήσεται ν
 Ἐκκλητοὶ ἄς ἐποιήσαντο Σ[έν]
 τιος Ἀτταλὸς καὶ Κλήμης Κλήμεντος καὶ Κλ. Χρύσιππος ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Κλ. Εὐπραξίδου
 πρὸς Οὐαλέριον Μαμερτεῖνον περιγεγράψ[ο]νται. Μαμερτεῖνος μὲν οὐ[ν], ἐπει
 Εὐμολπίδης ὦν οὐδέτερον τ[ῶ]ν
 10 γονέων ἔσχεν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Κηρύκων γένους, ἐπιδεῖται καθ' ὅνπερ μόνον ἐφείται
 τρόπον τοῖς ἐξ ἀκατέρου τῶν [δύ]

- [ο] τούτων γενῶν πρὸς θάτερον μεθίστασθαι, ἀφέζεται τοῦ τῆς ἱεροκρυκείας
ἐφείεσθαι ὧς Αἱ δὲ ἀρχαιρεσία[ι με]
ταῦτ' ὧν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἡδὴ ἐπιδικασμένων καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐθελησόντων
παραγγέλλειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους το[ῖς]
Ἀθηναίων ἐπαναλημφθήσονται. Μαμερτεῖνος οὔτε τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν Εὐμολπίδων
ἐξαίρεθῆσεται καὶ τὴν [ἴερε]
ωσύνην ἀνακομιεῖται. ὧς Τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτου μοι παραστάν, λαβόντι τὴν γνώμην ἐκ
τῆς παρούσης[ς δ]ίκης, οὐκ ἂν [πρὸς]
15 τὸ μέλλον συνεχέαι τὰ παραφυλαττόμενα ὧς Λάδικος Πολυαίνου, ὁ ἐκκεκλημένος
πρὸς Σωφάνην Σω[φά]νῳ
γους ἀπὸ Ἰουλ. Δαμοστράτου τοῦ ἀρχοντος τῶν Πανελλήνων, φαίνεται κατὰ
τὸν ὠρισμένον χρόνον[ν ἡδὴ]
ἐν τῷ οὗ ἐξεστὶν δικάζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς κεχειροτονημένους Πανέλληνας κληθεῖς
ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ἀπ[ελεγ]
χθεὶς δέ, καίτοι μετὰ τὴν νενομισμένην προθεσμίαν τῆς χειροτονίας γεγενημένης,
οὕτω τὴν ἐννο[μον]
ἡλικίαν γεγωνὸς οὐδὲ τότε, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν πρότερον ἄρξας ὧς ὁ θεὸς
πάππος μου ὥρισεν, ἀδίκως [ἔφε]
20 κέναι [δ]οκεῖ ὧς Ἐπίγονος Ἐπικτήτου ἐκκαλεσάμενος ἀπὸ Ἰουλ. Δαμοστράτου
πρὸς Εὐδημον Ἀφροδεῖσι[ου πα]
ρὰ τοῖς [ἐ]μοῖς Κυντιλίοις ἀγωνιεῖται περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πανελληνίου κοινωνίας· καὶ
γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡξίωσεν ἐπὶ τὴν π[αρ] ἔ]
κείν[οι]ς πεμφθῆναι κρίσιν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ καθηκόντων μερῶν ἐν τοῖς
πράγμασιν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐλ[λάδος]
ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐκτελεῖσθαι δῆλόν ἐστιν ὧς Ἀθηνόδωρος Ἀγρίππου ἀπὸ Παπίου
Ρούφου τοῦ τῶν [Π]ανελλήνων ἀρ[χ]
ξαντος ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας πεντετηρίδος ἐφεικῶς πρὸς τοὺς διοικητὰς τῶν τοῦ
κρ. Κλ. Ἡρώιδου, ἐπεὶ μήτ[ε] τὰ ὑ]
25 πομνήματα τῶν Πανελλήνων μήτε τὴν γνώσιν τὴν ἐξενεχθεῖσαν παρέσχετο, ἐπὶ
τῶν ἐμῶν Κυντιλ[ί]ων[ν δ]
γωνιεῖται, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τοσοῦτον τοὺς καιροὺς ἐν οἷς ἐξέσται μοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς
στρατιωτικὰς πράξεις τὰ κρίσ[εως δε]
όμενα ἐκδικάζειν ἀναγκασθῇ περιμένειν ὧς Νόστιμος Διονυσίου γεγενῆσθαι κατὰ
τοὺς νόμους Ἀ[ρεσπα]
γείτης οὐκ ἔδειξεν, ἀλλ' εἰ ἔστιν ἐν τούτῳ ὧς τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ
προσγραφῆναι δύνασθαι δι[α]γνώ
σουσιν οἱ Κυντιλίοι· διότι δ' ἂν ἀπεωσθεῖ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν
Πανελλήνων [δοκεῖ ἀποδε]
30 [δ]εῖχθ[αι] δικάζοντί μοι περὶ τῆς ἐκκλήτου τῆς πρὸς Εὐδῶρᾶν Νίκωνος
γενομένης ὧς Ποπίλι[ος Πείος ἐπὶ]
τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς Ἀθηναίων μενεῖ, καθὰ ἐπέγνωσαν οἱ Ἀρεσπα
γεῖται· χρῆ[ι] [γὰρ τῆς στά]
σεως αὐτῶν τὴν βεβαιότητα ὑπάρχειν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι, τῇ δοθείσῃ
ἐξουσίᾳ ὑποφθ[ο]ρὰν παθόν]

- τι τὰ[φ]ου ἐπακολουθοῦντες, τοῖς Ἀρεοπαγείταις τὰ ἑαυτῶν δίκαια παρέσχοντο·
 εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλλο[ν κατὰ]
 τοὺς νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθνη παραφυλαχθήσονται καὶ δοκιμασθήσεται εἴ
 τις ἐκ γένους [Ἀθηναῖ]
 35 ὅς ἐστιν Ὑ Ἐκκλητος ἦν Αἴλ. Πραξαγόρας ἀπὸ Γαουινίου Σατορνεῖνου
 ἐποιήσατο, ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἐ[ν ἡ τῶν]
 καλουμένων κωδικίλλων ἐπ' ὀνόματι Στρατολάου προκομισθέντων ἡ ζήτησις
 ἐγένετο, δικα[ιωθῆ]
 ναι φαίνεται Ὑ Εἰ μέντοι βούλοιτό τις ἐντὸς δύο μηνῶν ἢ δημοσίαι ἢ ἰδία μετὰ
 τὸ ἀναγνωσθ[ῆναι]
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην Ἀθήνησιν περὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς ἦν προὔθεσαν ὀφείλεισθαι τῇ
 πόλει δ[ί]κ[η]ν[ε]ι
 σιέναι, ἐφείσθω[ι] αὐτῶι, δύο ἄλλων μηνῶν προθεσμίας παραφυλαττομένης
 πρὸς τὸ ἐπι[κρῖναι]
 40 τοῖς ἑμοῖς Κυντιλίσις· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῶι μεταξὺ τούτῳ διαστήματι ἐνδεήσειεν, οὐκ ἂν
 ἐν ὑστ[έρω]ι τὸν
 ἀγῶνα ἐπαναλαμβάνειν ἐπιχειροί[η]. Εἰς δὲ τὴν τῶν χωρίων νομὴν Πραξαγόρας
 ἐπανελεύ[σεται καὶ]
 λήμψεται παρὰ τῶν κρ. Κυντιλίων διαιτητὴν περὶ τῶν καρπῶν· ἐπὶ γε μὴν τὰ
 χωρία ἂ τῶι κρ. Ἡρώ[ιδ]ῃ
 καταλελειφθαι ἐλέγετο ἤδη ἐπανάξει· περὶ τῶν καρπῶν Ἰγγένουος δικάσει· ἐὰν
 δὲ τὴν βραδυτ[ῆτα]
 παραδόσεως μέμψηται Πραξαγόρας, ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ ἔθνους εἰσαχθήσεται
 Ὑ Τῇ δεήσει τῇ [Ἀθ]
 45 ναίων, ἦν καὶ τῇ ἡλικίαι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶι μόνον αὐτὸν τῶι οὐκ
 ὑπολελειφθαι ἐνεῖμαν, δυναίμῃ[ν ἂν]
 εἶξαι ὥς Φεΐδιμον ἀνακληθῆναι μὲν ἐκ τῆς νήσου εἰς ἣν ἐπεφυγάδευτο κατὰ τὴν
 ἐξέτασιν τοῦ πράγμ[ατος],
 τῶν δὲ ὄρων τῆς Ἀττικῆς πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπέχεσθαι. Ὑ Ἀγαθοκλεῖ Ἀγαθοκλέους
 ἡ διὰ τὰς πρεσβείας ἀξίωσι[ς, ἃς πα]
 ρ' ἑμο[ι] συντελεῖ, ἀποδοθήσεται δὴ· καὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῶι τῶν Ἀρεοπαγαιτῶν
 συνεδρίῳ αἱ ἐγγύαι τῶν [ἐκκλη]
 των δικῶν ἃς ἐποιήσαντο οἱ διοικηταὶ τῶν τοῦ κρ. Ἡρώιδου πρὸς Αἴ[λ].
 Ἀμεινίαν, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐγγύαι ἐκ[κλ]ήτω[ν ἃς]
 50 ἐπὶ ταῖς δίκαις ταῖς παρ' ἑμοῖ λεχθείσαις ἐποιήσαντο Αἴλ. Πραξαγόρας. Κλ
 Δημόστρατος, Αἴλ Θεμισῶν, Σέγ[τιος]
 Ἀτταλος, Κλήμης Κλήμεντος, Οὐαλέριος Μαμερτεῖνος, Λάδικος Πολυαῖνου,
 Εὐδοκ[ος] Ὀνησίμου, Νόστιμο[ς Διο]
 ν[υ]σίου, Ποπίλιος Πεῖος, ἀποδοθήσονται. Ἐπιγόνου δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου τὰς
 ἐκκλητίους περιγεγράφθ[αι ἐν]
 δεῖν φθάνω προειπῶν Ὑ Εἴ τινες ἄλλαι ἐφέσεις ἀπηρημέναι ταύτης τῆς
 διαγνώσεως, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν ἐδ[ήλω]
 σα πρὸ ἀποφάσεως, εἴεν γεγεννημένοι, περιγεγράφονται, ὥστε ἐξετασθῆναι παρὰ
 τῶι δικαστῇ κατὰ τὰ αὐ[τὰ]

- 55 καθάπερ καὶ ἔμελλον ἐξετασθήσεσθαι καὶ μηδεμίας οὔσης ἐκκλήτου δίκης,
 τίνων δ' ἂν εἴεν ἐπιστε[λεῖ]
 πρὸς ἐμὲ Ἰνγένουος· εἰ δέ τινες μετὰ τὴν γνῶσιν ἀπηνέχθησαν, τούτων κατὰ
 τὴν προσήκουσαν τά[ξιιν]
 αὐτὸς ἀκούσ[ε]ται ὧς τῆς παλαιᾶς αὐτῇ[ν ἐ]
 πικρατεῖν σεμνότητος, ἱκανῶς δεδηλωκέναι νομίζω, καὶ ἡνίκα τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς
 ἔκκριτον συνέδριον
 ἐπαναγαγεῖν ἐπειράθην πρὸς τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος καθ' ὃ τούτους μόνους εἰς Ἄρειον
 πάγον εἰσεδέχον[το]
- 60 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τριγωνίας ἐξετασθέντας· καὶ εἴθε ἦν περιουσία τῶν ἐνδόξων γενῶν,
 ἴν' ἐξῇ μοι κα[ὶ] νῦν]
 ἔτι τὴν γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέραν φυλάξαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ συμβάντα διὰ τὴν τύχην
 ὑπολογιζομένου[ς, ἐ]
 φ' οἷς πολλὰς καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις οἶδα θεραπείας εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιδικασμένας,
 τὰ μὲν ἐπανιέναι δεῖ[τε]
 πρὸς τὸ παρεληλυθὸς φιланθρωπίαι, τὰ δὲ τῇ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον αὐτάρκως
 ἰδρῦσαι, μέχρι τοσούτου συν[θέ]
 μενος Ἀθηναίους ἐνδώσω ὥς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου πρὸς τοῦτο
 μόνον ἀφορᾶν εἴ[τε] πα]
- 65 τὴρ εὐγενῆς, κἂν τις τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου διὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς τριγωνίας
 ἐξεῶσθαι φαίνεται, τὸ ἀζίωμα ἀ[να]
 κομιεῖται, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν γονέων εἶναι τινα εὖ γεγονότων
 ἀρκέσει. Τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ἐπ[ιστο]
 λήν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπελευθέρου πατρός οὖσιν καὶ εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἑαυτοὺς
 ἐνβεβληκόσιν τῆς ἀγν[οίας]
 ὧρα π[ε]παῦ[σθαι]· εἰ μέντοι τις πρὸ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀπελευθέρου πατρός γεγονώς
 ὑπ' οὐδενὸς δικαστηρ[ίου]
 τῶν ἐπὶ τούτο[ι]ς ἀποδοθῆναι δυναμένων ἐξεῶσθη, μενεῖ ὧς Ὅσοι μετὰ τὰ
 ἡμέτερα γράμματα διὰ τὸν τὸν [πάπ]
- 70 πον ἀπληθευθῶσθαι ἢ ὑπεξήχθησαν τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῆς ἢ ἐκόντες
 ὑπεξῆλθον τὴν τιμὴν, εἴ[τε]
 ἀπείργονται τοὺς γε μὴν ὑπεξεστησομένους διὰ τὰ προειρημένα ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου
 χρῆ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ τοι[ού]
 του π[α]ραλυπεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς καὶ τάξεις μετιέναι ὧς Εἴ τινες
 εἴεν ὑπεναντίον τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐ[πε]
 σταλμένοις κατειλεγμένοι, οὓς οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν νῦν ἐξενεχθεῖσαν γνῶσιν οἷόν τέ
 ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀρείῳ π[ά]γω]
 καθῆσθαι, ἀπαλλαττέσθωσαν ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ· ὅς δ' ἂν καὶ μετὰ τὰ ἀπηγορευμένα
 διατελέσῃ μὲν[ω]ν ἢ καὶ]
- 75 παρὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα εἰσδύηται, ἐν ἴσῳ ταχθήσεται τοῖς ὑπεξαχθεῖσιν διὰ τοῦ
 δικαστηρίου ἐλάττωσί[ν τε]
 ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐν τῷ μετιέναι τὰς καταδεεστέρας τάξεις κ[α]ὶ τιμὰς ὧς Ἐάν
 τινες ἐξ Ἀρειοπαγείτων ἐν τοῖς [Πανέλ]

- λησιν ὄντες τήμερον καταλημφθῶσιν τὴν τριγωνίαν παρασχεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι, οὐ
 διὰ τοῦτο ἀπ[εω]
 σθήσονται τοῦ συνεδρίου· πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐξ Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν
 τοῖς Πανέλλησιν ἐνγρα[φή]
 σεται ἢ ὅσοι πρὸς τὰς χειροτονίας ἀφικνεῖσθαι δύνανται τὴν τριγωνίαν ἔχοντες.
 Τὸ πρὸς τὴν βου[λήν]
 80 τῶν Πεντακοσίων φέρον [ἀ]ποχρώντως ἔχει ταύτη τετάχθαι ὥστε αὐτοὺς τοὺς
 καταλεγόμενους ε[ῦ γε]
 γονένα· ὁ Ἰνγένουος ταῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρου τῶν μερῶν ἀμφισβητήτεσιν αὐτὸς ἔσται
 δικαστής, δικάσει δὲ
 καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους τοῖς προνοουμένοις τῶν τοῦ κρ. ἀνδρός, ὅσοι περ ἂν μηδὲν
 ἀντεισπράττωσιν [αὐ]
 τοί· ὁ δὲ διοικήσαντες τὰ δημόσια τῆς πόλεως χρήματα καὶ λογισμοὺς
 ὀφείλοντες ἔχουσιν δικασ[τὰς]
 τοὺς ἐμοὺς Κυντιλίους, παρ' οἷς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων σύνδικοι προνοήσονται τὰ
 αὐτῶν ἐκπλήσαι π[λήθη].
 85 ὁ Ἰνγένουος Ἀθηναίων μὲν τοῖς κρίσεως δεομένοις ἐν Ἐλευσεῖν δικάσει καὶ ἐν
 Πειραιεῖ, καθ' ὃν ἂν ἐ
 τέρωθι βούληται χρόνον· τοῖς δὲ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ὀριεῖ τόπον ἐν ταῖς πλησίον
 πόλεσιν κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτη
 [δει]ότατον αὐτὸς δοκιμάσας ὁ Ἡγοῦμαι δεδηλώσθαι, δι' ὧν ἀπεφηνάμην, ὅτι
 ἕκαστα π[ρ]οῖδόμην ο[ὐκ ἀ]
 π' ἐ[ξ]ουσίας μᾶλλον ἢ φροντίδος, ἵνα πρὸς τὸ μέλλον Ἡρώδιη τε ὑπάρχοι
 παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις σὺν εὐφρ[οσύ]
 νῃ περὶ τε τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα <διατρίβοντι εὖ> ἔχειν σὺν τῇ εὐκλεεῖ
 περὶ παιδείαν σπουδῇ, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς πρόσ[θεν]
 90 γνωστῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐποιίας τοῦ κρ. Ἡρώιδου μεμνημένοι τὸ θάρσος τῆς
 πρότερον περὶ ἀλλήλους [οἰκει]
 ὀτήτος ἀναγέωσαιτο, δι' ἣν οὐδὲ ἐμοῦ διαλλακτοῦ δέονται. Τί γάρ ἂν ἔτι
 ὑποκαθέξοιτο ἐν γνώμ[ῃ τι]
 νός, μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλειφθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ [τ]αῖς αἰτίαις μνήμην, τῆς θεραπείας ἐπὶ
 πᾶσιν ἐκπεπονημένης [ὅπως]
 Ἀθην[α]ίοις ἐξῆν· τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τὸν ἰδ[ι]ον αὐτῶν Ἡρώδη στέργειν,
 οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἐτέρου τῇ εὐνοίᾳ με[γάλου]
 ἀντικρούοντος· ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴν περὶ
 τῶν δικασθέντων συντετ[αγμέ]
 95 νοις προσενηυμήθην ὥς, ἐν οἷς ἀπεφηνάμην, παρειμένον, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς γνώμης
 τῆς ἐμῆς, εἰ καὶ μ[ὴ ἐκ]
 τῶν τῆς ἀποφάσεως ῥημάτων, νοεῖσθαι δυνάμενον, ἐξηγήσεως δὲ τινος προσδεό
 μενον, ἵνα μὴ τι[ς νέαν]
 ἀμφισβήτησιν παράσχοι, προσήκειν ἔδοξεν σαφῶς καὶ τοῦτο διορίσασθαι· εἰ
 τινες ἐκ πατέρων ἀπε[λευ]
 θέρων γεγονότες τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Πεντακοσίων ἐξανέστησαν, τούτοις ἐπανίεναι
 πάλιν εἰς τὴν [ἐξέ]

τασιν κατὰ [τ]ὰ αὐτὰ συνκεχωρήσθω καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου·
 ἀποδεικνύτωσαν δὲ οἱ ἐκ τ[ῆς τῶν]
 100 Πεντακοσίων βουλῆς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ γεγενῆσθαι· χρῆ γὰρ οὐ τοὺς ἐκ
 πατέρων ἀπ[ελευ]
 θέρων ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπελευθερωθέν[τα]ς εἶργεσθαι μόνους, ὅπερ καὶ πρὸς
 τὸ μέλ[λ]ον π[ερί] αὐ]
 τῶν διηκρίβωται vacat

Restoration of Plaque I: A Oliver. B 3 Jones; B 5 Oliver; B 8 Jones. C 16 κ[ρίσεως] Jones; C 18 δικαστήν Oliver (*Marcus Aurelius*, Index, s.v. Ἰνγένονος).

Apparatus for Plaque II (= E): The text is based on the revision by S. Follet with slightly different punctuation in E 1, 48, 49, and 54 and with changes of reading and restoration in the following lines. 1–2 τοῦ|των οὖν τῶν] F. 2–3 τῇν| δὲ κρίσιν τοῦτ|ων] F. 3 fin. γ[ενέσθαι] F. 22 ἐπ[αρχείας] F. 30–31 φθ[ο]ρᾶς τινος ἀν[τι]γρ-
 άφου F. 47 τῆς πρεσβείας ἀξίωσι[s ἦν F, τὰς O. 48 συνεδρίῳ
 καὶ F, αἱ O. 52–53 περιγεγράφθ[αι]] δεῖν F, περιγεγράφθ[αι
 ἐν]]δεῖν (or ἐν]]δεῖαι) O. 68 πεπραῦσθαι F. 87–88 ο[ὕ]κ (ο[ὕ] διὰ) O
 ᾶ]]π' [ἐξ]ουσίας Jones, πε[ρ]ιουσίας F. 89 <διατρίβοντι εὖ> added.
 92 fin. [ἵνα] F.

Translation of Plaque II = E

[Appeals which] Aelius Praxagoras, Claudius Demostratus, Aelius Themison made in cases against Aelius Dionysius: [They appear] to be justified [and it was not] necessary to hear the trials applied for. It seemed sufficient [to know] that the elections had been lawfully conducted. I did not consider it necessary to institute [a scrutiny] of these men inasmuch as this does not [happen] at Athens either. But in the future, in order that no room for doubt be left, those who voluntarily seek a torchbearership or any other priesthood more important than what they already have should first lay down the priestly fillet (of the old office) as the law prescribes. If anyone is specially called by the demos, there will be no objection to him, if he fails to lay down the old symbols of office before he has actually been appointed. Once elected, however, he too shall lay down the insignia which belonged to him previously.

E 7–15

Appeals which Sentius Attalus and Clement son of Clement and Claudius Chrysippus made in their cases against Valerius

Mamertinus from (decisions) of the dicastery and of the king archon Claudius Eupraxides shall have been closed with a note of explanation. Since Mamertinus is a Eumolpid and had neither of his parents from the *genos* of the Ceryces, he is ineligible for the only way in which transfers from one of these *genē* to the other occur. He shall desist from his effort to become sacred herald. The elections shall be resumed among the others, both those who have already registered and those who will now wish to enter their names according to the laws of Athens. Mamertinus will remain numbered among the Eumolpidae and recover his priesthood. This solution which presented itself as I formed my opinion from the present case would not in the future confuse the traditional rules.

E 15–20

Ladicus son of Polyaeus, who had appealed the case against Sophanes son of Sophanes from (a decision) of the archon Julius Damostratus of the Panhellenes, appears to have been [already] called to the examination at the appointed time within which it is permissible to contest the election of the Panhellenes. But since it was proved [against him] that, though the election had taken place after the customary delay, he was not of legal age even then and had not previously held an archonship as the *divus* my grandfather had specified, he is seen to have [appealed] without justification.

E 20–23

Epigonus son of Epictetus, who appealed from (a decision) of Julius Damostratus the case against Eudamus son of Aphrodisius, will have his trial in the court of my Quintilii concerning his membership in the Panhellenion. He himself asked to be sent to the examination in their court; in fact, it is clear that much of the work which devolves upon me in the affairs of [Hellas] is completed by them.

E 23–27

Athenodorus son of Agrippa, who appealed from (a decision) of the archon Papius Rufus of the Panhellenes in the previous four-year term the case against the administrators of the estates of the *clarissimus* Claudius Herodes: Since he presented neither the records of the Panhellenes nor the finding which was pub-

lished, he shall plead his case before my Quintilii, in order that he may not be compelled to wait after so much time for those occasions when it will be possible for me, during military operations, to settle the affairs which require judgment.

E 27–30

Nostimus son of Dionysius did not prove that he had become an Areopagite according to the laws, but whether there is a way in this (synhedrion) as in the Council of the Areopagus whereby he may be added to the roll, the Quintilii will [decide]. Why he could be expelled from membership in the synhedrion of the Panhellenes [seems] to have been [brought out] (or “[does not seem] to have been [shown]”) when I was judging the appeal made in the case against Euphras son of Nikon.

E 30–35

Popilius Pius shall remain [in possession] of the right to Athenian citizenship as the Areopagites ruled. [For] it is necessary that there be security [of status for him] and for all the others who, pursuing the option granted to [one who suffers] ruin of a burial site, presented their claims to the Areopagites. For the future a close watch and a test according to both the laws and ancestral custom shall be made as to whether one is eligible by birth.

E 35–47

Appeal which Aelius Praxagoras made from (a decision) of Gavinius Saturninus: At the trial the so-called codicils in the name of Stratolaus were brought forward and the inquiry took place. He appears to have been justified. If, however, anyone wishes either publicly or privately within two months of the reading of this communication at Athens [to take action] concerning the gift which, so (the codicils) pretended, was owing to the city, let it be permitted to the same within a strictly observed period of two more months to approach my Quintilii for the [ruling]. But if he should fail to prepare himself in this interval, he would not, I hope, try to renew an action later. Into possession of the estates Praxagoras will return [and] will receive from the clarissimi Quintilii an arbiter concerning the crops. To the estates which were said to have been left to the clarissimus Herodes, he will go back as of now; concerning the crops Ingenuus will judge.

If Praxagoras has a complaint about the slowness of transfer, it shall be brought into court by the provincial authorities. I could yield to the request of the Athenians, which they based on the father's age and on the fact that he alone had been left to the house, (and allow) that during the examination of the affair Phidimus be recalled from the island to which he had been exiled but that he keep outside the borders of Attica for the rest of the time.

E 47–53

To Agathocles son of Agathocles the claim for the embassies [which] he is completing in my court shall be paid, and to his ancestral city and the synhedrion of the Areopagites shall be paid back the securities on the appeals which the administrators of the estates of the clarissimus Herodes made in the case against Aelius Ameinias, likewise securities on appeals [which] in the cases pleaded in my courts Aelius Praxagoras, Claudius Demosttratus, Aelius Themison, Sentius Attalus, Clement son of Clement, Valerius Mamertinus, Ladicus son of Polyaeus, Euhodus son of Onesimus, Nostimus son of Dionysius, Popilius Pius made. I have already announced that the appeals of Epigonus and Athenodorus had been set aside with notations that they were incompletely prepared.

E 53–57

If any other applications for trial that have depended on this session of the court have occurred about which I made no statement in lieu of a decision, they shall have been set aside to be examined before the special judge—even when a case is not on appeal—with exactly the same procedure with which they were going to be examined. As to whose they may be Ingenuus will write me. And if any have been handed in after the judicial examination, it is he who will hear them in the proper order.

E 57–69

How much concern I have for the glory of Athens, that she continue to preserve her ancient dignity, had, I think, been sufficiently shown, especially when I tried to lead their select synhedrion back to the ancient custom whereby they received into the Areopagus only those who had passed the test of three generations. And would there were an abundance of the notable

families, so that it might be possible for me even [now] to stand by our decision. But since, counting the disasters which have befallen them through the intervention of chance, because of which many other cities have, I know, made special claims for relief, they have partly to retreat in kindness toward the past and to make in other respects a viable settlement for the future, I compromise and grant to the Athenians, that in respect to the (family's) past they consider only this, whether a man has a father of good birth, and if anyone appears to have been expelled from the Areopagus on account of the rule concerning three generations, he shall recover his rank; after this it will suffice for both parents of a man to have been born free. As for those of freedman fathers who have inserted themselves into the Areopagus after our epistle, it is high time for their ignorant disobedience to have been stopped. However, a man who has been born from a freedman father shall remain, if (having entered) before the epistle he was not expelled by any court of those which could be assigned for these cases.

E 69–72

All who after our letter because of the grandfather's manumission either were removed from the Council on the Areopagus or willingly renounced this honor are still debarred. However, those who will get out of the synhedrion on account of the aforesaid rules must not, as a result of such compliance, be made to feel unpleasant side effects in respect to the pursuit of the other honors and posts.

E 72–77

If any have been enrolled contrary to the instruction given by us, any for whom even after the ruling now made public it is illegal to sit in the Areopagus, let them withdraw within a year. Whoever continues to remain even after the prohibitions [or indeed] surreptitiously enters in defiance of the published rules shall be placed in the same condition as those expelled through the action of a court and, diminished as a result in status, be ineligible for the minor posts and honors.

E 77–81

If it is discovered that there are today among the Panhellenes Areopagites who cannot show the three-generation qualification,

they shall not for this reason be expelled from the synhedrion, but in respect to the future no other Areopagite shall be enrolled in the Panhellenes apart from those who can come to the elections in possession of the three-generation qualification. As for what concerns the Council of the Five Hundred it suffices that rules have been established for it so that those who each time are enrolled have themselves been [free]born.

E 81–83

Ingenuus will himself be judge for claims from each of the two parties, and he will give judgment for the caretakers of the estates of the *vir clarissimus* against those who do not make counterclaims [themselves].

E 83–84

Those who once managed the public moneys of the city and still owe accountings have as judges my Quintilii, in whose court the advocates of the Athenians will take care to present a full list of the [sums] they handled.

E 85–86

Ingenuus for those Athenians who need trial will give judgment at Eleusis and in Piraeus, at whatever time he desires in either place. For those from Lacedaemon he will assign a place in the neighboring towns according to what is most suitable in his own opinion.

E 87–94

I think it has been shown in my decisions that with arrangements not based on what the law permits rather than good sense I have provided for the future both that it may be possible for Herodes, ⟨residing⟩ among the Athenians with joy in the religious and other events at Athens, to be ⟨happy⟩ with his famous zeal for culture, and that the Athenians, mindful of the formerly well-known beneficence of the *clarissimus* Herodes toward them, may renew their confidence in the formerly mutual friendship, for which they do not at all need me as reconciler. For what could still be lurking in anyone's mind after the obliteration of the record in the old charges, when the cure has been worked out in all matters [so that] it be possible for the Athenians to love my

and their own Herodes with no other serious impediment subsisting to goodwill?

E 94–102

Now then, after all these orders concerning the matters judged had been composed in the tongue of the Hellenes I thought of another point left unexpressed in the rulings I had made. It could be inferred from the tenor of my thought if [not] actually [from] the wording of my decision, but it needed some explanation lest some[one] raised a [new] controversy. It seemed proper to formulate clearly this too. If any born from a freedman father have resigned from the Council of the Five Hundred, let it be permitted to these to return to the preliminary list on the same terms as those from the Areopagus. Let members of the Council of the Five Hundred show that they themselves were born in freedom. For those only must be excluded who were themselves manumitted, not those from freedman fathers. This holds for the future too as a rule precisely formulated [concerning] them.

Commentary

The inscription contains on Plaque II (= E) the last 102 lines of a communication from the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Five composite fragments, A, B, C, D, and F, preserve a comparatively small part of Plaque I. The heading of the document is not preserved, but the end on Plaque II is not the conclusion of what the jurists would call an epistle, nor does the emperor ever use the second person as one would expect in an epistle. The first editor drew attention to the document's similarity of format with the Cyrene edicts of Augustus, who developed the use of the edict form as a communication rather than order.

Throughout the emperor speaks, not as a philosopher, but as a practical statesman in the tradition of Augustus.

The edict, which the emperor himself in E 38 calls a "letter" or communication, deals with problems concerning the city of the Athenians and various citizens thereof. The affairs of Herodes Atticus are a subject on both plaques, and a special judge whose name appears as Ofillius Ingenuus on fragment C has a prominent place on Plaque II, of which the first 57 lines are about cases sent to the emperor for a hearing. Much new information

on the preparations for trial in the emperor's court is here available, and the inscription is valuable also for the view it gives of the organization of the Attic Panhellenion, in which delegates from old Greek mother cities and old Greek colonies convened (references collected by Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius*, 92–138 and Follet, *Athènes*, 125–135). The court of the archon of the Panhellenes, a court known only from this inscription, is one from which several cases have been appealed to the emperor. The remarkable lines 57–81 concern the three-generation rule which Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in an epistle of A.D. 165 (fragments in No. 173 *supra*) had urged the Areopagus to restore as a basis for membership and which in the light of disasters had proved too strict. Lines 81–87 contain provisions for the local settlement of three legal contests familiar to the Athenian public but unfamiliar to us. Lines 87–94 invite the Athenians to receive Herodes Atticus back in their midst. Lines 94–102 are an afterthought about the Council of the Five Hundred where the three-generation rule was never meant to be imposed.

The document precedes the return of Herodes Atticus in 175 and postdates the trial of Herodes at Sirmium around 174 (or 173). Lines 26–27 imply that the emperor was still on the Danube. The communication was composed while the Quintilii were working for the emperor in Greece. On their position as *consulares* with special interim command over both the free cities and the province, see *GRBS* 14 (1973) 403–405.

The cases recorded in E 1–57, some in the first instance, others on appeal, were screened first apparently by the Areopagus, then by the emperor and his aides. They were settled by a decision of the emperor or by a disposition in lieu of a decision. The perfect tenses of *περιγεγράφθαι* were used to indicate disposition in lieu of a decision, and the exact meaning is much in dispute. See the divergent views of Jones, Follet, and Oliver (*AJP* 100 [1979]). Follet interprets it as meaning “to have been closed,” but it was broad enough to cover transferral to another court. Etymologically it may mean “to have been specially treated or settled as the notation on or about the application indicates,” as by withdrawal, postponement, compromise, or change of venue, for whatever reason the statement gives.

E 1–7, the Cases of Praxagoras, Demostratus, and Themison against Dionysius: Praxagoras and Demostratus were two of the three leading enemies of Herodes Atticus at Athens (see for

inscriptions M. Woloch, *Roman Citizenship and the Athenian Elite* [Amsterdam, 1973] 179, No. 45; 265, No. 51). The emperor as a court of the first instance decides in favor of the appellants, whose elections have been challenged. Apparently the challenge was based on the failure of one or more candidates to relinquish a previously held priesthood before candidacy; the crucial reading *στρόφιον* was devined by L. Robert. The challenger apparently called also for a *δοκιμασία* of these men, but it is not likely that incumbents of old priesthoods were treated like the city's financial officials. Hence *γίγνεσθαι* rather than *γενέσθαι* should be restored in E 3. If they had been expected to undergo examination and had evaded the obligation, the emperor would not have been so easily satisfied. On the office of the *daduch*, see Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 47–68. In E 1 the restoration *φαίνονται* is in accord with lines 20 and 37 and with the Roman practice of announcing judgments in a cautious phrase like “*fecisse* (or ‘*non fecisse*’) *videtur*,” for which D. Daube, *Forms of Roman Legislation* (Oxford, 1956) 73–77, gives three reasons: 1) to acknowledge the possibility of error, 2) to claim that a careful inquiry has taken place, and 3) to express detachment. In E 2 *δεδειχθαι* is suggested by the *ἔδειξεν* of E 28. With the phrase *με]τιόντας ἱερ[ε]ωσύνην* in E 4–5 one might compare Plutarch, *Caesar* 1.3, *μετιὼν ἱερωσύνην*. With the situation envisaged in E 5–6 one might compare *IGBulg* I² 13 at Dionysopolis, lines 13 ff., *τοῦ τε ἐπωνύ[μου] | τῆς πόλεως Διον[ύσου] οὐκ ἔχοντος ἱερῇ ἀφ’ ἐτῶν πληόν[ων] | παρακληθεῖς ὑ]πὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν κτλ.*

E 7–15, Cases of Sentius Attalus, Clement son of Clement, and Claudius Chrysippus against Valerius Mamertinus, the third of the leading enemies of Herodes Atticus: The cases in the first instance had been heard by a jury court and the king archon (*basileus*). The emperor himself worked out a compromise; he rules that Mamertinus cannot transfer from the Eumolpidae to the Ceryces but that cases based on his candidacy for the office of sacred herald reserved for the Ceryces are to be dropped and that he is not to be penalized for trying. On the sacred clans as well as the priesthoods the reader may consult Clinton, *Sacred Officials*. The disposition of the cases is justified, not as legally correct, but as less dangerous in the long run. The emperor, who wished to end factionalism at Athens, brings pressure on everyone to behave properly. With the concern not to break tradition and not to establish thereby a dangerous precedent the first paragraph

of the epistle to Eurycles, No. 170, is comparable. In E 9 the word *περιγεγράφ[ν]ται* points to the explanation that follows. In E 10 *ἀκατέρον* as in No. 8 (Edict I at Cyrene, line 28) reflects pronunciation. With the word *παραινέλλειν* (E 12) in reference to a priesthood *ἀντιπαρήγγελλεν* (Plutarch, *Caesar* 7.1) may be compared. The word *συνχέαι* in E 15 is better taken with Jones as a new optative form.

E 15–20, Case of Ladicus against Sophanes: For Ladicus and his family see J. Traill, *Phoenix* 29 (1975) 388 and Follet. For that of Sophanes see Follet. His candidacy for (so Follet) rather than election to the Panhellenion seems to have been blocked on the grounds of age and of absence of qualifying experience. He brought suit in the court of the archon of the Panhellenes and lost. He appealed to the emperor and lost again. The paragraph contributes the important information that the office of Panhellene was elective and that a previous magistracy (or its equivalent) was a prerequisite. It does not explain how a man who was below the legal age and had not held a magistracy could hope to be accepted, but one may guess that he would have attained legal age within the year, though after the election, and that he had performed some service which he could represent as equivalent to a magistracy. For Hadrian's trust in the superior wisdom of ex-magistrates the reader is referred to No. 84, lines 52–56, where Hadrian writes to the Pergamenes that he wants certain trials to be judged by ex-magistrates and he comments that ex-magistrates are both experienced and [tested? (for probity)].

E 20–27, Cases of Epigonus and Athenodorus: These cases, appealed from the court of the archon of the Panhellenes, were not decided by the emperor, who entrusted them to the Quintilii. The reading of the last letter of E 22 is in dispute. The restoration proposed by Jones, *ἐξουσι]ας*, has the merit of avoiding the dispute but is impossible because the first letters of E 23 are *ὑπ* (so read by Oliver and Follet). At the end of E 22 S. Follet reads *ἐπ[αρχείας]*, which is too long, while Oliver in 1973 thought he read *Ἐλ[λάδος]*, which is just the right length. Independently they came to much the same interpretation except that the province did not strictly include the free cities but Hellas did. Clearly the Quintilii, as Philostratus, *VS* 2.1 (p. 67, Kayser) indicated, were ruling Hellas.

E 27–30, the Question whether Nostimus, who had become an Areopagite in an irregular but not illegal way, was eligible thereby

for valid membership in the Panhellenion: This question, probably raised by Nostimus himself, was aired after Nostimus had prevailed in a previous appeal to the emperor concerning his Athenian status as an ex-archon, Nostimus vs. Euphras, where the emperor had upheld the right of the Areopagus to adlect members and to declare them ex-magistrates fictitiously. Just as the emperor accepted the right of the Areopagus to rule on who should be an Areopagite, he wants the Panhellenion to rule on who should be a Panhellene. Since the Panhellenion met in Athens, the question was transferred to the Quintilii, who were on the scene and could deal with the Panhellenes in the emperor's place. The previous case, Nostimus vs. Euphras, may have been appealed from a decision of an archon of the Panhellenes who disqualified the candidate Nostimus on the grounds that he had never been an archon as Hadrian had stipulated. To redefine or reinterpret a rule imposed by Hadrian required the consent of the emperor or his delegate, but since the Panhellenion was at least theoretically established by the Hellenes themselves, the ruling required also a vote of its members. No pressure is applied. The explanation which the emperor gives for not deciding the issue on his own but turning it over to the Quintilii appears to have been that the importance of Hadrian's stipulation, which could later produce the expulsion of an adlected Areopagite from the Panhellenion, was demonstrated at the trial of Nostimus vs. Euphras, where the emperor settled the question of the right of the Areopagus to admit as an ex-archon whomever it wished, but did not rule on the right of the Panhellenion to expel an elected Panhellene later who was an ex-archon merely by vote of the Areopagus.

E 30–35, the Question of Popilius Pius: The Athenian citizenship of Popilius Pius had been challenged on the grounds that he was not a citizen by descent. He took his case to the Areopagus and won it there. That should have ended the matter, but for an unstated reason the emperor has been asked to rule on the question of the man's citizenship. Since the case follows that of Nostimus it is likely that this too concerns the eligibility of the man for membership in the Panhellenion as a Panhellene from Athens. This was no appeal from the adverse ruling of a court; rather it was a petition calling for an imperial subscript. The emperor rules in favor of the local custom as law and includes the case in his "letter" because of its importance.

The attack on Pius, who may have belonged to the family of Popilius Theotimus, seems to have been based on his inability to meet an ancient test of citizenship, probably because his family were not of ancient Athenian extraction and burial ground. In appealing to the Areopagus he claimed that his case was parallel to that of genuine Athenians who for a different reason could not meet the ancient test. The crux of the passage lies in the participial clause of E 32–33, which Follet reads *τῇ δοθείσῃ ἐξουσίαι ὑπὸ φθο[ρᾶς τινος ἂν]τιγράφου ἐπακολουθοῦντες*. The reading *ὑπὸ φθο[ρᾶς* for the first editor's *ὑπὸ φόβ[ου]* prepares the way for a proper understanding, but her further reading *ἂν]τιγράφου* for the first editor's *ἂν]τιπάλου* will not do because there is neither trace of nor space for a rho. The phrase between lines can now be recognized as *ὑποφθο[ρὰν παθόν]τι τᾶφου*, a reference to decay of a burial place which attested an Athenian's descent from Athenian parents and grandparents in [pseudo-] Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 55.3 and stands at the climax of the *Ἐφεσις πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην*, the defense oration in a citizenship trial, Demosthenes 57.67. For an ancient custom continuing unexpectedly until the time of Marcus Aurelius, see *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 303 f., no. 28 (the antidosis).

E 35–47, the Case of Aelius Praxagoras: The case was appealed from the decision probably of a *procurator hereditatium*. The emperor decided in favor of Praxagoras. Lines 37–47 concern questions which arose as a result of the vindication of Praxagoras. The reading of lines 45–46 was worked out by Jones. For the name of Φεΐδιμος at Athens see Meritt and Traill, No. 447, line 17, Αἴλ. Φίδιμος.

E 47–57, Final Dispositions on Travel Allowance and Surety: The emperor promises repayment 1) to Agathocles son of Agathocles for the embassies he is still performing at the emperor's court, and 2) to their city and to the Areopagus of the surety posted for the appeals brought by the managers of the Herodes estate in a private case and by the others in public (or sacred) cases. The format of this section seems to be first the name of the recipient in the dative, then a reference to the reason for the proposed payment, and finally the verb *ἀποδοθήσεται* in singular or plural. The colon, therefore, comes in E 48 after *ἀποδοθήσεται δῆ* rather than, as Jones and Follet have it, after *συνεδρίωι*. The reading *αἱ ἐγγύαι τῶν ἐκ[κλή]των δικῶν* (so Oliver) is adopted, not *καὶ ἐγγύαι* (so Follet), because there does not seem to be

room for a kappa which Oliver did not see. The Areopagus (cf. No. 91 at Sparta) had screened the appeals and notified the city of Athens (perhaps the prytaneis and herald acting for the council and demos) to order collection of sureties. Now that the cases are finished, the sureties are repaid to the city and its Areopagus. The emperor's court of appeal did not collect from and repay to individuals. At the beginning of E 53 in reference to the two cases of lines 20–27 which were not ready, the reading *δεῖν* was made by Jones and confirmed by Follet, but Jones, who correctly explained *φθάνω προειπών* ("I have already said"), interpreted it as the simple infinitive *δεῖν* and mistakenly made the perfect infinitive *περιγεγράφθαι*, which he did not yet understand, depend upon it. Rather the emperor means that he has already said that the two cases had been transferred with a notation to another court, that of the Quintilii, because of a failure to be ready. The verb "to fail to be ready" appears above in E 40, *εἰ . . . ἐνδεήσειεν*. If the noun *ἐν||δείξι* cannot be read at the beginning of E 53, the infinitive *ἐν||δεῖν* must be construed as depending on *περιγεγράφθαι*, which depends directly from *φθάνω προειπών*.

E 53–57, the Disposition of Other Cases: The emperor hopes he has handled all cases connected (*ἀπηρτημέναι*, not "apart from") with this session of judicial review (*ταύτης τῆς διαγνώσεως*), but he is uncertain enough to express himself with an optative and to make provision for the contrary. The word *γνώσις* in E 56 is equivalent to the word *διάγνωσις* in E 53; both mean the whole session of the judicial review on which the emperor has reported. The clause *εἰ δέ τινες (δίκαι) μετὰ τὴν γνώσιν ἀπηνέχθησαν* in E 56 perfectly balances the clause *εἴ τινες ἄλλαι δίκαι . . . ἀπηρτημέναι ταύτης τῆς διαγνώσεως . . . εἶεν γεγενημένοι* in E 53–54. Cases for this session are contrasted with cases after this session. The contrast does not lie between the phrases *πρὸ ἀποφάσεως* in E 54 and *μετὰ τὴν γνώσιν* in E 56. Oliver placed the comma after *πρὸ ἀποφάσεως*, Jones (and Follet) before. The translation "before the verdict," which Jones made and Follet did not reject, assumes a definite article and gives a wrong sense, because there is not just one trial ending in one verdict but many trials at just one judicial session. Oliver's translation "in lieu of a decision" recognizes that there is no definite article. The paragraph, accordingly, assigns to Ingenueus all cases that were handed in too late.

E 57–64, the *Trigonia* as a Requirement for Membership in the Areopagus: The Athenians have asked that the rule be relaxed and Marcus Aurelius accedes sadly to their request. These lines form an introduction to the section which runs to *E 81*. This chapter, which appears to have been originally drafted as a separate edict, is the most interesting part of the communication for the light it throws on the social background, the emperor's hard struggle against the alien or subversive elements within the cities, the crisis brought on by prevalence of early manumission, also by war and plague (see G. Alföldy, "Die Freilassung von Sklaven und die Struktur der Sklaverei in der römischen Kaiserzeit," *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 2 [1972] 97–129 and the *editio princeps*). Marcus Aurelius follows a policy established elsewhere by Augustus, in whose statesmanlike tradition he wished to stand. The epistle reaffirming the *trigonia* as a requirement for Areopagites (mentioned in *E 58–59* and *61–62*) is No. 173 of A.D. 165.

E 64–81, the Changes in the Requirement: The problems of this, the most important passage, have been brilliantly solved by S. Follet after reestablishing the correct but still slightly obscure text. She shows that the emperor alludes to three successive sets of legal rules: 1) (just) before the common epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus when the Areopagus was accessible to worthy men who were themselves of free birth, 2) after the common epistle (of A.D. 165) when the *trigonia* was expected, and 3) after this, the second communication of Marcus Aurelius on the subject, when one now demanded that the father and mother (but not the grandparents) should be of free birth. She has particularly clarified the situation by explaining that *E 65–66* referred to an illegal exclusion for lack of *trigonia* before the common epistle (of A.D. 165) when *trigonia* was not demanded and that *E 69–71* referred to a legal exclusion after A.D. 165, when *trigonia* was indeed demanded.

E 81–86, the Appointment of Special Judges for Cases to be Tried in Attica and the Peloponnese against Athenians: There were still unresolved questions (of debt) between Herodes Atticus and the Athenians, questions which are treated in *E 81–83* as between the agents of Herodes (not Herodes himself) and the Athenians. Ingenuus is appointed as special judge to hear these cases with instructions to find for the agents of Herodes unless counterclaims are made. In that case Ingenuus will have to decide

whether the counterclaims are justified, and if so, what accommodations must be made. Though Jones objects that "it would be odd if Marcus publicly instructed his arbitrator what judgments he should give," a magistrate ordinarily defined the pertinent law and gave the *iudex* instructions: "*si paret, condemnate; si non paret, absolvo*." The main question has already been settled. The case will not be tried before the Quintilii who were considered enemies of Herodes. In E 83–84, on the other hand, for cases of public law which had to be decided locally the Quintilii are the judges "before whom the advocates of the Athenians will take care to present a full list of the [sums] they (the former officials) handled." The word *αὐτῶν* is best taken with a smooth breathing to mean "those who managed the public moneys and owe an accounting," since otherwise *ἐαυτῶν* would have been needed. S. Follet, who translates "les avocats des Athéniens veilleront à compléter les cautions qu'ils ont déposées chez eux" (the Quintilii), does not explain why she thinks this statement has anything to do with deposits of court dues. The situation seems rather to be one in which disagreement between ex-magistrates and the city has arisen over what the ex-magistrates did with the moneys. Usually this would be settled, if not in the Council of the Five Hundred, at least in the free city's own court, but on this occasion the ex-magistrates or ex-treasurers have asked for a special hearing in a Roman court. One expects the advocates of the Athenians to be instructed to present their own figures against those of the ex-magistrates. In E 85–87 other cases, but of private law, are assigned to Ingenuus to judge.

E 87–94, the Prayer that Herodes Atticus be Welcomed back to Athens: For the return of Herodes Atticus see P. Graindor, *Um milliardaire antique* (Cairo, 1930) chap. 8 and J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius*, 34 (on *IG II² 3606*). Jones and Follet agree that Oliver's reading *π[α]ρουσίας*, which suggested the *cura-praesentia* theme, is impossible at the beginning of E 88. Oliver now prefers Jones's *ἀ|π' ἐ[ξ]ουσίας* to Follet's *πε[ρ]ιουσίας*, which he neither sees nor quite understands. Likewise at the beginning of 89 they are right that the reading is NHI. Accepting the phrase *σὺν εὐφρ[οσύ]νῃ*, we have to assume in E 89 the loss of two words after *ἀνθρώπων*, probably *διατρίβοντι* and an adverb to go with *ἔχειν*. This is good, because the participle *διατρίβοντι* would not only fit the sense but balance the participle *μεμνημένοι* in E 90. In E 93 Follet (also Oliver in 1974) reads *ἐξῆν* instead of *ἐξῆν*

and therefore has to restore a conjunction at the end of E 92. She prefers *ἵνα* but Oliver prefers *ὅπως* to avoid excessive repetition of *ἵνα*.

E 94–102, the Appendix: The section on the Council of the Five Hundred constitutes an afterthought added by the emperor after a Greek version of his report had been presented for his approval. It contains nothing new but expresses in more explicit terms the implication that requirements of “good birth” in a prospective Areopagite’s ancestry had nothing to do with requirements for eligibility to the Council of the Five Hundred.

185. [AVIDIUS CASSIUS] TO THE ALEXANDRIANS

Egypt. Papyrus of the second or early third century from Oxyrhynchus in two non-joining fragments now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

J. W. B. Barnes, “A Letter of Severus Alexander,” *JEA* 52 (1966) 141–146 with photographs; J. R. Rea, “A Letter of Severus Alexander?” *Cd'E* 42 (1967) 391–396, who, improving the text, eliminated Severus Alexander by realigning the two fragments but who identified the letter as one to the Romans from Maximinus Thrax; P. J. Parsons, “A Proclamation of Vaballathus?” *Cd'E* 42 (1967) 397–401; [E. Kiesseling, *Sammelbuch* 10 (1971) 10295]; A. K. Bowman, “A Letter of Avidius Cassius?” *JRS* 60 (1970) 20–26.

¹185

[-----]
 'Αλεξαν[δρε]ῖς εν[-----]
 καὶ παι[...]ς ἐπικ[-----]
 τὴν πρὸ[ς ἐ]μὲ εὐνοία[ν ----- ἐν]
 τοῖς στέρνῳ[ι]ς περιφέροντ[ε]ς τὴν [αὐτὴν]
 5 γνώμην π[αρ]εμείνατε· ἀφικνουῦμ[αι οὖν]
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς τύ[χ]η ἀγαθῇ, κεχε[ι]ροτονη[μένους]
 μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν γενναιοτάτ[ων] ἄν[θρωπων]
 στρατιωτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρ' [ὑμῖν]
 αἰσίως παρελευσόμενο[ς], καὶ ἀφ' ὑμῶ[ν] δὴ
 10 μάλιστα ἀρξάμενος τῆς τοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν [ἐξου]
 σίας, ὅσον δίκαιόν ἐστιν παρέχειν [τῇ πα]

τρώq πόλει π[ρέξω vacat Εδτυχεῖτε]
 [Ἔτ]ους ᾧ Φαρμ[οῦθι]

Verso [Ἄ]πολιναρίωι Χ βουλευτ(ῆ) πρε[σβευτῆ]

Translation

— — — oh] Alexandrians [— — — — — — — —] bearing [in] your hearts that goodwill toward me, you were steadfast in the [same] attitude. With Good Fortune, [accordingly], I am coming to you, having been elected by the very noble soldiers and with the intention of presenting myself to the office auspiciously among you. And starting with you especially by entering (at Alexandria) into the power of doing good, [I shall offer to my pa]ternal city as much as it is only right to offer to her. [Farewell].

Year 1, Pharmouthi [— —].

Commentary

The papyrus contains most of one column from an epistle presumably to the Alexandrians, but the sender's name has not been preserved. He has been elected emperor by the soldiers; he already considers himself the supreme commander, but he intends to enter upon another aspect of the office of *princeps* when he arrives in Alexandria. This would imply a Roman commander in Syria or some place near Alexandria, and so Avidius Cassius (*PIR*² A 1402) seems indeed the most likely author. He refers to Alexandria (not Rome) as his paternal or maternal city, and it is possible that his father, Heliodorus, one time prefect of Egypt, had received the citizenship of Alexandria. Heliodorus and Cassius each named a daughter Alexandria.

The Roman assemblies in which magistrates with *imperium* used to be elected were theoretically assemblies of soldiers and veterans in military units (*comitia centuriata* and *curiata*). Avidius Cassius had doubtless assumed the highest *imperium* by acclamation at Antioch; the Antiochenes never abandoned him (*Vita Avidii Cassii* 7.8: *consensu omnium praeter Antiochenses Avidius interemptus est*). If he were now to assume the *tribunicia potestas* (cf. lines 10–11) at Alexandria, he would connect two of the chief aspects of the principate with the two dethroned royal cities of the Roman East. First use of the office of *pontifex maximus* was reserved for another city, the current queen.

The *tribunicia potestas* advertised the emperor as patron of the free peoples of the empire, and as such it could be described as the power of giving help (ἐν ποιεῖν). That he announced his intention to make a first demonstration of it at Alexandria implies, I think, a hint at fulfilling Alexandrian hopes of full status as a city. He presumably intended to grant them the *boulē* which they did eventually obtain from Septimius Severus.

It was Bowman who first recognized Avidius Cassius as the author. Restorations in lines 1, 3, 4, 5 of the recto, except for ἀντήν (Oliver), were made by Rea; those in other lines, except for δῆ in 9 by Oliver, were at least envisaged by Barnes, who suggested also π[αρέξω aut sim. in 12. On the verso the final word was restored πρε[σβυτάτ(ω) by Barnes, πρυ[τάνει] by Rea, πρε[σβευτῇ] by Bowman.

While Rea thought the column began with line 1, Bowman argues that at least two lines preceded what is extant. In either case, whether another column or only two lines preceded, the beginning is now lost.

186. EDICT ON NECESSITY OF REGISTERING DOCUMENTS TO PROTECT CONTRACTS

Pisidia. At Zivint (Sibidunda). G. E. Bean, "Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia," *Anatolian Studies* 10 (1960) 71 f., No. 124. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1963) 252 and (1961) 750. G. P. Burton, *JRS* 65 (1975) 103.

186

[- - - - - πατήρ]
 [π]ατρίδος [δνθύ]πατος λέγ[ει]
 [κ]αὶ ἐν ἄλ[λοις] πολλοῖς
 [ἐ]θνεσιν [διατ]εταγμένο[ν]
 [ἐσ]τὶν πάντα τὰ συμβό
 5 [λ]αία διὰ τῶν δημοσίων
 [γ]ραμματοφυλακείων
 [δ]ναγράφεσθαι. ὑμᾶς δὲ
 [π]υνθάνομαι καὶ ἄλλων
 [μ]ἄλλον τοιούτου τρό
 10 [π]ου δεῖσθαι συναλλα
 [γ]μμάτων διὰ τὸ ἐμπολάζειν

15 πολλὰς παραποιήσεις ἐν τῷ
 ἔθνῳ, καὶ διατετάχθαι δὲ ἥ[δη]
 [π]ολλάκις ὑφ' ἡγεμόνων τὸ
 πρᾶγμα, καὶ μηδὲν ὀφελος
 [τ]ῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης γενέσθαι
 [θ]α διὰ τοὺς οὐ πειθομένου[ς].
 [ν]ῦν δὲ ἐγὼ κελεύω ΠΑ. 17

Translation

-- -- pater patriae, proconsul, says.

In many other provinces also it is prescribed that all contracts be registered in the public record office. But in your case I learn that you desire rather to have more transactions of this kind, owing to the prevalence of forgeries in the province, and that the matter has on many previous occasions been the subject of pronouncements by the governors, and that their decisions were unavailing by reason of non-compliance. So now I ordain -- -- (Bean's translation).

Commentary

Because of the title proconsul the emperor cannot be earlier than the second century, where Bean dates it.

This epistle in edict form is notable for the pronoun of the second person in line 7.

In the edict of Q. Veranius published by G. E. Bean, *AnzWien* (1962) 4–9, the governor says: "I declare that as of today every transaction of any kind emanating from any . . . will be invalid if it is written on a palimpsest or has additions or erasures," etc.

187. UNKNOWN EMPEROR ON EGYPTIAN GRAIN FOR EPHESUS

Ephesus. Two contiguous fragments of white marble (Inv. Nos. 3414 and 3415) were found by Turkish archaeologists in rubble along the east side of the Agora and were joined by Knibbe. They are safely stored in the "Domitian Gallery," where they were examined in September 1973.

D. Knibbe, *JÖAI* 47 (1964–65) Beiblatt 6–10 with photograph;

J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1968) 465 (*REG* 81 [1968] 514 f.), with explanation of lines 11 and 13–15; M. Wörle, “Ägyptisches Getreide für Ephesos,” *Chiron* 1 (1971) 325–340 with photograph of a squeeze (the most complete study).

187

- [--]I[-----]
 [τὸ] μέγεθ[ος τῆς λαμπροτάτης]
 ὑμῶν πό[λεω]ς καὶ τὸ πλ[ήθος]
 τῶν οἰκούντων παρ' ὑμεῖν^{vv}
 5 πρόδηλον δέ, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς εὖγνω
 μόνως χ[ρ]ήσεσθε τῇ τοιαύτῃ συν
 χωρήσει, λογιζόμενοι ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον
 πρῶτον τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει ἀφθονον
 εἶναι τὸν π[ρ]ὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρασκευα
 10 ζόμενον καὶ ἀθροιζόμενον πανταχό
 θεν πυρόν, ἔπειθ' οὕτως καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
 πόλεις εὐπορεῖν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.
 εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ Νεῖλος φαίνοιτο, ὥσπερ[ρ]
 εὐχόμε[θ]α, παρέχων ἡμεῖν τῆς ἀνό
 15 δου τὸ σύνηθ<ε>ς μέτρον καὶ γεωργο[ῖτο]
 παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις ἀφθονος ὁ πυρός,
 καὶ ὑμ[ε]ῖς ἐν πρώτοις μετὰ τὴν πα
 τρί[δα] μου πόλιν -----]

15 ΣΥΝΗΘΣΣ, corr. J./L. Robert. Lines 1–3 were read by Wörle. Restorations: 2–3 Wörle; 13–15 Robert.

Translation

— — — on account of the] importance of your [most famous] city and the great number of your inhabitants, but it is clear that you will use any such license with circumspection, realizing that the wheat which is made ready for the market and collected from all sides must be plentiful for the Queen City first, then, with this accomplished, the other cities too must be well supplied with the necessities. If it appears that the Nile, as we pray, provides us with the usual amount of inundation and wheat is raised in abundance in Egypt, then you too among the very first after my ancestral [city — — —

Commentary

The unknown emperor promises to Ephesus (among the first) the right to purchase Egyptian grain, provided that the harvest in Egypt turns out to be as good as usual and provided that the needs of Rome are satisfied first. Why Ephesus foresaw a shortage is not explained in the extant fragment, and so the area affected (all or part of Asia Minor, or Asia Minor and the Black Sea region) cannot be accurately delimited.

In identifying the emperor Wörrle was understandably cautious, though he leaned toward Hadrian or one of the Antonines but did not exclude even the first Severi. Marcus Aurelius (*Meditations* 6.44.6) is the earliest known emperor who refers to Rome as his *πατρίς*. This is no proof that the unknown emperor was Marcus Aurelius, but one may suspect that he set the style. Though I dare not exclude either Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, I incline to the view that the unknown emperor was Marcus Aurelius. In 176? On the other hand, it was Hadrian whom the Ephesians honored *σειτοπομ[πίας] ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου παρέχοντα* (*SIG*³ 839). The emperor assumes the right of the city of Rome to be provisioned first.

For Rome as the Queen City, see the passages listed by Wörrle.

188. MARCUS AURELIUS(?) AND CO-RULER ABOUT ATHLETES AVOIDING THE PANHELLENIA

Athens. Now in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, EM 9492 + 9493. The block had been cut and reused as two capitals.

W. Dittenberger, *IG* III (1878) 32 from Koehler's copy; J. Kirchner, *IG* II² (1906) 1106; J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 13, 1970) 108–109, No. 22 with photograph. See also H. W. Pleket, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 8 and "Games, Prizes, Athletes and Ideology," *Arena* 1 (1976) 49–85, especially 67.

188

[-----]
[-----] τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἀπο[---]
[-----]ς νομοθετούμενα [---]
[--- τοῖς μὲν ἀγῶ]να παρ' ὑμῶν νενικη[κόσι],

- 5 [εὐλογον αἰτίαν ε]ἰ μὴ ἀποδείξαιέν τ[ινα]
 [διότι] οὐ κατῆ[ρχο]ντο εἰς τὰ Πανελλ[ήνια],
 [ἱερὸν]εἰκάεις τὰ π[α]ρ' ὑμεῖν συντάξεις [ἀφε]
 [λεῖν, το]ῖς δὲ μὴ νεν[ι]κηκόσιν μὴ ἐξεῖνα[ι ἔτι]
 [εἰς ἱερ]ῶν μηδένα τῶν παρ' ὑμεῖν ἀγών[ων κατ]
 [ελθεῖ]ν· καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ταῦτα τῇ συνόδ[ῳ δηλώ]
 10 [σομε]ν, ὑμεῖς δέ, ὅποτε τις ἀπο[λ]ειφθεῖ[η χωρὶς]
 [λόγο]υ, τὰ δόξαντα ἡμεῖν μην[ύ]σετε· [διηγῇ]
 [σατο] δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων, οὓς [εἰς τι]
 [μὴν ἡ]μῶν ἀνεστή[σα]τε· τὰς διανομὰς [ἂν πά]
 [σας ἡ]δέως ἐδ[ίδο]μεν καὶ ἡμεῖς [-----]
 15 [-----]ν τείμια νο[-----]
 [-----]

3 τοῖς μὲν Oliver; ἀγῶ]να, νενικη[κότ]ας Dittenberger. 4 ε]ἰ D.; cetera Oliver. 5 Πανελλ[λήνια] D.; cetera Oliver. 6 [ἱερὸν]εἰκάεις Wilamowitz (*IG* II² 1106); π[α]ρ' D.; ἀφε Oliver. 7 λεῖν, ἔτι Oliver; το]ῖς, νεν[ι]κηκόσιν, ἐξεῖνα[ι αὐ]τῶν D. 8 εἰς ἱερ]ῶν, κατ] Oliver; ἀγών[ων μετ]έχει]ν D. 9 [ελθεῖ]ν Oliver; συνόδ[ῳ δηλώσ]ομεν D. 10 χωρὶς Oliver; ἀπολειφ[θείη τοῦ]το]ν D. 11 [λόγο]υ, διηγῇ]σατο Oliver; μην[ύ]σετε [ἥσθη]μεν D. 12 οὓς [εἰς τι]μὴν Oliver; οὓς[τινα]ς D. 13 ἡ]μῶν ἀνεστή[σα]τε, [δὲ πάσ]ας D.; [ἂν πά]σας Oliver. 14 ἡ]δέως ἐδ[ίδο]μεν, ἡμεῖς D. 15 νο[μί]ζοντες D.

Translation

— — — that as for those who have won a victory in a contest among you, if they do not show some good reason why they did not enter the Panhellenia, they are to be stripped of the benefits among you for sacred victors, and that as for those who have never won a victory, it shall no longer be permitted to them to enter any of the sacred contests among you. We too shall so [inform] their society. You will report your decisions to us whenever anyone absents himself [without good reason. He spoke] also concerning the statues which you have erected in our honor. We too would gladly give [all] the distributions — — —

Commentary

This epistle preceded No. 245 from Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the Panhellenes, because it laid down policy while

that of Severus and Caracalla merely renewed it. If the first person plural implies two co-ruling emperors, the emperors would appear to be either Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus or, more easily, Marcus and Commodus. The emperors seem to be commenting upon an ambassador's report concerning the unwillingness of athletes to participate in the Panhellenia. The emperors accept the proposal of sanctions. The *synodos* mentioned in line 9 was the athletic guild. Cl. A. Forbes, "Ancient Athletic Guilds," *ClPhil* 50 (1955) 238–252, includes discussion of the exemptions enjoyed by *hieronikai*.

The restoration of line 4 and of lines 10–11 has been inspired by the wording of Cassius Dio 55.3.2.

H. W. Pleket sees in the term *συντάξεις* of line 6 a "revealing" substitute for *θέματα* or *ἔπαθλα*.

189. MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS TO UNKNOWN,
A.D. 177

Miletus. Inv. 1268, found 1909 in Justinian's Wall. Non vidi. A. Rehm, *Milet* 1.7 (Berlin, 1924) 344, No. 273 from Pernice's copy. See also P. Herrmann, *IstMitt* 25 (1975) 153 f.

189

Ἀντω]

[νεῖνος Σ]εβαστῶ[ς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικός, ἀρχι]
 [ερεὺς μέ]γιστος, δ[ημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ λα΄],
 [αὐτοκράτ]ωρ τὸ η΄, ὕ[πατος τὸ γ΄, πατὴρ πατρίδος],
 [καὶ Αὐτοκ]ράτωρ Καῖ[σαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμο]
 5 [δος, Σεβασ]τός, Αὐτο[κράτορος Μάρκου υἱός, θεοῦ]
 [Ἀντωνεῖ]γου Εὐσεβοῦ[ς υἱώνος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ]
 [ἔγγονο]ς, θεοῦ Τραϊα[νοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρ]
 [ουα ἀπόγ]ονος, Γερμαν[ικὸς Σαρματικός, δημαρχι]
 [κῆς ἐξου]σίας τὸ β΄, ὕ[πατος, -----]
 [------]

The restorations are by Rehm. The date is that of Marcus's ninth tenure of the tribunician power, after Commodus in the late spring or early summer of 177 received the title Augustus.

**190–191. MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS TO [THE
PHERAEANS], A.D. 177**

[Pherae]. An inscription copied at or near Kalamata and now lost.

A. Boeckh, *CIG* I (1828) 1319 “ex schedis Fourmont”; W. Kolbe, *IG* V 1 (1913) 1319. The inscription was mentioned by Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, No. 65.

No. 190, the first of two epistles, reads:

190

ὑπατος τὸ Γ', π]ατὴρ πατρί[δος,
καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ]

[Καῖσαρ, Αὐτοκράτορ]ος Ἀντωνίνου Σε[βαστοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνός,
θεοῦ Ἀδρι]

[ανοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ] Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ [καὶ θεοῦ Νέρωνα ἀπόγονος, Λ. Αὐρ.
Κόμμοδος Σε]

[βαστός, δημαρχικῇ]ς ἐξουσίας τὸ Β', ὑπατ[ος, Φηραίων τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ
βουλῇ καὶ τῶ]

5 [δῆμῳ χαίρ]ειν. Ἐνετύχομεν οἷς ἐπεστεί[λατε πρὸς ὑμᾶς [-----]
[.....] ὑπὲρ ὧν τετ[υ]χηκέναι παρ' αὐτῶ[ν [-----]
λερ, εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀποδεχόμεθα καὶ τ[-----]
ὕμ<ετ>έραν ὁμολογίαν τῆς χάριτος [-----. Ἐπρέσβευε ---, ὥ τὸ ἐφ' ὀδί]
ον δοθῆτω, εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχηται. Ε[ὕτυχεῖτε

Translation

---], pater patriae, [and Emperor Caesar L. Aurelius Commodus Augustus, son of Emperor] Antoninus Augustus, [grandson of deified Pius, great-grandson of deified Hadrian, descendant of deified] Trajan Parthicus [and deified Nerva, tribunician] power for the second time, consul, [to the archons, Council and Demos of the Pheraeans], greetings.

We read the letters [you] sent [to us -----], if such is the case, we approve [-----] your agreement, of the favor [---. The ambassador was so-and-so]. Let [the travel allowance] be given to him, unless he has promised to go at his own expense. [Farewell].

Commentary

The epistle is from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, as one sees more clearly from No. 191 engraved immediately below on

the same stone. It is dated to 177 by reference to the second tenure of the tribunician power, which Commodus received on 10 December 176 (cf. No. 192), and to his consulship, unless one restores ὑπατ[ος ἀποδεδειγμένος].

The restorations in lines 1–8 are essentially those of Kolbe, that of line 9 by Oliver. Fourmont's copy offers TETHXHKENAI in line 6 and YMEPAN in line 8.

No. 191, the second of the two epistles, reads:

191

- 10 *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου υἱός, [θεοῦ Οὐδήρου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου
ἀδελφός, θεοῦ Ἀδρι]
ανοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἔγγ[ονος, θεοῦ Νέρου ἀπόγονος, Μ.
Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστός]
Γερμανικός Σαρματικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγισ[τος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ΑΛ',
αὐτοκράτωρ το Θ', ὑπάτος]
τὸ Γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖ[σαρ, Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου
Σεβαστοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς]
υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔγγονος, θε[οῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρου
ἀπόγονος, Λ. Αὐρ. Κόμμοδος Σεβαστός],*
- 15 *δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ Β', ὑπ[ατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, Φηραίων τοῖς ἀρχουσι
καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν]
[...]ν ἐφ' ὕμειν ΟΣ[-----]
[...] καὶ [τ]ῆς ἰδ[ία]ς [-----]
[...]Ι[.]ηκότω[ν] Σ[-----]
[-----] Λαχεδα[μον] -----]
20 [-----]ΣΑ[-----]*

10 θεοῦ Ἀδρι Boeckh, cetera Oliver. 11 θεοῦ Νέρου ἀπόγονος Oliver, cetera Boeckh. 12 αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ θ' Oliver, cetera Boeckh. 13 Αὐτοκράτορος et Εὐσεβοῦς Oliver, cetera Kolbe. 14 Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρου Oliver, cetera Kolbe. 15 Kolbe. 17 Wilhelm (Kolbe).

Translation

Imperator Caesar [M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus] Germanicus Sarmaticus, son of deified Antoninus, [brother of deified Verus Parthicus Maximus], grandson of [deified] Hadrian, great-grandson of deified Trajan Parthicus, [descendant of deified Nerva], pontifex maximus, [tribunician power for the thirty-first time, emperor for the ninth time, consul] thrice, pater patriae,

and Emperor Caesar [L. Aurelius Commodus Augustus, son of Emperor Antoninus Augustus], grandson [of deified Pius], great-grandson of deified Hadrian, [descendant of] deified [Trajan Parthicus and deified Nerva], tribunician power for the second time, consul, [to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Phereans, greetings].

— — — — upon you — — — — — Laceda[emonian — — — —

Commentary

“Agitur ni fallor de lite inter Pheraeos et Lacedaemonios exorta” (Kolbe).

The epistle from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus is dated by the reference in line 15 to the second tenure of the tribunician power, which Commodus received on 10 December 176, and to his consulship. The epithets Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικός in line 12 indicate that news had already arrived of the victory won by M. Bassaeus Rufus in the late summer of 177 (J. Dobiáš, *Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina* [Rome, 1959] 1–14), and line 13, too short in Kolbe’s reconstruction, requires a reference to the ninth imperial salutation of Marcus Aurelius. The peculiarity of this heading lies in the absence of both imperial salutation and victory epithets for Commodus (contrast No. 192 *infra*). They were not immediately extended to him.


192. MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS TO THE MILESIANS, A.D. 177

Miletus. Marble stele found 1971 in area of the sacred way. The top, sides, and rough-picked back are preserved, but the stele is broken away below. The inscription is engraved on a recessed area surrounded by raised margins and gable.

P. Herrmann, “Eine Kaiserurkunde aus der Zeit Marc Aurels aus Milet,” *IstMitt* 25 (1975) 149–166 with photographs.

192

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου υἱός, θεοῦ Οὐδήρου Παρθικοῦ
μεγίστου ἀδελφός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ
ἔχγονος, θεοῦ Νέρου ἀπόγονος, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβας

- 4 στὸς Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
τὸ λα΄, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ θ΄, ὑπατος τὸ γ΄, πατὴρ πατρίδος καὶ
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Σεβαστός, Αὐτοκράτο
ρος Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱώνος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
8 ἔκγονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος, Γερ
μανικὸς Σαρματικός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β΄, αὐτοκράτωρ
τὸ β΄, ὑπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος vacat Μιλησίων τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ
βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ vacat χαίρειν.
- 12 Ἐντυχόντες οἷς ἐπεστείλατε περὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος προσήκειν ἡγῇ
σάμεθα διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν σύγκλητον βουλὴν, ὅπως
συγκωρήσειεν ὑμῖν ὅπερ ἡξιοῦτε. Ἐδέησεν δὲ καὶ περὶ ἐτέρων
πλειόνων ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τοὺς λόγους. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν
16 οὐκ ἰδίᾳ καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν εἶπομεν ἐπεκύρωσεν, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ καὶ
συλλήβδην περὶ τῶν λεχθέντων ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας,
τὸ δόγμα ἐγένετο, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥηθέντος λόγου τὸ συντεῖνον μὲ
ρος πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀξίωσιν ὅπως εἰδείητε ὑποτέτα
20 κται τῇ ἀποκρίσει ταύτῃ. Ἐπρέσβευον Αἰλιανὸς Ἀσκλη
πιάδης Πολίτης, Κλαύδιος Σωτέλης, Φλάουιος Ἀνδρέας,
Κλαύδιος Ἀγαρηνός, οἷς τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω, εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέ
[σ]χηνται. vacat
- 24 Εὐτυχεῖτε. 

- [ca. 5]p.c., quod hisce subiungemus, ad religionem consci-
[entiam]que divinae rei spectare hau difficulter intellegetis
- 28 [9—11]Milesiorum petitioni iucundissimum filium
[9—11 ?v]os suffragari vel me velle quod meus filius velit
[ca. 15]itur. Desiderant autem Milesii certamen
[ca. 16 sa]crum antiquitus dicatum in eo constitui iure
[quo ca. 12 certam]ina ex quibus victores reduces patriam suam
- 32 [ca. 22] Excusavimus sane civitatibus aliis
[ca. 25]rem surgentibus quae civitates f[...]
[ca. 22]solli]citudine aliqua praestant.
- [ca. 28]venia cum causa pr[o]prii[ca. 5]
36 [ca. 30]e opus civitatum q[u ca. 7]
[]s rennui m[]
- — — —

Translation of the Epistle

Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Ger-
manicus Sarmaticus, son of divine Antoninus, brother of divine

Verus Parthicus Maximus, grandson of divine Hadrian, great-grandson of divine Trajan Parthicus, descendant of divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the twenty-first time, emperor for the ninth, thrice consul, pater patriae, and Imperator Caesar Lucius Aurelius Commodus Augustus Germanicus Sarmaticus, son of Emperor Antoninus Augustus, grandson of divine Pius, great-grandson of divine Hadrian, descendant of divine Trajan Parthicus and divine Nerva, tribunician power for the second time, emperor for the second time, consul, pater patriae, to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Milesians, greetings.

Having read your letter concerning the contest, we considered it our duty to address the sacred Senate in order that it might grant you what you were asking. It was necessary to address it also concerning several other matters. Since then it did not act upon our proposals by validation of each article separately but the decree of that day was passed in a brief statement of overall acceptance, the pertinent section of the speech itself in reference to your request has been attached to this reply for your information.

Ambassadors were Aelianus Asclepiades Polites, Claudius Sooteles, Flavius Andreas, Claudius Ancharenus. Let the travel allowance be paid to them, unless they have promised to go at their own expense. Farewell.

Commentary

The great interest of this epistle from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, dated by the imperial salutations after the late summer victory of M. Bassaeus Rufus and by the numerals of the tribunician power to a period from early October to early December of 177, lies, as Herrmann's masterly commentary shows, in the example it offers how the emperor's oration gradually replaced the *senatus consultum*, how it happened that jurists occasionally cited imperial orations instead of *senatus consulta*. The best parallel is the contemporary *Aes Italicense*, which was Plaque II of an inscription containing instead of the *senatus consultum* the speech of the senator offering the first opinion after an imperial communication. Plaque I of the inscription at Italica has not been preserved, but Plaque II, which begins in the middle of a sentence, may be consulted in *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 320–349.

The request of the Milesians appears to have been for alteration of the status of an ancient festival so that henceforth the contest might be an εἰσελαστικὸς ἀγών. Herrmann argues persuasively that the festival was the city's Didymeia and that it became one of the Panhellenic festivals every four years. It is of no small interest also that the emperors were petitioned for such an alteration of status. Herrmann cites the parallel in *IPerg* 269 (part in No. 49 supra) = Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, No. 73.

193–203. MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS TO OR ABOUT THE GERUSIA OF THE ATHENIANS

Athens. Eighteen fragments of a large plaque found in Late Roman, Byzantine, and modern contexts in the Agora and on and around the Acropolis (Plate 13). The fragments are now divided between the Epigraphical Museum and the Agora Museum. The numbers are EM 2763 (= *Sacred Gerusia* No. 25a), 9494+9497 (= *IG* II² 1112 = *Sacred Gerusia* No. 26) and 9495 (= *IG* II² 1108). The Agora fragments are I 964 (= *Sacred Gerusia* No. 25b), I 10 a+b, 27, 60, 64, 815 a+b, 864, which along with EM 9495 were published as *Sacred Gerusia* No. 24, I 2138 (= *Hesperia* 1960, No. 29), I 5984 (= *Hesperia* 1961, No. 31a, which joined EM 2763 and I 815), I 6436 (= *Hesperia* 1961, No. 31b), I 3703 (= Geagan, Appendix IV, fr. d, two pieces joined by Meritt), and I 6935 (= Geagan, fr. c).

B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 2 (1933), 165–169, No. 10, four fragments (Agora 1: 10a, 27, 60 and 64) with photographs; J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 6, 1941) 108–123, Nos. 24–26, Meritt's four and nine new fragments with photographs; A. Raubitschek, "Commodus and Athens," *Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 1949) 285–286 (on imperial titles of Epistle IX); B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 22, No. 29 and 30 (1961) 231–236, No. 31, publications of three new fragments with photographs; Fulvio Grosso, *La lotta politica al tempo di Commodo* (*MemAccTorino*, 1964) 528–532; D. J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 12, 1967), Appendix IV, three new fragments with photographs and drawings; J. H. Oliver, "The Sacred Gerusia and the Emperor's Consilium," *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 187–193, a recapitulation in the light of new evidence, and *Marcus Aurelius* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 13,



Plate 13. Nos. 199–202, Lines 98–124.

1970) 85–91, No. 4, a republication of all fragments but Agora I 964. See J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1972) 138 and Eric Birley, *Latomus* 31 (1972) 914–919, review of Oliver's *Marcus Aurelius*.

On 1 April 1974, Agora I 964 (*The Sacred Gerusia*, No. 25, fragment b), which J. H. Oliver in 1972–73 had identified as part of lines 101–105, was taken to the Epigraphical Museum, and when the join with EM 9494 + 9497 was verified, it became EM 13452 (Plate 13).

193. Marcus Aurelius alone to [– – –]

194. Marcus and Commodus to the Athenians, A.D. 177/8

195. Marcus and Commodus to the Gerusia

196. Marcus and Commodus to the Gerusia about Statues in Precious Metals, A.D. 179

197. Marcus and Commodus to [– – –], A.D. 179 or early 180

198. Commodus alone to [– – –], A.D. 181–182

199. [Commodus] to [– – –], with *consilium*

200. Commodus to Gerusia, A.D. 182 or 183, with *consilium*

201. Commodus to Gerusia, A.D. 183 or 184, with *consilium*

202. Commodus to Gerusia

203. [Commodus] to [Gerusia], A.D. 182–184

193

Ε π ω ν υ μ ο ς
Κ λ Δ α δ ο υ χ ο ς
Κ λ Α ε ω ν ι δ ο υ
[-----]

[– – ca. 14 – – –] ο [-----]

[– – ca. 13 – – –] τὴν πρ[-----]

[– – ca. 13 – – –] ἰ δὴ χωρία [-----]

[– – ca. 13 – – –] οἱ τετρακόσ]ιοι [-----]

5 [– – ca. 9 – κατ]ὰ τὸν ἐπιβάλλ[οντα λόγον (?) -----]

[– – ca. 12 – – –] τε κατὰ τὰ νο[μιζόμενα -----]

[– – ca. 6 τὰ γενέ]θλια τὰ ἐμὰ κα[-----]

[– – ca. 12 – – –] ὑμῖν τοῦ κατὰ [-----]

194

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσ]αρ, θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου[υ υός, θεοῦ Οὐήρου Παρθικοῦ ἀδελφός,
θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱόνος, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἔγ]

10 [γονος, θεοῦ Νέρο]υα ἀπόγονος, Μάρκ[ος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστός
Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρ]

[*χικῆς ἐξουσίας* τ]ὸ > \overline{AB} > αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ > Θ > ὑπατος τὸ > Γ >, πατήρ
 πατρίδος, καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος
 [Σεβαστός, Αὐτοκρ]άτορος Ἀντωνίνου Σεβα[στο]ῦ ὕος, θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς
 υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἑγγονος, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ]
 [καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα δ]πόγονος Γερμανικ[ὸς Σα]ρμα[τικός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
 τό > \overline{B} >, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ > \overline{B} >, ὑπατος, πατήρ πατρίδος,]
 [τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγ]ου βουλῇ καὶ τῇ βο[υλῇ] τῶν Πεν[τα]κο[σίων καὶ τῷ
 δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων vacat]

- 15 [vacat] χαί[ρειν vacat]
 [Τὰ μὲν γράμματα ἄ] ἐπεστείλατε περὶ [τῶ]ν κατὰ τὴν γερ[ουσίαν - - - - -]
 [- ca. 14 - -] χθῆναι τὸν ἀριθμ[ὸ]ν τοῦτον μνημ[- - - - -]
 [- ca. 14 - -] τῶν ἐκκλησιαζόν[των] κατὰ τὰ νομ[ιζόμενα - - - - -]
 [- ca. 14 - -] διωρισμένον ὥστ[ε μ]έντοι μήτε [- - - - -]
 20 [- ca. 15 - -] πλείστον προσδ[έχε]σθε εἰς δὲ [- - - - -]
 [- ca. 13 - -] ἐνῶν τὴν ἡλικίαν [καὶ] τούτων μο[- - - - -]
 [- ca. 13 - -] τὴν χώραν τοῦ ἐγλι[πό]ντος μέχρι [- - - - -]
 [- ca. 13 - -] ἐκ τῶν δαστῶν εισάγ[ειν] δεήσει δαί με[- - - - -]
 [- ca. 10 - -] δημ]οποιήτων εισιόντ[ων] καὶ ἐπιτείμου[ς - - - - -]
 25 [- ca. 12 - -] γὰρ μετέχιν τῆς Ἀθ[ήν]ησιν [πολιτεί]ας [- - - - -]
 [- ca. 12]ες ἐπέστειλαν βου[λό]μενοι μαθεῖν ὑφ' [- - - - -]
 [- ca. 6 γερουσ]ίαν εισιόντων ὁπό[ταν] ἀναπληρωθῇ[ν] [- - - - -]
 [- ca. 12 - -] γερόντων τινὰς αἰρ[εῖσ]θαι τη[- - - - -]
 [- ca. 12 - -] σει τὸν πρεσβύτατον [- - -] γ[.] [- - - - -]
 30 [- ca. 11 - -] ψ]ήφῳ δηλοῦν τὴν αὐτ[- - - - -]
 [- ca. 12 - -] σῆς ἂν αἰρεθῶσι νῦν [- - - - -]
 ε[- - -]ο[- - - - -] vacat [- - - - -]

195

Αὐτοκράτωρ Κα[ῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀντωνίν]ου ὕ[ος, θεοῦ Οδῆρου Παρθικοῦ
 Μεγίστου ἀδελφός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ]
 Παρθικοῦ ἑγγο[νος, θεοῦ Νέρουα δ]π[όγονος, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος
 Σεβαστός Γερμανικός Σαρματικός, ἀρχιερεὺς]
 35 μέγιστος, δημαρχ[ικῆς ἐξ]ο[υσίας τὸ -, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ-, ὑπατος τὸ > Γ >,
 πατήρ πατρίδος· καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος
 Κόμμοδος Σεβαστός Αὐτοκράτορος, Ἀ[ντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ ὕος, θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς
 υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἑγγονος, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθι]
 κοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος, Γερμανικ[ὸς Σαρματικός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
 τὸ-, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ -, ὑπατος τὸ-, πατήρ πατρίδος,]
 ἀνθύπατος, Ἀθηναίων γερουσία vacat [χαίρειν vacat]

Περὶ μὲν τῶν τὴν ὕλην ἐκκο[π]όντων ἐκ τῶν χωρ[ίων - - - - - πε]

- 40 ρι αὐτὰ τὸν ἐπίτροπον Καίλ[ι]ον Κουαδράτον διδάσκ[- - - - - ἐ]
 πιμελουμένους τῶν χωρίων ἀνδρας ἀξιολόγους οἷς τ[- - - - -]
 ξειν ὑμῖν· παρέξεσθε δὲ τῷ Κουαδράτῳ ταῦθ' ἡμῶν τὰ [- - - - -]
 των φανερόν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπιστείλας ποιήσει, φροντίσας κα[- - - - -]
 σθαι περὶ αὐτῶν καταστήτε· ὁρθῶς δὲ ἐποιήσατε καὶ ἐπιστε[ίλαντες ἡμῖν
 - - - - - ἐξου]

- 45 σίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ὑμῖν ἐδίδομεν τοῦ γράφειν ὥς δὴ [-----]
ταῖς γερουσίαις· περὶ μέντοι τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος καταστάσεως [-----]
οὐστinas ἐκθέμενοι τρόπους ἐξ ὧν ἐπιλεξόμεθα τὸν ἐπίτ[ροπον] ----- εἰ δὲ]
βούλεσθε πορισθῆναι τοιοῦτον, ἐπιστελεῖτε τὰ γράμματα ἐκ[εῖν]ω vacat
Εὐτυχεῖτε vacat]

196

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θε[ο]ῦ Ἀντωνίνου υἱός, θεοῦ Οὐήρου Παρθικοῦ [Μεγίστου
ἀδελφ]ός, θε[ο]ῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἔγγονος,
θεοῦ Νέρουα]

- 50 ἀπόγονος, Μᾶρκος Α[ὐ]ρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικ[ὸς Σαρματικός
δ]ρχιερ[εὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ >ΑΓ<]
αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ >ΑΙ<, ὅ[πα]τος τὸ >Γ<, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος· [καὶ
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖ]σαρ Λούκιος [Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Σεβαστὸς, Αὐτο]
κράτορος Ἀντωνί[νο]υ Σεβαστοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦ[ς υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
ἔγγον]ος, θεοῦ Τραια[νοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπό]
γονος, Γερμανικ[ὸς] Σα[ρμ]ατικός, δημα[ρχικῆς ἐξουσία]ς τὸ >Γ<, αὐτοκρά
τωρ τὸ >Β<, ὅ[πα]τος τὸ >Β<, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, Ἀθη]
ναίων γερουσία vacat χαίρειν vacat

- 55 Ἦσθημεν τοῖς γ[ρ]άμμα[σ]ιν ὑμῶν ἐντυχόντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀ[-----]
ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν [-----]
περ ἐωνήμεθα τῷ συ[ν]εδρίῳ πρὸς τὴν χορηγίαν τῶν διανο[μῶν, -----]α
διατάξαντες ἐπεστείλαμ[εν -----] ἐ]
χρῆν προσεῖσθε ὧς τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰκόνας ἃς ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ [τῶν ἡμῶν
γυναικῶ]ν ποιήσασθαι βεβούλησθε χρυσᾶς ἢ ἀργυρᾶς, ἃ]
τε μάλιστ' ἐ[π]ὶ τῆς ἡμε[τ]έρας γνώμης συνιέντες βούλεσθε χα[λκαῖς] εἰκόσιν
ἀρκεῖσθαι, δῆλον δ' ὥς ποιήσεσθε ἀ[νδριάντας] οἷους]
κοινότε[ρο]ν οἱ πολλοί[ι] προτομάς καλοῦσιν, καὶ συνμέτρους [αὐτὰς ἐκτελέσετε
τὰς τέτταρας ἴσας ὥς ῥάδιον εἶναι ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς]
60 ὑμῶν κ[αθ'] ἐκ[ε]στήν τ[ῶ]ν συνόδων εἰσκομίζεν ἐνθα ἂν βούλησθε αὐτὰς
ἐκάστο[τε] ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐκκλ[ησίας] -----]
δὲ ἐπ[ὶ -----] εἶναι τὸ [ἐπ]ίστημα τῶν ἡμετέρων ὀνομάτων [τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς
εὐνοίας] ἔνεκα προσείμεθα, ἡδέω[ς] ἀποδεχόμενοι τοι]
αὐτ' [ἀλλὰ τὰ θεῖα] καὶ τὰ δο[κ]οῦντα ἐπίφθονα ὀκνοῦντες ἐν ἀπ[ασι] καιροῖς·
διὸ καὶ νῦν ὑμεῖν εὐγνωμόνως ἐμ[φανίζομεν] ποιήσα]
σ[θαι] μόνον χαλκ[ᾶς] ὥς [το]ῦτ' ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ἡμε[τ]ιν κεχαρισμέ[νον] τοὺς
δὲ ἄλλους] τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην ὑπ' [αὐτῶν διδασκόμενος]
[δηλώσει] ὑμεῖν Κ[αίλι]ος Κουαδράτος ὁ ἐπίτροπος ἡμῶν vacat [Εὐτυ]
χεῖτε vacat

197

- 65 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ], θε[ο]ῦ Ἀ[ν]τωνίνου υἱός, θεοῦ Οὐήρου Παρθικοῦ
Μεγίστου ἀδελφ[ός], θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Π[αρθικοῦ] ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Νέρουα]
[ἀπόγονος, Μᾶρκος Αὐ[ρ]ήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικ[ὸς] Σαρμα
τικός, ἀρχι]ερεὺς μέγιστος[ς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ]
[-, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ] δέ[κατον], ὑπατος τὸ >Γ<, πατὴρ πατρίδος, [ἀνθύπατος·
καὶ Αὐτοκ]ράτωρ Καῖ[σαρ] Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος]

- [Σεβαστός, Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀν]τωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ υἱός, θεο[ῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνός,
θεοῦ Ἀ]δριανοῦ [ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ
θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος, Γερμαν]ικός Σαρματι[κός, δημ]αρχικ[ῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
'-', αὐτο]κράτω[ρ τὸ >Γ>, ὑπατος τὸ >Β>, πατήρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύ]
- 70 [πατος, -----] vacat χαίρειν vacat
[-----]υτο, προσέστω δὲ ὁ τῆς γερουσ[ίας -----]
[-----]ν δεῖ παράδειγμα τῶν Ἀθηνα[ίων -----]
[-----]ε, χρήσθω δὲ ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ ἐν[-----]
[-----]ς νενομισμέναις ἡμέραις κ[-----]
75 [-----] φοροῦσιν ὑμεῖν οἱ γέροντες τ[-----]
[-----]τῶν ἐν] τῇ πόλει β<ο>υλευτηρίων ητ[-----]
[-----]ιω καὶ προσκεψάμενος [-----]
[-----]το]ὺς νόμους καὶ ὧν διο[-----]
[-----]τῷ γενησομένῳ λο[γιστῇ -----]
80 [-----]νεικος· ἐπειδὴ κ[-----]
[-----]ιν πυνθανο[-----]
[-----]σιων πρ[-----]
[-----]σαιτεκ [-----]
[-----]γράφε[ιν -----]
85 [-----]ειταβ [-----]
[-----]υτα[-----]
[-----]· [-----]
lacuna of uncertain length
[-----] ca. 33 -----] 41' [-----]
[-----] ca. 33 -----] ΥΗΒ [-----]
90 [-----] ca. 33 -----] ΕΙΤΗ [-----]
[-----] ca. 31 -----] 1ΑΤΗΣΤ[-----]
vacat

198

- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Μάρκου υἱό]ς, θεοῦ Εὐσ[εβοῦς υἱωνός, θεοῦ
Ἀδριανοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ]
[Νέρουα ἀπόγονος, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κόμ]μοδος Ἀντω[νίνος Σεβαστός
Γερμανικός Σαρματικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς]
[ἐξουσίας τὸ >>, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ >>, ὑπατος] τὸ >Γ>, πατή[ρ πατρίδος,
ἀνθύπατος, Ἀθηναίων γερουσία [χαίρειν] vacat

- 95 [vacat]
[-----] ca. 31 -----] ησασθαι [-----]
[-----] ca. 33 -----] τοσ [-----]

199

- lacuna of uncertain length
97 [-----]
[-----]. ΗΘ. [-----]
[-----] ν καὶ / [-----]
100 [-----]ε τῶν ὄρφ[ν -----]
[-----]προν]οῖσεται ὁ [-----]
[-----]ρο[-----]αν ὀρίζειν [-----]υ

[---]αρο[-----]ς καὶ δυναμ[-----]ου
 [--- 'Αντί]πατρο[ς] καὶ Γαργίλιο[ς 'Αντίκος οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ 'Απολλώνιος
 'Απολλωνίου vacat Ε]ύτυχεῖτε.

200

105 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, Θεοῦ Μάρκου 'Α]ντωνίνου Εὐσεβο[ῦς Γερμανικοῦ
 Σαρματικοῦ υἱός, Θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱώ]γός, Θε
 [οῦ 'Αδριανοῦ ἔκγονος, Θεοῦ Τραιαν]οῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ [Θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος,

Μᾶρ Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος 'Αν]τωνίνος

[Σεβαστὸς Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς] Μέγιστος, ἀρχιε[εὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχι
 κῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ >—>, αὐτοκρ]άτωρ τὸ >Ε>,
 [ὑπατος τὸ >—>, πατήρ πατρίδος, 'Αθη]ν[αί]ων γερουσίᾳ vac[at χαίρειν
 vacat] vacat

[Τὰ μὲν γράμματα ἃ ἐπεστείλατε π]ερὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου [θέσιν -----]ιδου
 τοῦτο καὶ

110 [----- ὑπὲρ] τῶν προϋπαρξά[ντων ----- μῆ]
 καινοτομεῖν πε

[ρι ----- τῇ]ν ἡλικίαν[. . .] ^ [----- καὶ
 Γαρ]γίλιος 'Αντίκος οἱ
 [κράτιστοι καὶ 'Απολλώνιος 'Απολλ]ωνίου va[cat Εὐτυχεῖτε v]acat

201

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, Θεοῦ Μάρκου 'Α]ντωνίνου Εὐσ[εβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ
 Σαρματικοῦ υἱός, Θ]εοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνός,
 [Θεοῦ 'Αδριανοῦ ἔκγον]ος, [Θεοῦ Τρα]ιανοῦ Παρθικο[ῦ καὶ Θεοῦ Νέρουα
 ἀπόγονος, Μᾶρ Αὐ]ρήλιος Κόμμοδος 'Αντωνί

115 [νος Σεβαστὸς Σαρμ]ατικὸς [Γερμ]ανικὸς Μέγιστ[ος, ἀρχιεὺς μέγιστος,
 δημαρχικ]ῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ >H> αὐτοκράτωρ
 [τὸ >—>, ὑπατος τὸ >—>], πατήρ πα[τρίδ]ος, 'Αθηναίων γ[ε]ρουσίᾳ.
 vacat χαίρειν v]acat

[-----]σθαι τὰ πά[τρι]α τῆς πόλεως τ[-----]ες
 καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ ταύτην γεγονότες
 [-----]ῆκην ἔχει[ν τ]οῦ τοιούτου πεφ[-----]ι
 δὲ ἐπιστέλλοντες νῦν ἡζιώσατε τὸν
 [ἀεὶ ἀξιονίκως d]γωνιζόμεν[ο]ν ἐνκωιμίωι τ[ῶι -----]υ γραφομένωι
 τοῦτον εὐθέως τῆς πολε

120 [τείας μετέχειν] παρ' ὑμῶν κα[ὶ τ]ὸ προκείμεν[ον -----] τοῦ
 στ]εφάνου λαμβάνειν εἰς τοῦτό τε παράδειγμα
 [-----]ΓΜ[. . . .]υσιν συνεχ[ώρηκα -----] ε]ν τῷ κριθέντι
 τῆς νίκης δξίωι εὐθέως καὶ πολε
 [τείας ----- 'Αντ]ίπατρος κ[αὶ Γαργίλιος 'Αντίκος] οἱ κράτιστοι
 καὶ 'Απολλώνιος 'Απολλωνίου. Εὐτυχεῖτε.

202

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, Θεο]ῦ Μάρ[κου 'Αντω]ν[ί]νου Ε[ὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ
 Σαρματικοῦ υ[ἱός, Θεο]ῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνός, Θεοῦ
 125 ['Αδριανοῦ ἔκγονος, Θ]εοῦ Τρ[αι]αν[οῦ] [Παρθικοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος,

Μᾶρ Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος 'Αντωνίνος]

- [Σεβαστός Σαρματικ]ός Γερ[μαν]ικός Μ[έγιστος, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρ
 χικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ >—>, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ >—>,
 [ὑπατος τὸ >—>, πατὴρ πα]τρίδος Ἀθηναί[ων γερουσίᾳ vacat χαίρειν
 vacat]
- 130 [-----]ΑΣ[-----] ΟΥΜΕ [-----]
 [-----]ΙΝΑΤΑΑ[-----]
 traces
- [-----]
 [-----]
 lacuna of uncertain length.
- [-----]
 [-----] vacat
- 203
- 135 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, Θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ Σαρμα
 τικοῦ υἱός, Θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱ]ωνός,
 [Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγονος, Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος,
 Μᾶρ Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος] Ἀντωνίνος
- [Σεβαστός Εὐσεβῆς Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς
 ἐξουσίας τὸ >Θ>, αὐτοκρ]άτωρ τὸ >Ζ> (sic),
 [ὑπατος τὸ >Δ> πατὴρ πατρίδος, Ἀθηναίων γερουσίᾳ vacat χαίρειν vacat
 vacat]
- 140 [-----]ρηται καὶ αἱ ἐξ
 [-----]ρας καὶ φιλαν
 [θρωπ -----]ρεθειεν καὶ
 [-----] . μεν
 [-----]

193 Meritt (*Hesperia* 30 [1961] 232 f.). **194** Meritt except for line 25 πολιτεί]ας Oliver (γερουσί]ας Meritt). **195**, lines 33–37, ὠδῇ[ν in 45, ἐπίτρ[οπον in 47, and ἐκ[εῖ in 48 Meritt (*Hesperia* 2 [1933] 167); cetera Oliver. **196** Oliver. **197** Oliver. **198** Meritt (*Hesperia* 30 [1961] 234), except for line 92 Μάρκου υἱό]ς Oliver (Ἀντωνίνου υἱό]ς Meritt). **199** Geagan. **200** and **201**, imperial titles Raubitschek (with adjustments by Geagan and Oliver), line 117 Meritt, line 118 J. and L. Robert (*Bull. ép.* [1972] 138), line 121 Meritt, cetera Geagan. **202** Geagan. **203** Geagan, who restored numerals to indicate the ninth tribunician power and the fourth consulship because of the seventh imperial acclamation.

In Nos. **200**–**203**, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh epistles concerning the Athenian Gerusia, the nomenclature of Commodus refers to the deceased Marcus Aurelius as Μάρκου Ἀντωνί-

νον Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ, as one now sees from No. 208 at Delphi (*FD* 3.4, No. 328).

Translation of No. 196

Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Germanicus [Sarmaticus], son of divine Antoninus, [brother] of divine Verus Parthicus [Maximus, grandson of divine <Hadrian, great-grandson of divine> Trajan Parthicus], descendant [of divine Nerva], pontifex [maximus, tribunician power for the thirty-third time], imperator for the ninth time, thrice consul, pater patriae, proconsul, [and Imperator] Caesar Lucius [Auurelius Commodus Augustus] Germanicus Sarmaticus, son of Imperator Antoninus Augustus, [grandson] of divine Pius, [great-grandson of divine Hadrian], descendant of divine Trajan [Parthicus and divine Nerva], tribunician [power for] the [third time, imperator for the second time], twice consul, pater [patriae, proconsul], to the Gerusia of the Athenians, greetings.

We rejoiced when we read your letter, since — — — — men — — — — we have bought for the synedrion toward the provision of the gifts which are to be distributed — — — — made our arrangements and written — — — —. As for the portraits of ourselves and [our consorts] which you have expressed a desire to make in [gold or silver], inasmuch as you are certainly informed as to our opinion, be willing to [content] yourselves with bronze [portraits]. Of course you will make [the kind of portraits] which the many call busts, and [you will execute them] in a similar style and size so that [at the festivals it will be] easier to bring [them] in at each of the gatherings wherever [you] wish on each occasion, for instance to the assemblies. And that you inscribe our names upon — — — — for the sake [of loyalty toward us] we permit, gladly [accepting] such honors [but] at all [times] rejecting [divine honors] and those which seem offensive. [That is why we] prudently [recommend that you make only bronze portraits] because this would be more pleasing to us. As for the others, Caelius Quadratus, our procurator, who is being instructed by [them, will let you know]. Farewell.

Commentary on Nos. 193–203

The series of epistles from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus and from Commodus alone runs from Marcus's thirty-second tenure of the tribunician power (10 December 177 through 9

December 178) or slightly earlier down to Commodus's eighth tenure of the tribunician power. It is No. **194**, the second epistle of the series, which is dated when Marcus had the tribunician power for the thirty-second time. It is the ninth epistle, No. **201**, which is dated to Commodus's eighth tenure, which expired on 9 December 184, but even the last extant epistle, which may not have been the final one of the series, seems to be dated before Commodus had the epithet Britannicus. This series of extant epistles may be described as currently running from about 177 to 184.

On the world of Commodus one may consult Fulvio Grosso, *La lotta politica*, M. Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy*, and in addition to these for the complicated problem of the tribunician power G. Molisani, *RendLinc* 26 (1971) 805. Epistle IV (No. **196**) is dated by the ninth imperial salutation of Marcus and by the second consulship of Commodus to 179, Epistle V (No. **184**) by Marcus's tenth salutation to 179 or early 180, Epistle VI (No. **198**) by Commodus's third consulship to 181–182, Epistle VIII (No. **200**) is dated by the fifth imperial salutation to 182–183, and in IX (No. **201**) the epithet Pius, which Commodus received shortly before 3 January of 183, seems still to be missing.

For the more ancient background of *gerusia* as an institution the reader may consult Oliver, *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 330. The foundation of a so-named new corporation at Athens by Marcus Aurelius occurred at an unknown date, probably preceded by the embassy of L. Memmius Epi Bômô (*IG* II² 3620) and first mentioned in *IG* II² 1368 (= *SIG*³ 1109 = Sokolowski, *LSG*, No. 51), which Follet, *Athènes*, 141, dated to 174/5 or 175/6 on the good grounds that it commemorates a change in the Iobacchi Society upon the return of Herodes Atticus in 174/5. However, she infers further that the date of *IG* II² 1368 constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of the *gerusia*, because appointment as *gerôn* is mentioned among pieces of good fortune obliging the fortunate member to make a drink-offering. On the other hand, the mention of the *gerusia* in this case may, it seems to me, have indicated nothing more than knowledge that the foundation of a sacred *gerusia* was already planned or under consideration. It is therefore disputed whether the *gerusia* already existed upon the emperor's visit to Athens in the autumn of 176 or was, as I think, created during the visit. With either date the foundation of a sacred *gerusia* must be studied in the light of

the emperor's recent efforts to maintain the cultural preeminence and example of Athens (Nos. **184** and **173** supra). The idea for the new corporation at Athens came partly from ancient Hellenic *gerusiae* such as those at Argos, Messene, Hyettus, and Ephesus, but partly also from the Roman institution of *Augustales*, which was a socially useful second *nobilitas* open to new citizens as well (Oliver, *Historia* 7 [1958] 472–496).

The Gerusia of the Athenians is elsewhere called the Sacred Gerusia, which implies that its main concern was with the support of an ancient cult. Two clues connect the Gerusia with the cult of Athena: in *Sacred Gerusia* No. 31 Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus, whose bronze statue was to be erected in the synhedrion of the Sacred Gerusia, is praised for having voluntarily assumed the *agonothesia* of the Panathenaic Festival, and second, lead tesserae have been found with the figure of Athens and with the legend Γερουσίας (BCH 81 [1957] 498; M. Lang and M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora* 10 [1964] L244 and L310). The Sacred Gerusia seems to have been established for the cult of Athena, which now included the higher education, since Lucian (*Eunuch* 2) speaks of a jury of the most prominent, oldest, and wisest men in the city choosing a new professor. These judges are quite probably to be identified with the Sacred Gerusia, which came into being after a necessary reorganization of the higher schools of rhetoric and philosophy at Athens upon the quarrel with Herodes Atticus and after the founding of endowed chairs at the expense of the *fiscus*.

Basic questions of organization and funding will not be found in these epistles, if they were already settled during the visit of Marcus Aurelius in 176, but questions concerning the implementation of rules or the effects of procedures or new requests would require further decisions. In the extant epistles we have first (No. **193**) an answer concerning estates and the emperor's own birthday, also a reference to the number four hundred (masculine), possibly the number of members. The second epistle (No. **194**) concerns replacement of departed (deceased) members, and it seems to call preferably for *astoi*, i.e., native Athenians, of a certain age but apparently not restricted by the three-generation rule applied to Areopagites in No. **184** supra.

The third epistle (No. **195**) deals with the cutting of trees on estates which support the Gerusia. The wooded estates need more protection and supervisors will have to be appointed. The emperors direct the *gerontes* to their procurator Caelius Quad-

ratus, whom Birley (*Latomus* 31 [1972] 916) would identify as a Sicilian known from *CIL* VI 13913 and X 7191. The archon of line 46 could be a special official to manage the estates. Perhaps the estates had originally belonged to the *fiscus* and now were more exposed to depredations, whereas fear of the fiscal agents had once discouraged trespassers.

The fourth epistle (No. **196**) replies to a letter in which the Gerusia seems to have thanked the emperors for some benefaction and requested permission to erect representations of the emperors, their consorts, and certain others (e.g., officials or Senate). In the case of the emperors and empresses the Gerusia was offering divine honors in the form of statues in precious metals. Every emperor since Augustus had had to face this question, and apart from Caligula, Nero, and Domitian they all followed the example of Augustus. See K. Scott, "The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals," *TAPA* 62 (1931) 101–123; M. P. Charlesworth, "The Refusal of Divine Honours: An Augustan Formula," *PBSR* 15 (1939) 1–10. Marcus and Commodus decline statues in precious metals and express a preference for bronze. They indicate that busts are more practical than full-length statues. One may recall the gold head of Marcus Aurelius in the museum at Komotini and that from Aventicum of which the original is now at Lausanne and a copy at Avenches. See also L. Robert, *REA* 62 (1960) 316–324 (= *Opera Minora* II 832–840).

The fifth epistle (No. **197**) mentions white raiment (suitable for festivals) and customary days, but the sense is not clear. Likewise the sixth and seventh (Nos. **198** + **199**) epistles are too mutilated for recognition of the problems. The eighth (No. **200**) concerns the oil for the (Panathenaic) festival and a request not to make certain innovations, and the ninth epistle (No. **201**) concerns Athenian citizenship for the victor in contests at what was presumably the Panathenaic Festival. The tenth and eleventh epistles (Nos. **202–203**) are hopelessly mutilated.

The Areopagus, the Council of the Five Hundred, and the Demos of the Athenians were the recipients of the second epistle, No. **194**, but most of the epistles were addressed to the Gerusia of the Athenians. The Gerusia itself is attested as recipient of the third, fourth, eighth, and ninth epistles, Nos. **195**, **196**, **200**, and **201**.

The seventh, eighth, and ninth epistles, Nos. **199–201**, which are from Commodus alone, and with mention of the three men who served as his advisers. They are the Roman senators Anti-

pater and Gargilius Antiquus and a peregrine named as Apollonius son of Apollonius without ethnic. The first man is perhaps the Septimius Antipater of *CIL* VI 2010 (so E. Birley, *Latomus* 31 [1972] 917), the second L. Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus (*PIR*² G 80), and the third the well-known Athenian sophist who obtained the *politikos thronos* at Athens and later became hierophant (*Hesperia* 36 [1967] 334 f.). The absence of an ethnic here strengthens the impression that Apollonius was an Athenian, and the presence of this Athenian Eumolpid in the emperor's *consilium* helps to explain how it happened that the *genos* of the Eumolpidae had the effrontery to invite Commodus to serve as their archon (cf. No. 206 *infra*). One may infer that the *consilium* still contained two *amici* of Marcus Aurelius and that the peregrine was an ambassador or expert in Greek religious festivals called in for consultation.

204–205. BLOCK AT DELPHI WITH TWO EPISTLES, *FD* 3.4, 326–327

204. MARCUS AURELIUS TO THE DELPHIANS FROM VIMINACIUM, A.D. 175

Delphi. Nine fragments from the terrace of the Temple of Apollo have been connected with the first of two epistles. Inv. nos. 2114, 955, and 2194 contain parts of both epistles, from the end of one and the beginning of the other. These fragments were examined in the Upper Lapidarium of the Museum in 1970. In addition the following fragments of No. 180 are known: inv. nos. 913, 2260, 2312, 2224, 2331, 3821, and 3870. All of these were examined in the Upper Lapidarium of the Museum in 1970.

A. Nikitsky, *Delfijskie èpigrafi českie ètjudi* (Odessa, 1895) published drawings of only four fragments (nos. 2224, 2312, 2260, and 2194) on Pls. 6 and 7; A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 125–132, No. 326, with photographs of all nine fragments on Plate 22.

204

vac.

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός, Γερμ]ανικός,
[Σαρματικός]ς. [ἀρχιερεὺς]

[μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ $\overline{K\Theta}$, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ \overline{H} , ὑπατος τὸ $\overline{\Gamma}$,
 Δελ]φῶν ἄρ[χουσι, καὶ τ]ῇ πόλει[ι]
 [χαίρειν] τιτακ πο τῶν
 ακατα
 μα.

 ΓΔΑΣΕ
 τους ε στων ὑμῶ[ν
 ἀνε]ῖθνοι ἔστωσαν τῶ[ν
 -αὐτοὺς γεινέσθω[]προε
 5 ὡκως ? ὥ]στε τὰ ὑποζύγια Αἰ[]ἀνθυπα
 'Αμ]φισσέων βο[13]μενη ὑμῖν [δ]πως μὴ χρεῖα[ῖ]ν αὐτῶν
 ['Ἐπρέσβευον] Φίρμος, Πακ[ούιος]ς οἷς τὸ ἐφ' ὅδιον [δοθῇ]ναι βούλ
 [ομαι εἰ μὴ προῖκα πρεσβε]ύσειν
 [ὑπέσχηντα]ῖ vν Πρό v Ε[ca. 14]ρ v 'Ἀπὸ v Ουλίμνακ[ίου 'Ἐρ]ρ
 [ᾧσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι.]

ISOLATED FRAGMENTS

ΔΙΛ
 ΑΙΣΚΕ
 αι δικαιο
 τοις λε
 — ,

? τετ]αγμένο
 ουσι τῶν
 ων κ

The restorations are by Plassart except for καὶ τ]ῇ (Oliver, βουλ]ῇ Plassart) in line 4.

205. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS TO THE DELPHIANS, A.D. 198

Delphi. Eleven fragments from the terrace of the Temple of Apollo have been connected with a second epistle engraved below No. 191. Inv. nos. 2114, 955, and 2194, containing parts of both epistles, were examined in the Upper Lapidarium of the Museum in 1970. In addition the following fragments of No. 205 have been claimed: inv. nos. 49, 51, 52, 834, 1133, 1630, 2227, and 3857. Of these only two (inv. nos. 51 and 834) were seen in the Upper Lapidarium of the Museum in 1970.

A. Nikitsky, *Delfijskie ἐπιγραφὴ české ἐτjudi* (Odessa, 1895), published drawings of inv. nos. 2194 and 2227 on Pls. 6–7; A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 125–132, No. 327 with photographs of all eleven fragments on Pls. 22–23.

Plassart brings together the non-contiguous fragments 52, 2114, 955, 2194, and 2227 as a group containing lines 1–8 in an abnormal double heading, first by Marcus Aurelius *Δελφῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῇ π[όλ]ει χαίρειν*, then by Commodus with a similar salutation entirely in restoration, but no such heading with a separate salutation by each emperor is stylistically possible. The victory epithets too and the way the ancestors appear are not right for Marcus, and the address is not right for Delphi. When we discard fragments 52 and 2227, which we never saw and cannot accommodate, we combine fragments 2114, 955, and 2194 into a heading for an epistle of Septimius Severus with one abnormality, the absence of the phrase “brother of deified Commodus,” which could have been accidentally omitted, to read as follows:

205

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Μάρκου] υἱ Ἀν[τωνίνου Εὐσεβ]οῦς Γερμανικοῦ[
 Σαρματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνός, θ]εοῦ
 [Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Ν]έρουα ἀπόγ[ονος,
 Λεύκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεῦρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβαστ]ὸς
 [Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος, ἀρχι]ερεὺς μέ[γιστος, δημαρχικῆς
 ἔξουσας τὸ ς´, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ια´, ὑπατος τὸ β´],
 4 [πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, Δελφῶν ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ π]όλ[λει χαίρειν

Two isolated fragments, 51 and 834, seem to belong near the heading, to wit:

ἤκαμε[]ους ὡς[
ἐθε[ἐπὶ τ' οἷς καταρ[θωμένοις
]ς ὑμῶν α[
 [μας περὶ το[

Of these fragment 834 supports the identification of the emperor as Septimius Severus, because it resembles the letter of Severus to the Aezanitae, No. **213** of A.D. 195, beginning Τὴν ἡδονὴν ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ[ω]ρθωμένοις ἔχετε.

From the bottom of this (or another) epistle we have fragment 1133 with eight lines, also fragments 3857 and 1630 (plus 49, which joins the top of 1630, not at the inscribed surface, but in back). Together they read:

- 10] μεθ' ἧς εἰκὸς ἦν γνώμης προ[
 ἀποδί]δομεν ὑ[μῖ]ν χρησομένοις εἰς ὃ τι ἂν [ὑμῖν δοκῇ
]ήμεθα. [Τὰ] δὲ στέμματα ἴστε ἡμᾶς [ἀποδέ
 ξασθαι
]εν προσ[εὔ]χεσθαι · ἃ δὲ ἐπιστέλλετε
] τοὺς θεοὺς, κ[ατανέμ]εσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἡ[
 15]ητος κα[-----]ετε πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίω[ν ἀρχήν
] ἐδείκνυ[εν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν καὶ πρ]οθυμίαν ὃ πρε[σβευτῆς ὑμῶν
 'Επρ]έσβευεν Π' Ἀφάσιος Καλλικρά[της], ᾧ τὸ ἐφόδιον δο[θήτω (οἱ δο
 [θῆναι)
] Εὐτυχεῖτε vacat [

Plassart was confident that these four fragments belonged to the same epistle, but he did not comment on the ambassador, who has the same name as a Delphian archon whom Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis*, 35 and G. Daux, *Chronologie delphique* (Paris, 1943) P 23, dated 135–145 (?). The ambassador could have been a grandson of the archon. The ambassador's *nomen* is Aufasius, attested by *CIL* X 8059 (60), *Aufa[s]i* (rather than *Aufa[n]i*), and known also in the variant Ofasius (*CIL* X 6555).

None of these four fragments could be found in 1970 or 1973, and Plassart, who may never have seen them, does not claim that they join (apart from 49+1630). They certainly belong to an imperial letter addressed to the Delphians. Along with Plassart's attribution we accept a few of his restorations, but line 16 is differently restored, and a different reading occurs at the end of line 10.

The epistle is dated to A.D. 198, because the formula of line 2 seems to require the victory epithet Parthicus Maximus, which Severus received with the fall of Ctesiphon on January 28. The soldiers have already hailed Caracalla as Augustus, but the Senate has not yet reported—hence only one emperor in the heading.

206. COMMODUS TO THE EUMOLPIDAE, AFTER A.D. 182

Eleusis. Four fragments of Pentelic marble now in the museum and in the epigraphical storeroom of the museum at Eleusis, where they were examined in September 1966. Fragment b and

probably fragment c were found in a late wall. Fragments a and d are of unknown provenience.

Fragments b and c were published by D. Philios, *AthMitt* 19 (1894) 171–173, No. 2, then by W. Dittenberger, *SIG*² (1898) 408. Fragment a with the erasure was added by A. Wilhelm, *GGA* (1903) 798, who thus identified the writer. There followed editions of all three fragments by J. Kirchner, *IG II*² (1916) 1110 and F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ (1917) 873. A. E. Raubitschek, “Commodus and Athens,” *Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 1949) 285, added a fourth fragment (d) and presented a photograph showing squeezes of d and a. According to Kevin Clinton *per epistulas* there can be no doubt that fragment d actually belongs, and belongs where Raubitschek placed it.

206

[Α]ὐτοκράτωρ Καῖς[αρ Μ. Αὐρήλι]
[ος [[Κόμμοδος] Ἀντ[ωνίνος]] Σε]
[βαστὸς Εὖς]εβῆς [-----]

lacuna

5 Ἐγὼ μ[ἐν -----]
ὁ πρε [-----]
τῶν ο[-----]
ὕμετ[ερ-----]
[-----]α καὶ
10 [μυστηρίῳ]ν κεκοινωνηκώς
[ὥ]στε ἐξ ἐκείνου δίκαιος
ἂν εἶην ὁμολογῶν καὶ τὸ
Εὐμολπίδης εἶναι. Ἀναλαμ
βάνω δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἄρχοντο[ς]
15 προσηγορίαν, καθ' ἣ ἡξιώσατε,
ὥς τὰ τε ἀπόρρητα τῆς κατὰ τὰ
μυστήρια τελετῆς ἐνδοξό
τερὸν τε καὶ σεμνότερον,
εἴ γέ τινα προσθήκην ἐπιδέ
20 χοιτο, τοῖν θεοῖν ἀποδοθεῖ
ἡ καὶ διὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ τῶν
Εὐμολπιδῶν γένους, ὃν προ
εχειρίσασθε, αὐτός τε μὴ δο
κοίην, ἐνγραφεῖς καὶ πρότε
ρον εἰς τοὺς Εὐμολπίδας,
25 παραιτεῖσθαι νῦν τὸ ἔργον

τῆς τειμῆς, ἣν πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς
 [τα]ύτης ἐκαρπώσάμην.
 Ἔρρωσθε.
 vacat.

Translation

Imperator Caesar [M. Aurelius Commodus] Antoninus [Augustus] Pius [— — —]

I [— — — — — — — — —] and having shared in [the Mysteries], so that it was only right afterward for me to agree to be a Eumolpid. I accept also the title of archon, as you have asked, in order that if the secret rites of the initiation during the Mysteries receive some additional support, worship may be rendered to the goddesses in a more glorious and reverent manner even on account of that archon of the *genos* of the Eumolpidae whom you have elected, and in order that after being enrolled among the Eumolpidae I may not seem now to decline the practical obligation of the honor which I enjoyed before this post. Farewell.

Commentary

The epistle contains the affirmative reply of Commodus to the surprising request of the Eumolpidae that he become their archon. The inscription publicizes the interest of Commodus, who here uses no victory epithets whatsoever, in assuming a leadership in religion. He undertakes in line 25 a certain practical obligation (*ergon*) implied by the request, and in *AJP* 71 (1950) 1747 Oliver argued that the *ergon* was the presidency of the festal assembly, the expensive office of panegyriarch at the Mysteries in Boedromion. He had already been enrolled in the sacred *genos* of the Eumolpidae (other Romans enrolled in the Eumolpidae are noticed by Oliver, *Hesperia* Suppl. 8, opposite p. 248).

The first clue to the date of this epistle is the epithet Pius (see line 3) which Commodus received shortly before 3 January of 183. The other clue lies in the date of the festal assembly at which Commodus served as panegyriarch. Since Boedromion was the first month of the Athenian year, the epistle would have to date from an earlier year than the festal assembly at which, according to Oliver's interpretation, Commodus served as panegyriarch. Besides, the Eumolpidae would naturally have invited him well in advance. That Commodus served as panegyriarch

was first recognized by A. E. Raubitschek (*Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 284) on the basis of *IG* II² 1792 (= Meritt and Traill 423), the heading of which reads somewhat as follows:

[Τοῦ μεγ]ίστου Αὐτοκράτορος [Καίσαρος - Αὐρη(λίου)]
 Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Σ[εβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυ]
 χοῦς Βησαιέως πανηγυρια[χοῦντος ἐπ' ἄρχοντος τῆς]
 πόλεως Ἰο^{vv} Ἱεροφάντου, σ[τρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα]
 Αἰολίωνος [Φλυέως, Β]οηδρομι[ῶνος - οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς]
 Ἀντιοχίδος [φυλῆς] τιμῇ[σαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς]
 [ἄ]ίσίτους ἀνέ[γραψαν].

It is unfortunately not known in what year Julius Hierophantes served as archon (the phrase “of the city” contrasts with the archonship “of the festal assembly”) nor in what year Aiolion served as hoplite general. The year 186/7 is excluded for them by an inscription (Meritt and Traill 411) from the archonship of Thisbianus and the generalship of a Gargettian, but the year 190/1, hesitantly suggested by Follet, is certainly possible.

The phrase τὸ ἔργον τῆς τιμῆς in lines 18–19 belongs to the language of public service. Privileged status represents the τιμή. The service one renders in return is the ἔργον. Good men serve the community either χρήμασι or σώματι. Whereas in the Funeral Oration Pericles said τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν, in his epistle to the Eumolpidae Commodus means τὸ ἔργον τοῖς χρήμασι ὑπομενῶ.

**207. COMMODUS TO THE ATHENIANS(?), with *consilium*, A.D.
 185 (?)**

Athens. Formerly on the Acropolis, now EM 3456. Examined in 1970.

K. S. Pittakes, *L'ancienne Athènes* (Athens, 1835) 301; W. Dittenberger, *IG* III (1878) 37 from copies by Velsen and Koehler; J. Kirchner, *IG* II² (1916) 1114; A. E. Raubitschek, “Commodus and Athens,” *Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 1949) 289; F. Grosso, *La lotta politica al tempo di Commodo* (*MemAcTorino*, 1964) 230–234.

207

[-----ξ]
 [Αύρηλιος Παπίριος Διονύσιος -----]
 [----- 'Ι]ούλιος Κά[νιδος -----]
 3 [τὸ ἐφ' ὅδιον δοθήτω] τοῖς ἐκεῖθ[εν πρεσβευταῖς]
 [εἴ γε μὴ προῖκα ὑπ]έσχηντ[αι πρεσβεύσειν]

1 Grosso. 2 Raubitschek. 3–4 Dittenberger.

M. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius was *a libellis et cognitionibus* from about 180 to 185 or later. For Julius Candidus (*PIR*² J 235), see No. 209 *infra*. For an inscription giving the whole career of Dionysius, see L. Moretti, *IGUrbRomae* I (1968) 59 with photographs.

208. COMMODUS TO UNKNOWN AT DELPHI

Delphi. Two fragments, inv. nos. 3954 and 3800 from the block with the epistles of Trajan Nos. 41–42 *supra*, were examined in November 1973 in the Open Air Lapidarium north of the bend in the road.

A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 133, No. 328 with photograph on Pl. 8.

208

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θε]οῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖ[νο]υ Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ ὁ
 [Σαρματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Εὐσ]εβοῦς υἱωνός, [θεο]ῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἑγγονος, θεοῦ
 [Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεο]ῦ Νέρ[ουα ἀπόγονος, -----]
 [-----]

The restorations are by Plassart except that he elected to omit *Σαρματικοῦ* at the beginning of line 2 rather than *Ἀντωνεῖνον*. There is not room for both. One may compare the headings of Nos. 200–203.

209. COMMODUS TO THE ATHENIANS, A.D. 186 OR 187

Athens. Eight (or nine) fragments, two of which came from the Acropolis and two from the American excavations of the Agora, would unite as four, if the Agora piece were joined to EM 9503. Now in the Epigraphical Museum are EM 3428, 2381 + 9512, 9503, and 10006/7. Agora I 3025b + 4077 remains in the Stoa of Attalus. All fragments were reexamined on 30–31 May 1974 (Plate 14).

A. E. Raubitschek, "Commodus and Athens," *Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 1949) 286–290 with photographs of squeezes brought together IG II² 1109 (= III 40), II² 2771 (= III 59), II² 3412, and unpublished fragments from the Agora excavations. Subsequently Raubitschek found another fragment (EM 2381), as he kindly notified me around 1969—this unpublished fragment had already been attached to EM 9512 before May 1974—and it was discovered that Agora I 3025a, assigned by Raubitschek to the lower section, belonged to another inscription, as D. J. Geagan kindly informed me. As late as 1977 these alterations had not been reported in print.

J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1948) No. 30; J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 71 (1950) 177–179; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Inst. Fr. d'Arch. de Beyrouth, Bibl. arch. et hist. 57, 1960) 465–472 and 1007–1008, No. 180 bis; F. Grosso, *La lotta politica al tempo di Commodo* (*MemAcTorino*, 1964) 217–221; Follet, *Athènes*, 24–25.

209

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμα]
[νικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγο]

[νος, θεοῦ Τ]ρα[ι]ανοῦ Π[αρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπό]γονος, [Μάρκος]

[Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος] Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς Σαρ

- 5 [ματικὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Βρεταν[νικὸς, ἀρχιερ]εὺς μέγιστος,
[δημαρχικ]ῆς ἐξ[ο]υσίας τὸ ἰβ, αὐτοκράτωρ [τὸ ἦ, ὕπατος τὸ ε, πατήρ] πα
[τρίδος, τ]ῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Πεντακο]
[σίων καὶ τῶν δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων [vacat χαίρειν vacat]
[-----]ἐλλοι ἀσμένως ἐ[-----]
10 [-----]ιν διατρ[ι]ψ[-----]

lacuna of unknown extent

[-----] *Ν καὶ συν[ε]ρτάζειν*
 [-----] *τάδε πε[ρὶ] τούτων καὶ τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ*
μου. Εὐτυχεῖτε. Συνεβούλευον *Αὐ[τοῦ] Ἰδίου Βικτ[ο]ρ[ος] Εἰνός* *Ἀκεΐλιος*
Γλαβρίῳ [ν οἱ ἐν ὑπατείαις συνύπατοί μου, Αὐρήλιος Κλέανδρος ὁ τροφεύς
 15 *μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξουσίαν καὶ] τὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐμοῦ*
πίστιν ἐπιτε[ταγμένος σὺν τῷ ξίφει, Αὐρήλ]ιος Λάριχος ὁ φίλος μου
καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶ[ν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικῶν φωνῶν ἐπισ]τολῶν πεπιστευμένος,
Ἰούλιος Κάνδιδ[ος ὁ ----- τ]ὴν τῶν καθόλου λόγων
προστασίαν ἐπ[ιτετραμμένος -----]ς, Αὐρήλιος [...]
 [-----]

The text is based on that of R(aubitschek) with only slight adjustments in the upper section, but in the lower group it includes a new fragment, drops an old fragment, and allows for a longer line. 9 ἡγγ[ε]λλον and ἔ[γ]νωκα R., ἔ[μα]θον J. and L. Robert. 10 Ἀθήνησ]ιν διατρ[ί]ψ[αντες R. 13 Εὐτυχεῖτε (?) Follet. For the erasure in 13 and its bearing on 14 see the Commentary. 15 [τὴν τοῦ θαλάμου καὶ τοῦ R. 16 ἐπιτε[ταγμένος, Αὐρήλ]ιος R., σὺν τῷ ξίφει Oliver. 17 τῶ[ν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπισ]τολῶν R. 18 Κάν-διδ[ος ὁ φίλος μου καὶ ἐπὶ τ]ὴν R. 19 ἐπ[ί]τροπος ἐπιτετραμμένο]ς R.

Translation

[Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus] Antoninus [Pius Felix] Augustus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus Britannicus, [son of deified Marcus Aurelius Antoninus] Pius [Germanicus Sarmaticus, grandson of deified Pius, great-grandson] of [deified] Hadrian, descendant of [deified] Trajan [Parthicus and deified Nerva], pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the twelfth time, imperator [for the eighth time, consul for the fifth time, pater] patriae, to the Council of the Areopagus [and the Council of the Five Hundred and the] demos of the Athenians, [greetings].

--- gladly ---

--- and to celebrate together [-----] concerning these

matters also to [my] procurator. [Farewell. In the *consilium* were] Aufidius Victorinus, Acilius Glabrio [my colleagues in consulships], Aurelius Cleander my tutor and [chamberlain and (official) with the dagger] appointed for the protection of my person, [Aurel]ius Larichus my friend entrusted with the office [of Greek] correspondence, Julius Candidus [— — — — —] entrusted with the management of the overall accounts [— — — — —], Aurelius [— — —].

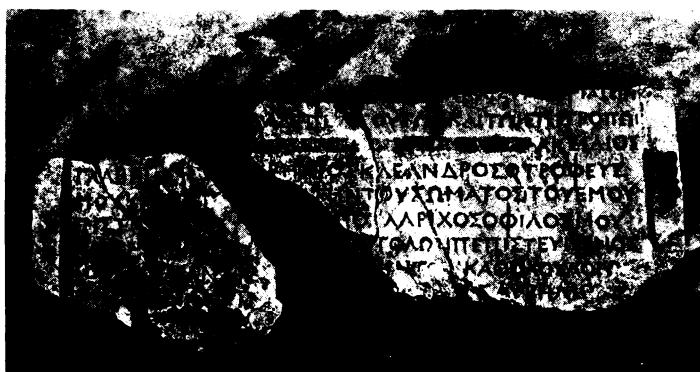
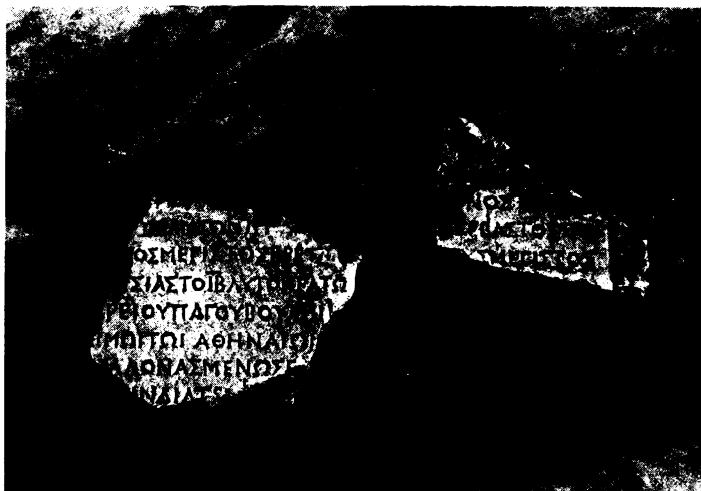


Plate 14a,b. No. 209.

Commentary

The epistle is dated in line 6 by the numeral twelve of the emperor's tribunician power to the year running from 10 December of A.D. 186 through 9 December of A.D. 187, as one sees by comparing the evidence for the second tenure in No. **192** of A.D. 177.¹ The writer was Commodus and the recipient was Athens, but the body of the epistle itself has been lost, except that in line 12 the emperor indicates that he has sent or will send pertinent instructions to his procurator.

The great interest of the inscription lies in the *consilium* listed at the end in order of rank. The question arose whether the man whose name was erased in line 13 and the very aristocratic senator Acilius Glabrio were members of the *consilium* or a date, the consuls of 186 being Commodus himself for the fifth time and Acilius Glabrio for the second. With the new fragment EM 2381 more of the erasure in line 13 was recovered, including a poorly erased, unmistakable phi, which could not be accommodated in a restoration of the emperor's name. Hence also the two names of line 13 must be interpreted as those of members of the *consilium* as Pflaum understood it. The visible part of the erasure extends for about seventeen letters beginning with the certain phi. There are traces of other letters, but a reading is very uncertain. The phi might belong to the name of a (or the) praetorian prefect, Longaeus Rufus, though 'Ροῦ]φ[ός τε οἱ ἑπαρχοὶ μου] would be hard to find in the traces. It might be easier to find the name Αὐ]φ[ίδιος Βικτ]φ[ρ]ε[ῖνος], who, as cos. II three years earlier than Acilius Glabrio, outranked him.

The farewell formula came somewhere, perhaps where Follet suggests, before report of the *consilium*.

Since the lines in the lower section are by comparison with the formulaic heading longer than Raubitschek's reconstruction allowed, there is no question of returning to his exact wording. In line 14 Acilius Glabrio, if a title rather than a third name followed, is mentioned presumably as the emperor's (former) colleague in the consulship, and one may compare *CIL* VI 1518, an inscription from Rome with the *cursus honorum* of T. Sextius Lateranus, where W. Seston, "Remarques prosopographiques autour de la Tabula Banasitana," *BAC* 7 (1971) 329, reads "in con[sulatu collega Imp.] Caesaris L. Aur[eli Veri Aug." In lines 15–16 the restoration of the title of Aurelius Cleander rests, as David Magie

told Raubitschek, on Herodian 1. 12. 3: ὡς τήν τε τοῦ σώματος φρουράν καὶ τήν τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξουσίαν τήν τε τῶν (βασιλικῶν) στρατιωτῶν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρισθῆναι. On the basis of an inscription at Rome published by L. Moretti, *RivFil* 38 (1960) 68–74 (*Année ép.* [1961] 280), the title may, as Pflaum and Grosso point out, be interpreted as that of the *a cubiculo et a pugione*, but then *pugione* must be rendered explicitly. The *Vita Commodi* 6.13 describes him as “*libertinus qui a pugione appellatus est.*” Since Cleander does not have the title of praetorian prefect (τήν τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀρχήν in Herodian’s phrase), the other prefect was probably Attilius Aebutianus (Howe, No. 7), who may have been still alive but deliberately ignored.

Though Larichus was clearly *ab epistulis Graecis*, the familiar phrase τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν does not fill all the space. Some longer phrase (see No. 184, line 94) must be supplied in line 17.

In Julius Candidus Pflaum saw the *a rationibus*, Grosso the *procurator summarum rationum*.

210. COMMODUS TO ATHENS, A.D. 189 OR 191

Athens. Two fragments, one of which was found west of the Erechtheum, now EM 8392 + 9534 in the Epigraphical Museum, where it was examined in October 1973. The last five lines, missing when Kirchner examined EM 8392 in 1907, have now been reunited with it.

W. Dittenberger, *IG* III (1878) 41 from Koehler’s copy; J. Kirchner, *IG* II² (1916) 1111.

210

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου υἱός, θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου
Εὐσεβοῦς υἱόνος],

[θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Τραῖανου Πα[ρθηκοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρου ἀπόγονος,
Μ. Αὐρ. Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνίνος]

[Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς Σαρματικ]ὸς Γερμα[νικὸς Μέγιστος Βρεττανικός,
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος],

[δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ -, αὐτοκρ]άτωρ τὸ ἦ, ὅ[πατος τὸ -, ἀποδεδειγμένος
τὸ -, πατὴρ πατρίδος],

5 [τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ καὶ τῇ β]ουλῇ τῶν Π[εντακοσίων καὶ τῷ
δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων]

χαίρειν

[----- προσδ]οκῶν ἤδη τυγχάνειν τῆς [-----]’
 [-----]οσύνη[ς ἥ]ς τὸ ὄφελος κο[ινόν] -----]
 [-----]ΕΚ[..... δ]έκατον μ[-----]
 10 [-----]Η[..... μ]ηνὸς ἐκάσ[του] -----]
 [-----]ΣΟ[.....]ντες οἳ τε βο[υλευται] -----]
 [-----]

The restorations of the heading are Dittenberger’s with slight adjustments and with the addition of ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ ᾧ in line 4. The restorations of lines 7–11 are Kirchner’s.

Commentary

The epistle is dated from line 4, which refers to the eighth imperial salutation and which without reference to Commodus as consul designate would be too short. Since the eighth and last imperial salutation occurred in 186, the epistle must be dated to the end of either 189 or 191, just before his sixth or seventh consulship.

211. COMMODUS TO THE APHRODISIANS ON ULPUS MARCELLUS, A.D. 189

Aphrodisias, from the Archive Wall. [Oliver’s translation and commentary are] based on a [provisional text] kindly provided by Joyce Reynolds. For other documents from the Archive Wall see Nos. 1, 48, 69, 218, 219, 278, 279, 281, 282, and 284.

[The following is the text edited by Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982) 118–124, No. 16, with photographs. K.C.]

211

Αὐτοκ[ρά]τωρ Κα[ίσαρ], θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ
 Σ[αρματι]κοῦ [υ]ῖός, θ<ε>οῦ Εὐσε[β]οῦς υἱωνός vac.
 θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ[υ] ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόχ
 [ονος], Μάρκ[ο]ς Αὐρήλιος Κόμ[μ]οδος vac.
 Ἀντων[εῖ]νος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς Σαρματικός, Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος
 [Βρε]ῖτανικ[ός, ἀρχιε]ρὺς μέγιστος[ς],
 δημαρχικ[ῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰδ’, αὐτοκράτω[ρ] τὸ η’ vac. ὑπατος τὸ ε’ vac.
 πατήρ πατ[ρίδο]ς, [Ἀφροδ]εισιέω[ν τοῖς ᾧ]ρχου[σι]
 5 καὶ vacat τῇ βουλῇ vacat καὶ τῷ δήμῳ vacat χαίρειν vacat

- Ἐνέτυχον τῷ ψηφίσματι δι' οὗ ἡξιοῦτε τ[ὸ]ν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατον ἐπιδημεῖν
 ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμ[ετέρῃ καὶ] δι[α]τρεῖ
 βεῖν ἡμερῶν τινῶν ἐπισκοποῦντα [καὶ ἐξε]τ[ά]ζοντα τὰ δημόσια πράγματα ὡς
 π[άνυ κατῇ]μελῇ[μένα] καὶ δεόμενα
 μεῖζονος τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως ὑπ[έρ] τοῦ ἡπάσας τ[ῆς] κρ[ί]σεως τοῦ λογιστοῦ
 βεβαίως δυνάσθαι μένειν [?]ν. ὑμεῖς μὲν vac.
 ταῦτα ὡς ὑπ[έρ] πόλ]εως βουλευόμενοι ἡψηφίσασθ]ε ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον
 ταύτην τὴν τάξιν τ[ε] ἀγγέμηνω φυ[λά]σ
 10 σειν τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀξ[ιωμάτων] ἐπὶ
 δημίας ἡγεμόνος ἢ ἀνθυπάτου ἐπ[ὶ]
 καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας δίκαια
 πράγματα ἐπέστειλα τῷ φίλῳ μου Οὐλ[πί]ῳ Μαρκ[έλλῳ] ?
 διατρεῖναι χρόνον αὐταρκῆ πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν
 15 εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο οὕτω γένοιτο τὰ τε δημόσια πράγματα ε[.]
 vacat ἐλευθερίας δίκαια[κα . . ca. 26. .]EK[. . 3-4. .]EJ[.]

1. ΘΣΟΥ *lapis*

A fragment from the right side of this text in lines 10–12:

. . .]ΟΥΣ[. . .
 . . .]ΟΜΜΕ[. . .
]Σ Ἀφρ[οδεῖ . . .

2. “Ε might be Ω” (Reynolds).

Translation

Imperator Caesar M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus Britannicus, son of deified Marcus Antoninus Germanicus Sarmaticus, grandson of deified Pius, great-grandson of deified Hadrian, descendant of deified Trajan Parthicus and deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the fourteenth time, emperor for the eighth time, five times consul, pater patriae, to the archons, Council and Demos of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

I read your decree in which you were asking the proconsul of Asia to visit your city and pass a few days inspecting and examining your public affairs in the thought that [they are rather neglected] and need his more authoritative correction [in order] that the decisions of the curator can remain unaltered. You [so decreed?] in consulting about a city; for me who have been appointed to this post (of emperor) it is necessary to protect the cities in the situations similar to yours [— — — —] visit of princeps or proconsul [— — — —] in this the rights of freedom [— — — —] affairs, I wrote to my friend Ulpius Marcellus [— — — —] to pass sufficient time for his [— — — —] of your public [affairs — — — —]

Commentary

The epistle is dated by the fourteenth tenure of the tribunician power to the year which ran from 10 December 188 through 9 December 189, as one sees by comparing the evidence for the second tenure in No. **192** of A.D. 177.

With $\tau[\epsilon\tau]\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ in line 9 compare $\tau\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\alpha\iota$ in No. **214**, line 15.

Ulpius Marcellus would seem to be L. Ulpius Marcellus (Barbieri, *Albo*, No. 888), an ex-governor of Britain, and now proconsul of Asia.

The interest of this epistle lies in the indication that a *curator civitatis* (of municipal or provincial standing) did not command sufficient prestige to protect the free city permanently with his decisions. They were difficult to enforce without the backing of a Roman proconsul. The city's freedom seemed more threatened by influential individuals (probably local landholders with Roman citizenship) than by the Roman government. The free city was more worried about its own courts and magistrates than about Roman intervention. They invite the proconsul or the emperor (compare line 13), and the emperor with a reference to their freedom writes himself to the proconsul to spend sufficient time. Somewhat similar problems and solutions are discussed by J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (Trans. Am. Philosoph. Soc. 43.4, 1953), chaps. 5, 7.

212A–D. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS TO THE DIONYSIAC ARTISTS

Egypt. Four papyri from Oxyrhynchus: A = *P.Oxy.* 2476; B = *BGU* 1074; C = *P.Oxy.Hels.* 25; D = *P.Oxy.* 2610.

For editions, further publications and a list of contents of A and B, which contains among other pertinent documents copies of an epistle of Septimius Severus, see the introduction to No. **23**. C, published by M. Kaimio as *P.Oxy.Hels.* 25 in *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 63 (Helsinki, 1979) 88–103, contains a similar series compiled in 264 by Marcus Aurelius Serenus, newly appointed priest of the society, and addressed to the council of Oxyrhynchus. D, a sliver from the left side of a fourth such series, was recognized by E. L. Hussey and published by J. W. B. Barnes (with help from Hussey and Rea) in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 31 (London, 1966) 179 f., No. 1610 (from the late third century).

212A (from *P. Oxy.* 2476, lines 7-11):

‘*Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ θεοῦ Σεουήρου· Καὶ ἐ*’*ἰκὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς τὴν ἱερὰν*
 8 *σύνο[δον νέμοντας ἡσθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ εἰς ἐμὲ περιεληλυθέναι τὴν τῶν ὅλων*
κηδεμονίαν καὶ βασ[ιλίαν καὶ διὰ ψηφίσματος φα]νερὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνῶ
μην [----- ἐπὶ τοῦτοις βουλό]μενος, [ὁ]π[ό]σα εἶχετα[ι] ἐξ ἀρ[χ]ῆς
ὑπὸ τῶν [πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων] δεδομένα ὑμῖν δίκαι
α καὶ [φιλόανθρωπα, ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάττω, προσαύξειν ἐθέλων]ν καὶ διὰ τ[ι]
μῆς ἀγειν ἀνδρας μουσικ[οὺς καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσ]ον θρησκείαις ἀνα
 11 *κ[ε]ιμένους. Εὐτυχεῖτε*

212B (from *BGU* 1074, lines 5-7):

‘*Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ θεοῦ Σεο[υ]ήρου· [Καὶ εἰ]κὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦ[ς] τὴν ἱερὰ[ν] σύ[ν]οδ*
[ο]ν νέμοντας ἐ[ν] τῇ πατρίδι μου ἡσθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ εἰς ἐμὲ περιεληλυθέναι
τὴν τῶν ὅλων κηδεμονίαν καὶ βασ[ι]λείαν <καὶ> διὰ ψηφίσματος[ς]
φανερὰ(ν)
 6 *[ποιῆσαι τὴν γνῶμην ----- ἐπὶ τοῦ]τοις βουλόμενος, ὅποσα εἶ[χ]ετε ἐξ*
ἀρχῆς [ὅ]πὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμ[ο]ῦ αὐτοκρ[ατό]ρων δεδομένα ὑμῖν δίκαια καὶ
φιλόανθρωπα, ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάττω, προσαύξειν ἐθέλων καὶ διὰ τιμῆς
ἀγειν
[ἀνδρας μουσικοὺς καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον θρησκείαις ἀνακειμένου]ς.
Εὐ[τυχεῖ]τε.

212C (*P. Oxy. Hels.* 25, lines 3-5)

3 *[‘Ἐπιστολὴ θεοῦ Σεουήρου· Καὶ εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς τ]ῇν ἱερὰν σύνοδον νέμον[τας*
ἡσθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ εἰς ἐμὲ περιεληλυθέναι τὴν τῶν ὅλων κηδεμονίαν καὶ
βασιλείαν διὰ ψηφίσματος φανεράν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνῶμην]
[---ca. 25-----] ἐπὶ τοῦτοις βουλ[ό]μενος, ὁ[πό]σα εἶχετε ἐξ ἀρχῆς
ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκράτορω]ν δ[ε]δομένα ὑμῖν δίκαια καὶ φιλόανθρωπα
ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάττω προσαύξε]ιν ἐθέ[λων καὶ διὰ τιμῆς]
[ἀγειν ἀνδρας μουσικοὺς καὶ ταῖς π]ρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον θρησκείαι[ς ἀνακειμένους
vacat] Ε[ὐ]τυχεῖτε [vacat

212D

D (*P. Oxy.* 2610, lines 1-4) has in line 2 τὴν τῶ]ν ὅλων
 [κηδεμ[ο]νία[ν, in line 3 ὑπὸ τῶν] πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρ[ατόρων, in
 line 4 ταῖς πρὸς τὸν] Διόνυσον θρησκ[ε]ίαις.

Translation

The Epistle of deified Severus: It was as it should be [both]
 that you who belong to the sacred society in my ancestral city
 were pleased that the care for and rule over the whole world had

come to me (< and) that through a decree you made your opinion clear [— — —] whatever rights and favors you held, originally given to you by the emperors who preceded me, I too maintain, wishing to increase and treat with honor men who are “musical” [and devoted] to the worship of Dionysus. Farewell.

Commentary

After the publication of A. Merkelbach's restoration Περ-
τίν]ακος in B, line 5 (*ZPE* 14 [1974] 81, n. 1) lost whatever attractiveness it may have had. In Viereck's reading [. . .]ακος, the alpha seems a misreading. Oliver restores [Καὶ εἰ]κός.

In B, line 5, the emperor's reference to his ancestral city, omitted in A, was interpreted by Viereck as a reference to Leptis Magna. In view of references by Marcus Aurelius (*Meditations* 6.44), an unknown emperor (No. 187), and Gordian III (No. 282) to Rome as the ancestral city, it follows that Severus too meant Rome as his ancestral city.

213. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS TO THE AEZANITAE, A.D. 195

Aezani, formerly on the temple, but now lost. The writer found no part of it in October 1973.

Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* 3. Inscriptions (Paris, 1847) No. 874; J. Franz, *CIG* III (1853) 3837 and 3838 from de Laborde's copy and pp. 1065 f. from Le Bas's copy; Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* 3. Explications (Paris, 1870) No. 874; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 68; H. Dessau, *ILS* (1906) 8805; [J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* (Heidelberg, 1921) 178–179, no. 31]. See also G. J. Murphy, *The Reign of the Emperor L. Septimius Severus from the Evidence of the Inscriptions* (Diss. U. of Pennsylvania, 1945), 4; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1542; A. R. Birley, *Septimius Severus* (London, 1971) 187 with translation.

213

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Μά[ρκου Ἀντωνεῖ]
νου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ Σ[αρματικοῦ υἱός],
θεοῦ Κομμόδου ἀδελφός, θ[εοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου]

5 *Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἀδριαν[οῦ] ἔγγονος, θε[οῦ]
 οῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Ν[έρωνα ἀπό]
 γονος, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεούηρος Εὐσε
 βῆς Περτίναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἀραβικός Ἀδιαβηνι
 κός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσί
 10 ας τὸ γ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ η', ὑπατος τὸ β', πατὴρ
 πατρίδος, Αἰζανιτῶν τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ
 βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν vacat
 Τὴν ἡδονὴν ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθωμένοις
 ἔχετε καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν υἱόν μου Μάρκον Αὐρή
 15 λιον Ἀντωνεῖνον ἐπιβαίνειν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλπίδων καὶ τετάχθαι μ[ετὰ]
 τοῦ πατρός, φανερώτατα ἔγνων δι[ὰ]
 τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ ἤσθην ὅτ[ι δη]
 [μ]οσίαν ἡγάγετε ἑορτὴν καὶ ἐθύ[σατε]
 20 τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίας χάρις[τηρί]ους, [πό]
 λιν ὄντες ἐνδοξος καὶ ἐκ παλαιο[ῦ] Ῥω
 μαίων ἀρχὴ χρήσιμος. Τὴν νείκη[ν δὲ]
 ὡς εἶδον ἐπὶ μαρτυρίᾳ τῶν κατορθωμ[έ]
 νων ἐλθοῦσαν μετὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος,
 25 ἀπέπεμψα τὸ [γ]ρ[ά]μμα ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῖς
 ἐνχωρίοις θεοῖς ἐσ[ό]μενον vacat
 Ἐπρέσβειον Κλαύδιος Καμπανὸς Φλα
 ουϊανός, Κλαύδιος Ἀπολλινάριος Αὐ
 ρηλιανός, Φιλότημος Μηνοφίλου, Κλαύ
 30 διος Πασί[τ]εχνος, Βεῖθος Δημητρίου,
 Αὐρήλιος Κάτ[υ]λλος, Μηνόφιλος Φ[ί]
 λίππου, Φίλιππος Μηνοφίλου · Μεν[ε]
 κράτην δὲ Μειλήτου ἔφασαν ἀπο
 λυθ[ῆν]αι · οἷς τὸ ἐφόδιον ἀπο[δοθή]
 [τω εἰ μὴ προ]ῖκα ὑπέσχηται. [Εὐτυχεῖτε]*

Translation

Emperor Caesar L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus
 Arabicus Adiabenicus, [son] of divine Marcus Antoninus Pius
 Germanicus S[armaticus], brother of divine Commodus, grandson
 of divine [Antoninus] Pius, [great-grandson] of divine Hadrian,
 descendant of divine Trajan Parthicus and divine Nerva, pontifex
 maximus, tribunician power for the third time, emperor for the
 eighth time, twice consul, pater patriae, to the archons, Council,
 and Demos of the Aezanitae greetings.

The pleasure which you take in our success and in the rise of

my son M. Aurelius Antoninus with good fortune to hopes of becoming emperor and in the appointment he has received beside his father, this I have very clearly recognized through your decree, and I was delighted that you held a public festival and sacrificed thank offerings, being as you are a famous city and long of great service to the Roman Empire. When I saw that along with your decree the victory had arrived to bear witness to our success, I sent my reply for you to have the document in deposit with your local gods.

As ambassadors came Claudius Campanus Flavianus, Claudius Apollinaris Aurelianus, Philotimus son of Menophilus, Claudius Pasitechnus, Bithys son of Demetrius, Aurelius Catullus, Menophilus son of Philip, but not Menecrates son of Miletus—they said that Menecrates had been excused. Let the travel allowance be paid to them, [unless] they have promised to go at their own expense. [Farewell].

Commentary

The main textual problem occurs in line 21 where Le Bas read NEIKI, and de Laborde read NE and where Waddington, who consulted a squeeze, found nothing to correct in Le Bas's transcript at this point. It does not seem possible to avoid the word *νείκη*[ν. Even though a reference to an embassy is carried on below, one should not emend to <πρ>ε(σβεία)[ν. The emperor's eighth imperial acclamation mentioned in line 9 shows, as Hasebroek says, that Byzantium had already fallen. The news had just arrived, as Birley saw.

A second textual problem comes in line 24 with TOKP..A, which Le Bas read and which Franz completed as τὸ κρ[ιμ]α. This called for emendation or a better reading. If Le Bas is right, the emendation <ἀπό>κρ[ιμ]α (with ΑΠΟ being lost just after the letters ΑΤΟ) would seem likely. But Waddington read TO.P.MMA on the squeeze and restored τὸ [γ]ρ[ά]μμα.

A third textual problem comes in line 25 where both de Laborde and Le Bas indicate a reading ΕΣ.MENON but where Franz wished to restore [τεθησό]μενον. Waddington returned to ἐσ[ό]μενον. The reading and restoration of lines 33–34 are due to Waddington except for [Εὐτυχεῖτε] which Franz restored below and Waddington omitted.

The great importance of this inscription lies in its reference to Caracalla's recognition as a future emperor in the third year (10

December A.D. 194 to 10 December A.D. 195) of his father's tribunician power. Waddington and Murphy would emend the numeral and make it the fourth year, but as Magie rightly argues, *Cod. Iust.* 9.41.1 shows Caracalla as co-ruler with Septimius Severus on 1 January of the consulship of Dexter and Priscus, which Degrassi puts in A.D. 196, and the assertion of the *Vita Sev.* 10.3 that the proclamation of Caracalla as Caesar took place at Viminacium does not conflict with this evidence. Lines 15–16 imply that Caracalla was now recognized as a future emperor even if the Senate had not yet recognized him as Caesar or proclaimed him *imperator destinatus*. The “successes” of this inscription are, I think, not the Fall of Byzantium, but the defeats inflicted on the enemies of Severus in 193 and 194 and on Rome's enemies in Mesopotamia in 195. The epithets Arabicus and Adiabenicus in line 7 place the epistle in the last four months of A.D. 195 (before 10 December), and the eighth imperial salutation cannot be dated much earlier than December.

214. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS TO THE CITIZENS OF PRYMNESSUS, A.D. 195

Prymnessus. The stone, now lost, was copied at Afyon Karahisar by Seetzen in 1803. In September 1973 I looked for it in vain in the museum at Afyon.

J. Franz, *CIG* III (1853) 3878; [G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 672].

214

Remnants of ten lines

- Αὐτοκράτω[ρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς]
 Γερμανικο[ῦ Σαρματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς]
 υἱώνος, θεοῦ [Ἀδριανοῦ ἑγγονος, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ]
 καὶ θεοῦ Νέρ[ουα ἀπόγονος, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος]
 15 Περτίναξ Σε[βαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικός, ἀρχιερεὺς]
 μέγιστος, δη[μαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ζ, ὕπα]
 τος τὸ β, ἀνθ[ύπατος, Πρυμνησέων τοῖς ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ βου]
 λῇ καὶ τῷ δή[μῳ χαίρειν]
 τοῖς οὕτως [-----]
 20 χαίρειν ἀνθ' [ὧν -----]
 νομίζετε θε[οῦς? -----]
 νῦν ὑμῶν καθρ[-----]

γυρεσας ἐπισ[-----]
 προ<αι>ρέσεως ὕ[μῶν -----]
 25 ἡμεῖν γὰρ αἱ προσ[-----]
 Ἐπρέσβευεν Π[-----]
 σον. Ἀπὸ Λε[-----]

215. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO THE DELPHIANS, A.D. 197

Delphi. Seven fragments of an orthostate block now in the storeroom of the Museum at Delphi, where they were all examined in 1971. The seventh fragment, No. 5563, belongs in lines 8–9. The six old fragments are 2252, 687, 880, 3530, 983, and (separate) 1278.

B. Haussoulier, *BCH* 6 (1882) 453, no. 85 (one fragment only); Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis*, 90–91 (five fragments); A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 134–137, No. 329 (six fragments) with photographs. [Mentioned by Lafoscade as No. 69. K.C.]

215

[Α]ὐτοκράτωρ Καῖς[αρ, θεοῦ Μάρκου]
 Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς [Γερμανικοῦ]
 Σαρματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Κομ[όδου ἀδελ]
 φός, θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Εὐ[σεβοῦς υἱωνός],
 5 θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγονος, [θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ]
 [Π]αρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρο[υ ἀπόγονος],
 [Λού]κιος Σεπτίμιος Σε[ουήρος Εὐσεβῆς]
 [Περτί]ν[αξ] Σεβασ[τ]ός Ἀ[ρα]β[ικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικός],
 [ἀρ]χιερεὺς μ[έγιστος], δη[μ]αρχι[κῆς ἐξουσίας]
 10 τὸ ε', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ [η', ὑπάτος τὸ β', πατήρ]
 πατρίδος, ἀνθύπ[ατος, καὶ Μάρκος]
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀν[τω]νῖνο[ς Καῖσαρ],
 Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουή[ρου Εὐσεβοῦς]
 Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβ[ικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ]
 15 υἱός, θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντων[ίνου Εὐσεβοῦς]
 Γερμανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ]
 [Ἀντ]ωνίνου Εὐσεβ[οῦς] ἔκγονος, ἀποδεδει]
 [γμένος κ]αὶ ἀνθ[ύπατος, Δελφῶν τῇ πόλει]
 [χαίρειν]

lacuna of uncertain extent

- 20 [-----]δ[---]
 [----- ἐντυχόντ]ε[ς οὖν τῷ ψη
 [φίσματι ὑμῶν, τὰς δοθε]ίσας ὑμῖν παρὰ τῶν
 [θεῶν προγόνων ἡμῶ]ν δωρεὰς καὶ μέχρι ἡμῶν
 [συντηρηθείσας] καὶ πάντα τὰ Πυθικά δίκαια
 25 [ἡμεῖς βεβαιοῦμε]ν ^{vvv} Ἐπρέσβευεν Τιμο
 [----- ο]υς, ὡς τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω
 [εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσχ]ηται ^{vvv} Εὐτυχεῖτε ^{vvv}
 [----- d]πὸ Καπύης vacat

1 Haussoulier. 2 Ἀ[ρμενιakoῦ] Haussoulier, [Γερμανικοῦ] Oliver. 3–7 Haussoulier. 8 [Περτίν]αξ Ἀδιαβηνικός Plassart, cetera Bourguet. 9 Bourguet. 10 πατὴρ Bourguet, cetera Plassart. 11 Bourguet. 12 Ἀν[τω]νῖνο[ς Σεβαστός] Bourguet, Καῖσαρ Plassart. 13 Σεου[ήρου] Bourguet, Εὐσεβοῦς] Plassart. 14 Ἀραβ[ικοῦ] Bourguet, Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Plassart. 15–16 Bourguet. 17 [Ἀντω]νῖνον Εὐσε[βοῦς ἔκγονος] Bourguet, ἀποδ αὐτο] Plassart, ἀποδεδει Oliver. 18 κ]αὶ ἀνθ[ύ]πατος Bourguet, [γμένος Oliver, [κράτωρ Plassart. 18–19 Δελφῶν τῇ πόλει χαίρειν Bourguet.

21 ἐντυχόντ]ε[ς] Oliver. 22 [φίσματι ἀκολουθῶς τὰς δοθε]ίσας Bourguet, ὑμῶν Plassart. 23 [πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρῳ]ν Bourguet, [θεῶν προγόνων ἡμῶ]ν Plassart. 24 [ἀεὶ συγχωρουμένας] Bourguet, [συγχωρηθείσας] Plassart, συντηρηθείσας Oliver. 25 [καὶ ἡμεῖς βεβαιοῦμε]ν Bourguet. 27–28 Bourguet.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus [Pius] Pertinax Augustus Arabicus [Adiabenicus], son of [deified Marcus] Antoninus Pius [Germanicus] Sarmaticus, brother of deified Commodus, [grandson] of deified Antoninus Pius, great-grandson of deified Hadrian, [descendant] of [deified Trajan] Parthicus and deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician [power] for the fifth time, emperor for the [eighth time, twice consul, pater] patriae, proconsul, [and Marcus] Aurelius Antoninus [Caesar], son of Lucius Septimius Severus [Pius] Pertinax Augustus Arabicus [Adiabenicus, grandson] of deified Marcus Antoninus [Pius] Germanicus Sarmaticus, [great-grandson of deified] Antoninus Pius, [emperor designate] and proconsul, [to the city of the Delphians greetings].

— — —] so [having read your] decree, [we guarantee the gifts that were [granted] to you by [our deified ancestors] and [have

been preserved] up to our time and all the Pythian rights and privileges. Ambassador was Timo[— — —, son of — — —], to whom let the travel allowance be paid [unless] he has promised [to go at his own expense]. Farewell.

[date] (dispatched) from Capua.

Commentary

The fifth tenure of the tribunician power dates the epistle between 10 December 196 and 9 December 197. Plassart rightly pointed out that Severus and Caracalla left Rome in July 197 and probably stopped at Capua on the way to Brundisium. Because of the Eastern campaign it cannot be later. In line 2 after the last clearly visible letter the squeeze seems to show a vertical hasta, more suitable for a gamma than for an alpha (so read by Haussoulier). The nomenclature and titles of Severus are then normal. Caracalla does not yet have the tribunician power, but he too is proconsul. *Année épigraphique* (1969–1970) No. 697 has a similar title for Caracalla in a contemporary dedication to Septimius Severus at Sila in Numidia, *patri Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aurel(ii) Antonini* [Aug] (anticipatory), *prop[agatori]s imp(erii)*, *p[roco(n)s(ulis)]*, though the editor of the text at Sila gave Caracalla at the end, not the title *p[roco(n)s(ulis)]*, but *p(atris) [p(atriciae) . . .]*, which he surely did not have and which does not fill the space.

For the restoration of lines 20–25 the reader may compare Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to Coronea, No. 117, also Hadrian to Hadrianopolis Stratonicea, No. 81, and Nos. 218–219 from Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the Aphrodisians.

216. SEVERUS AND CARACALLA ON PAINTERS, A.D. 198

Egypt. Now in Scotland at Aberdeen. *Non vidi*.

E. G. Turner, *Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1939) 16, No. 15.

See also U. Wilcken, *ArchP* 14 (1941) 165.

216

[ἄλλο πε[ρ]ὶ τῶν ζω[γράφων]
[-----] Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λο[ύκιος]
[Σεπίμιος Σευήρος Εὐσεβής] Περτίν[α]κος Σεβαστὸς [Παρθί]

[κός 'Αραβικός 'Αδιαβηνικός καὶ] Παρθικ[ός Μέ]γιστος κ[αὶ Αὐτο]
 5 [κράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος 'Α]ντων[ί]νος Σεβαστ[ός ---]
 [-----]. ποτ[...]. ὦν μοι γρ[αφ-----]
 [-----ζ]ωγράφος Νεικρ[-----]
 [-----]

The restorations here retained are by Turner except for the lacuna between lines 3 and 4. Because of the neuter adjective in line 1 Turner restored the document as an edict, but he allowed for the chance that it was a subscript reply. Wilcken's preference for the latter identification because the heading does not have the emperors' titles is not well grounded, inasmuch as Caracalla's edict, No. 260, has a similar heading. The neuter adjective goes either with *διάταγμα* or *δίκαιον* (= document). In line 3 read *Περτίναξ*.

The lacuna between lines 3 and 4 is too long for the normal restoration ('Αραβικός 'Αδιαβηνικός), as Turner pointed out. He thought of dittography or an erasure. We prefer [Παρθικός 'Αραβικός 'Αδιαβηνικός (compare *CIL* VIII 4594 and 25485) καὶ] Παρθικ[ός Μέ]γιστος. The combination would mean that Severus was Parthicus by defeating in 195 the Arabs and Adiabeni, who were Parthian vassals, and he was again Parthicus (Maximus) by the capture of Ctesiphon on 28 January 198. For the καὶ restored in line 4 compare *CIL* VI 1033 = *ILS* 425, *Parthico Arabico et Parthico Adiabenico*.

The date is clearly later than 28 January 198, but the μοι of line 6 is best explained by assuming that the secretary continued to use the singular for a while (Wilcken).

217. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO THE NICOPOLITANS AD ISTRUM, A.D. 198

Nicopolis ad Istrum. A large, broken stele of limestone almost complete, found in excavation of the ancient city and now (1974) in the Agora, where after removal of covering tiles it was examined on 7 April 1974. For photograph of section, lines 8–21, see Plate 15.

M. Britschkoff, *AthMitt* 48 (1923) 99–102, No. 7; [R. Cagnat and M. Besnier, *Année ép.* (1926) No. 95]; G. Mihailov, *IGBulg* II (1948) 659 with photograph. See also M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*² 714; Th. Pekáry, *Historia* 8 (1959) 474.

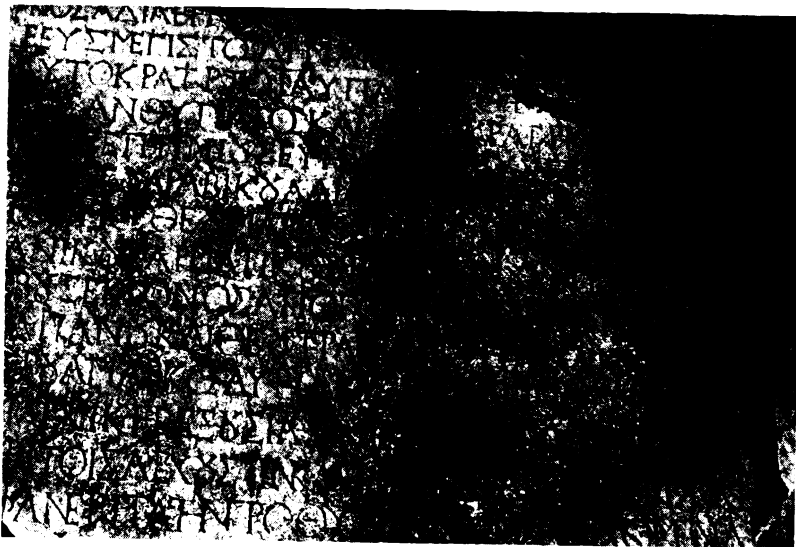


Plate 15. No. 217, lines 8–21.

217

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Μάρκου
 Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ Σαρ
 ματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Κομμόδου ἀδελφός,
 θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνός, θεοῦ*
 5 *Ἀδριανοῦ <ἔκγονος>, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ
 θεοῦ Νέρουα <ἀ>πόγονος, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος
 Σεῦηρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβαστός Ἀραβι
 κός Ἀδιαβηνικός Παρθικός μέγιστος, ἀρχιε
 ρεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας [τ]ὸ · ϛ · ;*
 10 *αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ια, ὕπατος τὸ · β̄ ; πατήρ πατρί
 δος, ἀνθύπατος, καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, Λου
 κίου Σεπτιμίου Σεῦηρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνα[κος]
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγί
 στου υἱός, θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερ*
 15 *μανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐ
 σεβοῦς ἔκγονος, {ἀπόγονος, ἀνθύπατος}, θε
 οῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Τρα[[ε]]ανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θε
 οῦ Νέρουα <ἀπόγονος>, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός,
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, <ἀνθύπατος>, Νεικοπολιτῶν τῶν πρὸς*

- 20 [[E]] Ἰστρω τοῖς ἀρχουσιν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαί
 ρ[ει]ν. Φανερωτάτην προθυμίαν ὑμῶν εἶδομεν δι
 ἃ τοῦ ψηφίσματος· ὡς γὰρ εὖνοι καὶ εὐσεβεῖς [ἀν]
 δρες καὶ τὴν ἀμείνω σπουδάζοντες ὑμεῖν ὑπάρ
 χειν παρ' ἡμεῖν κρίσ[[ε]]ιν οὕτως ἐδηλώσατε τοῖς
 25 παροῦσιν συνησθέντες καὶ δημοσίαν ἀγα
 γόντες ἑορτὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν [εὐ]
 ἀγγέλμασι εἰρήνης τε πανδήμου πᾶσ[[ε]]ιν
 ἀνθρώποις ὑπαρχούσης τῇ τῶν δεῖ θρασυν[ο]
 μένων περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν βαρβάρων ἥτις καὶ ἡμῶν ἐ[ν]
 30 δικαίαι κοινωνίαι συνεζευγμένων, καίσαρα
 ἐχόντων οἰκεῖον καὶ γνήσιον. Διὸ τὸ ψήφι
 σμα μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης περὶ ὑμᾶς τειμῆς
 ἀνέγνωμεν καὶ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν χρημάτων
 τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας ὡς παρὰ ἀν
 35 δρῶν εὖνων προσηκά[μ]εθα. Τὸ ψήφισμα ἔ ν
 πεμψεν Ὀουίνιος Τέρτυλλος ὁ κράτιστος φί
 λος ἡμῶν καὶ πρεσβευτής. Εὐτυχῶς.

In line 14 Britschkoff, followed by Mihailov, has Εὐσεβ(οὺς) Σ[εβ](αστοῦ), but the stone shows Εὐσεβοῦς without Σ[εβ]. The other restorations and emendations, here retained, were made by Britschkoff, notably the transposition of ἀπόγονος ἀνθύπατος from line 16 to lines 17 and 18, the addition of ἔκγονος in 5 and of A in 6.

Five letters seen by Britschkoff are now lost at the end of lines 29 and 30 each. They are already missing in Mihailov's photograph.

Translation

Imperator Caesar L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus, son of divine Marcus Antoninus Pius Germanicus Sarmaticus, brother of divine Commodus, grandson of divine Antoninus Pius, <great-grandson> of divine Hadrian, descendant of divine Trajan Parthicus and divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the sixth time, emperor for the eleventh time, twice consul, pater patriae, proconsul, and Imperator Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, son of L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus, grandson of divine

Marcus Antoninus Pius Germanicus Sarmaticus, great-grandson of divine Antoninus Pius, (descendant) of divine Hadrian and divine Trajan Parthicus and divine Nerva, tribunician power, (proconsul), to the archons and Council and Demos of the Nicopolitans ad Istrum, greetings.

You have a zeal which is very striking, as we see from your decree. You have shown thereby that you are men of goodwill and loyalty and are anxious to have the better standing in our judgment of you, for you shared in the joy over the prevailing circumstances and celebrated a public festival for the good tidings of our blessings, namely an oecumenical peace available for all mankind because of the defeat of the barbarians who were ever attacking the empire, and our union in a righteous partnership, in that we have a Caesar who is from our own house and genuine. Therefore, we have read the decree with the proper appreciation and have accepted the cash contribution of 700,000 (denarii) as from men of goodwill. The clarissimus Ovinius Tertullus, our friend and legate, forwarded the decree. Farewell.

Commentary

The date is given by reference to the emperor's sixth tenure of the tribunician power, which ran from 10 December 197 through 9 December 198, and to his eleventh imperial salutation, which occurred on 28 January 198 at Ctesiphon. Severus was still in the East.

The interest of the epistle lies in the claim to be descended from the good emperors from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius, in the very considerable contribution accepted seemingly as a favor, and in the propaganda stressing the victory, the possibility of world-wide peace, and the elevation of his son Geta to the position of Caesar.

Ovinnius Tertullus was the governor of Moesia Inferior 198–202.

The words "all men" or "all mankind" in lines 27–28 means all the people of the Roman Empire; it does not include the barbarians "who are ever committing acts of audacity." For this interesting distinction and its implications see Joseph Vogt, "Kulturwelt und Barbaren: Zum Menschheitsbild der spätantiken Gesellschaft," *AbhMainz* (1967) 5–68, especially 11–12 with references.

Geta was the genuine Caesar from their own house. For the antithesis genuine-spurious (*γνήσιος-νόθος*) see Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaic* 2.10, and 28 (Oliver, *Civilizing Power*). In *Panath.* 10 Aristides says: "One might say that rule over these isles came properly to this city alone and that it was a genuine hegemony over the Hellenic isles; the hegemony of the others who moved into the sea was spurious," etc. Clodius Albinus had been a spurious Caesar from another house like that of *Panath.* 28.

The emperors thank the city for its manifestation of joy and for its contribution of 700,000. The sign for denarii (Rostovtzeff) or sesterces (Britschkoff) has been omitted. The emperors speak of it as a voluntary contribution, but that may have been a polite fiction. Some pressure existed.

**218. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (AND CARACALLA) TO THE
APHRODISIANS AFTER CONGRATULATIONS ON VICTORY,
A.D. 198**

Aphrodisias, from the Archive Wall. A [provisional] text of this unpublished inscription was kindly provided by Joyce Reynolds. For other documents from the Archive Wall see Nos. **1, 48, 69, 211, 219, 278, 279, 281, 282, and 284.**

[The following is the text edited by Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982) 124–127, no. 17, with photograph. Oliver's translation and commentary are based on his study and restoration of the provisional text. K.C.]

218

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γε[ρμανικοῦ Σαρμα
 τικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ] Κομ[μό]δο[υ] ἀδελφ[ός, θεοῦ]
 Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς υἱόνος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγον[ος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ]δ
 Παρθι[κοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρ]ουα ἀπ[όγονος.]
 Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβασ[τός, Ἀραβικός, Ἀδια
 βηνικός, Παρθικός μέ]γιστο[ς, ἀρχιε]
 ρεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ F', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ [ια', ὑπατος τὸ β',
 π]ατή[ρ πα]τρίδος, ἀνθύπ[ατος καὶ]
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς [Περ]τίν[α]κος
 Σεβασ[τοῦ, Ἀ]ραβικ[οῦ, Ἀ]διαβ[ην]ικ[οῦ, Παρθι]

- 5 κοῦ μεγίστου υἱός, θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμαν[ικ]οῦ, Σαρμ
[α]τι[κοῦ] υἱῶν[ός, θεοῦ] Ἀντω[νείνου Εὐσε]
βοῦς ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρο[υα]
ἀπ[όγονος, Μάρκος] Ἀ[υρ]ήλι[ος Ἀντωνεῖνος]
Σεβαστός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ἀνθύπατος, Ἀφ[ρ]ο[δ]εισιέων τοῖς ἀρχου
[σι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν vacat]
Πάνυ τῶν εἰκότων ἦν θεὸν ὑμᾶς προσκυνούντας παρ' ἧς ἡ εὐγέ[ν]εια Ι[... ca. 15
... ἡσθῆναι ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ]
10 τῶν βαρβάρων κατωρθωμένοις καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κοινὴν σ[ὺν γεινιῳῶσαις
πόλεσιν ἄγοντας ἐπιστεῖλαι διὰ]
ψηφίσματος ὡς εἰδείμεν ὑμῶν τὴν εὐσέβειαν· τὰ ὑπάρχοντα δίκαια τῇ πόλει
ὑμῶν μεμενηκότα μέχρι τῆς]
vacat ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἀσάλευτα καὶ ἡμεῖς φυλάττομεν ΚΑ[...?.. εὐτυχέτε
vacat?]

Translation

Imperator Caesar L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus [Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus, son] of divine Marcus Antoninus Pius [Germanicus Sarmaticus brother of divine Commodus], grandson of [divine] Antoninus Pius, great-grandson of divine Hadrian, [descendant of divine Trajan Parthicus and divine Nerva], pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the sixth time, emperor for the [eleventh time, twice consul, pater patriae, proconsul, and] Imperator Caesar [M. Aurelius Antoninus] Augustus, son of L. Septimius Severus Pius [Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus] Maximus, [grandson] of divine Marcus Antoninus Pius Germanicus [Sarmaticus], great-grandson [of divine Antoninus Pius, descendant] of divine Hadrian and divine Trajan Parthicus and divine [Nerva], tribunician power, proconsul, to the [archons, Council, and Demos] of the Aphrodisians, [greetings].

It is altogether natural that you who venerate a goddess from whom noble ancestry [has descended to the Romans rejoiced at] the successes achieved over the barbarians and [instituted] a public festival therefore [— — — —by] decree, so that we might know your pious loyalty. The privileges [which you have from the emperors before] our reign we too preserve unshaken.

Commentary

The epistle is dated by Severus's sixth tenure of the tribunician power (line 4) to the year which ran from 10 December 197

through 9 December 198, and by Caracalla's first tenure (line 8) to the period between 2 June and 9 December of 198. The Aphrodisians have congratulated Septimius Severus on the success of the Parthian campaign, which culminated in the capture of Ctesiphon and the emperor's eleventh imperial salutation. Severus received for it the title Parthicus Maximus.

The emperors refer to Aphrodite as the ancestor of the Romans. J. M. Reynolds, *Vestigia* 17 (1973) 121 f., comments on the significance. It is interesting to note how seriously men took mythological claims. The emperors approve the joy of the Aphrodisians and find it natural that the city celebrated the capture of the Parthian capital. They take the occasion to confirm the privileges which the Aphrodisians received from previous emperors.

**219. (SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND) CARACALLA TO THE
APHRODISIANS AFTER CONGRATULATIONS ON VICTORY,
A.D. 198**

Aphrodisias, from the Archive Wall. A [provisional] text of this unpublished inscription was kindly provided by Joyce Reynolds. For other documents from the Archive Wall see Nos. 1, 48, 69, 211, 218, 278, 279, 281, 282, and 284.

[The following is the text edited by Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982) 127–129, No. 18, with photographs. Oliver's translation and commentary are based on his study and restoration of the provisional text. K.C.]

219

Αὐτοκράτορες Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνεῖνος [Ἀφρο]δευσιέων τοῖς ἄ[ρχουσι] καὶ
τῇ β[ουλῇ καὶ] τῷ [δῆμῳ χαίρειν vacat]
ἡσθέντας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦς θρασυνομένους [βαρ]βάρους νενεικῆσ[θα]! καὶ
πᾶσαν [τὴν οἴκου]μ[ένην ἐν εἰρήνῃ γεγενῆσ]
θαι σφόδρα ἔπρεπεν εὐφρανθῆναι τῆς πατρῴας κοινωνίας εἰς ἡμῖν Ἀντωνεῖνον
ἡκούσης [ῥόντας καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ]
τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ μᾶλλον ἄλλων προσήκοντας διὰ τὴν προκαθημένην τῆς
πόλεως ὑμ[ῶν θεὸν, τὴν ὑπάρχουσα]ν
5 ὑμεῖν πολειτείαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ νόμους τοὺς μέχρι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς
ἄκει[ν]ήτους μεμενηκότα[ς] ῥυλάττομεν εὐτυχ[εῖ]τε[τε] *stir*

Translation

Imperatores Severus and Antoninus [Augusti] to the archons, Council, [and Demos of the Aphrodisians, greetings].

You, who were delighted at the news that the criminal barbarians had been defeated and all the world was at peace very properly rejoiced that the partnership with my father had come to me, Antoninus. To you [as good and honorable men] adhering above all others to the Roman Empire on account of the [deity] who protects your city, [we guarantee] your [existing] constitution and its associated laws which have remained undisturbed down to our reign.

Commentary

The Aphrodisians appear to have sent congratulations upon the fall of Ctesiphon and the association of Caracalla as co-emperor to both headquarters, that of Severus and that of Caracalla. This is the reply of Caracalla, which like the other reply, is written in the name of both emperors.

The reference to their patron Aphrodite appears in different forms in both replies. The replies were not coordinated. The Aphrodisians had pointed out the bond of a common patron divinity.

**220–222. RESPONSES OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND
CARACALLA TO PROCUNDA, VARUS, AND UNKNOWN,**
A.D. 199/200

Egypt. Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, Journal Entry 47427 R2C5d, seen in February 1974.

A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 7 (1910) No. 1020; P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* (Berlin, 1920) 39–40, No. 17.

N. Lewis, "The Imperial Apokrima," *RIDA*³ 25 (1978) 270–273.

220. Unknown to Unknown

221. Septimius Severus and Caracalla to Varus

222. Septimius Severus and Caracalla to Procunda

220

- [-----]
 [.]ας *Εἰ περιγραφῇ* [-----]
 τῷ ἐπιστρατήγῳ ἐντυ[χε]
221 *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος* [Εὐσεβῆς Π]ερτίναξ Σ[εβα
 στὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς]
Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκο [ς Αὐρήλιος Ἀν]τωνῖνο
 [ς Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστὸς]
 5 *Οὐάρῳ Δαμασαίου. Εἰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔχεις β[οήθ]ιαν*, ὁ ἡγούμε[ενος τοῦ
 ἔθνους]
τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ἀφέσεως ἐκδικ[ήσει]. Πρ[οετέθ(η)] ἐν Ἀλεξανδ(ρείᾳ). [Οἱ
αὐτοὶ]
222 *Προκόνδῃ Ἑρμαίου δι' Ἑπαγάθ[ο]υ ἀπελευθέρου. Εἰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἡ[λικίας*
ἔχεις βοήθ]ιαν,
τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ἀπάτης ὁ ἡγούμε[ε]νος τοῦ ἔθ[νο]ς ἐκδι[κ]ήσει. Πρ[οετέθ(η)]
ἐν Ἀλεξανδ(ρείᾳ)].

The text is that of Hunt except for the end of line 6.

Translation

— —]. If a defrauding [— — — —], apply to the epistrategus.

Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus [Pius] Pertinax [Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus] Parthicus Maximus and Imperator Caesar Marcus [Aurelius] Antoninus [Pius Augustus] to Varus son of Damasaëus. If you can claim the assistance due to immature age, the provincial governor shall decide the suit for release. Published [at Alexandria].

[The same] to Procunda daughter of Hermaeus through Epagathus, freedman. If [you can claim] the [assistance due to immature age], the provincial governor shall decide the suit for fraud. Published [at Alexandria].

Commentary

The papyrus seems to contain a collection of *apokrimata* bearing on much the same subject, probably cited in support of a claim based on the *aetatis auxilium*. The editors refer to *Codex Iust.* 21.2

and *Digest* 4.4. Unlike the two *apokrimata* in lines 3–8 from Septimius Severus and Caracalla that in lines 1–2 is from an unknown source, not necessarily an emperor.

223A–B. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO JULIANA ON *LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO*, A.D. 199/200

Egypt. The text of this response is known from two papyri, as Fr. Preisigke pointed out when he published the second. The first, *BGU* I 267, came from the Fayum; the second, *P. Strass.* 22, came from Hermupolis Magna.

223A. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO JULIANA

The first text, now in East Berlin (Staatliche Museen P 7243), preserves the left margin. The papyrus was seen in September 1972. H. 0.21 m.; W. 0.13 m.

Fr. Krebs, *BGU* I (1892) No. 267.

Bruns⁷ (1919) 260, No. 87; A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2 (1934) No. 214; P. F. Girard, *Textes*⁶ (1937) 201–203; Riccobono, *FIRA*² (1941) 438–439, No. 84. Mentioned by Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, as No. 70.

L. Mitteis, *Hermes* 30 (1895) 612–614; Th. Mommsen, *ZSav* 16 (1895) 195–198 and 22 (1901) 143 (*Ges. Schriften* I 477 and II 369); J. Partsch, *Die longi temporis praescriptio im klassischen römischen Rechte* (Leipzig, 1906); D. Nörr, *Die Entstehung der longi temporis praescriptio* (Köln and Opladen, 1969) especially 74–112; P. Cornioley, “De l’origine de la longi temporis praescriptio,” *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 41 (1973) 119–130; N. Lewis, *RIDA* 253 (1978) 270–273; A. d’Ors and I. Martino, *AJP* 100 (1979) 121 f.

223 A

vv

[..... "Αλ]λο[.]ι[.]
 [Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρ]ος Περ[τ]ίναξ [Σε]βαστὸς
 [Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβη]νικὸς vacat
 [Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος] καὶ Αὐτοκρά[τωρ] Καῖσαρ
 5 [Μάρκος Αὐρή]λιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς
 Ἰουλιανῇ Σω[σθ]ενιανοῦ διὰ Σωσθένους

ἀνδρός· [Μ]ακρᾶς νομῆς παραγραφῆς{ς}
 τοῖς δικαίᾳ[ν] αἰτί[ι]αν ἐσχηκόσι καὶ ἄνευ
 τινὸς ἀμφισβητήσεως ἐν τῇ νομῇ
 10 γενομ[έν]οις πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐν ἄλλο
 τρία πόλει διατρεῖβοντας ἐτῶν εἴκοσι
 ἀριθμῷ βεβαιοῦται, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς
 αὐτῆς ἐτῶν δέκα. Προετέθη ἐν ᾿Α
 λεξανδρείᾳ. η' Τῷ βι γ~

Translation

Imperator Caesar [L. Septimius Severus] Pertinax Augustus [Arabicus Adiabe]nicus [Parthicus Maximus] and Imperator Caesar [M. Aure]lius Antoninus Augustus to Juliana daughter of Sosthenianus through Sosthenes her husband.

A plea of long possession is confirmed for those who, having had a just reason, were in possession without any controversy, for twenty years against those who lived in a different city, for ten years against those who lived in the same city.

Published in Alexandria. Year eight, Tubi 3.

Commentary

(See under the second text)

223B. SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO JULIANA, P. STRASS.

22

Second text: F. Preisigke, *P. Strass.* (1912) No. 22, pp. 78–85 with photograph and with a “Zusatz” by L. Mitteis on pp. 85–87; Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*, No. 374; Bruns⁷ (1919) 418–419, No. 192; P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* (Berlin, 1920) No. 54, pp. 179–182; Girard, *Textes*⁶ 905–907; Riccobono, *FIRA*² (1941) 439–442, No. 85.

223 B

Θεοὶ Σευήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνος νῦν Ἰου[λ]ιανῇ
 Σωσθένους διὰ Σωσθένους ἀνδρός vacat
 Μακρᾶς νομῆς παραγραφῇ τοῖς δικαί[αν]
 αἰτίαν ἐσχηκόσι καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ἀμφισβ[η]
 5 τήσεως ἐν τῇ νομῇ γενομένοις πρὸς μ[ἐ]ν

τοὺς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει διατρεῖψαντας ἐτῶν εἴκοσι
 ἀριθμῶ βοηθοῦνται, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 δέκα ^{vvv} Προετέθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδ[ρ]είᾳ
 ἡ' (ἔτους) Φαρμουθι κδ vacat

Translation

(See under first text)

Commentary

Paul., *Sent.* 5.2.3: "longi temporis praescriptio inter praesentes continui decennii spatio, inter absentis vicennii comprehenditur."

The Strassburg papyrus shows variations from the text in *BGU* 267. First, the formal nomenclature of the emperors has been replaced by the informal "Divine Severus and Antoninus." Second, *P. Strass.* has the correct form παραγραφῇ for παραγραφης. Third, it has βοηθοῦνται erroneously for βεβαιοῦνται and Σωσθένους as patronymic in line 2 where *BGU* has the more likely Σωσθениανοῦ. Fourth, it has in line 6 ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει διατρεῖψαντας for *BGU*'s ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει διατρεῖβοντας, in line 7 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς for *BGU*'s τοὺς δὲ and as date of publication in line 9 Pharmouthi 24 instead of Tubi 3.

The careless transcription of so important a document affords a striking example of the carelessness of scribes. The dates of publication, both given as for Alexandria, 30 December 199 (*BGU*) and 19 April 200 (*P. Strass.*), are dates of local publication and of publication at Alexandria.

On *P. Strass.* 22 the rescript is followed by other documents on more or less the same subject, the plea of long possession.

224. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO UNKNOWN,
 A.D. 199/200

Egypt. Papyrus in two pieces from the Fayum, now in East Berlin (Staatliche Museen P 1515). H. 0.15 m.; W. 0.11 m. Seen in September 1972.

U. Wilcken, *BGU* II (1897) No. 473; Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*, No. 375; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, No. 71; N. Lewis, "The Imperial Apokrima," *RIDA* 25 (1978) 261–278.

L. Mitteis, *Hermes* 32 (1897) 651–653; U. Wilcken, *ArchP* 6

(1920) 421 and 7 (1924) 84, n. 2 (about line 10); F. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste* 1 (1922) 48 with Wilcken's new restorations of lines 15–16.

224

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λο[ύκι]ος Σε[πτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ]
 Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθι[κὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ]
 Μάρκος Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἀντωνεῖνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβ[αστοὶ τῷ δεῖνα ὦ Ἐπει]
 ἀπίστασαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐν κηδε[μονίᾳ ἡμῶν, οὐδεμίας ζημίας ἔσ]
 5 τινας ὑπομενῖς μετὰ τὸ ἐκστῆναί σε· [ἡμῖν γὰρ λυσιτελεῖς ἔδοξεν]
 νομοθετῆσαι ὅτι οὐ χρὴ τοὺς τὴν ἔ[κστασιν ποιήσαντας τὸ λοιπὸν]
 ἐνέχεσθαι οὔτε πολεμικοῖς οὔτε ἰδιωτι[κοῖς ὀφειλήμασιν οὐδὲ ἐν]
 ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἐκτεῖσι κρατῆσθαι ἀλλὰ ἀπολύεσ[θαι ὥστε ἀνυβρίστους εἶναι]
 ἔνεκεν χρηματικῆς δόσεως ἐλευθεροῦ[σθαι τε ἀπὸ τῶν λειτουργιῶν].
 10 τοιγαροῦν, ἐν ἐπιτέρμου χώρᾳ καθιστα[μένων ἤδη πολλῶν, διεγνώ]
 σάμεθα τοὺς ἐκστάντας τῶν ὑπαρχόν[των οὐ δικαίως τὰς προνο]
 μίας ἀφαιρῆσθαι. (ἔτους) ἡ΄ Φαρμοῦθ[ι — vacat]

Remains of six lines from a petition to the strategos follow.

The text is based on Wilcken's version of the heading with Καῖσαρ in line 2 and on Lewis's interpretation of lines 4–12 but with changes in wording. 4 οὐ ζημίας Lewis. 5 ἔτι πρὸ τούτου ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν Lewis. 6 ἔ[κστασιν ποιήσαντας Mitteis, ποιησαμένους Lewis; τὸ λοιπὸν added. 7 ἐν added. 8 αὐτοῦς ἀνυβρίστους καὶ Lewis. 9 τε added. 11 ἐπιτι] Lewis.

Translation

Imperator Caesar L. Se[ptimius Severus Pius Pertinax] Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthi[cus Maximus and Imperator Caesar] M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Aug[usti [to so-and-so]:

[Since (or “If now”)] you surrender your property in [our] protection, you will have [no penalties] whatsoever to endure after your relinquishment. [For it seemed to us advantageous] to establish a rule that those who once make the surrender must not [from then on] be held liable for either public or private [debts and not] be held [in] any other payment but be released [so as to be safe from harassment] for money due [and to be] free [of the liturgies]. Therefore, [since many are already] in extreme difficulty, we have [decided] that those who made the

surrender of their property have been [unjustly] deprived [of their privileges].

Year eight, Pharmouthi [-].

Commentary

This document concerning the “*cessio bonorum*” seems to be an *apokrima*. The petition to the *strategos* in citing the legal basis speaks of τῶν θείων διατάξεων, “the divine (= imperial) constitutions,” where the plural subsumes both the *apokrima* itself and the constitution which the emperors summarize in lines 6–9. This is like the plaintiff in *P. Teb.* 286 who cites the *apokrima* of Hadrian (No. 72 above) and the *epikrima*, which Hadrian merely mentions in the *apokrima*, as the *apophaseis* which support his claim. The certain restoration of lines 1–2 establishes the length of other lines. Lewis, who omitted the indispensable Καῖσαρ of line 2, offered a restoration which was six letters too short in line 4, but established a likely connection. Although in line 5 the word ὑπομενῖς may suggest the formula ὑπομεῖναι τὴν λειτουργίαν of Athenian inscriptions (see R. O. Hubbe, *Hesperia* 28 [1959] 182) or ὑπομεῖναι τὸ βάρος of *IG VII* 2711, the restoration ζημίας in line 4 has the support of *P. Flor.* II 142 and the advantage of not limiting the subject to liturgies alone. Lewis justifies Wilcken’s first reading, ἐν κηδεμονίᾳ ἡμῶν.

At the end of line 6 Mitteis recovered the essential meaning but did not fill the whole lacuna. Neither did Lewis, who offered a slightly different restoration which was too short. For the convincing restoration ὀφειλήμασιν in line 7 Lewis cites various parallels. The chief remaining problem of lines 6–9 concerns the phrase ἔνεκεν χρηματικῆς δόσεως in line 9. Lewis translates “in return for their money payment” but does not explain his meaning. Rather the preposition seems to come under *LSJ*, ἔνεκα I 2, “as far as regards money,” and the phrase should not be separated from ἀνυβρίστους, which Lewis restored attractively in line 8, though stylistic considerations induce one to reword his accompanying restoration.

In line 10 Lewis rightly insists on a figurative meaning of χώρα, but the figurative meaning which he selects for the phrase ἐν ἐπιτέρμονι χώρα, “in a proximate position,” does not seem possible. The phrase ἐπιτέρμονι χώρα must mean χώρα τερμῖα, “end of the road,” or figuratively “extreme difficulty.” That is, “at the end” (of their resources).

In lines 11–12 the wording resembles that of Antoninus Pius to the Cyreneans on the request of the Bereniceans, No. 123, to take away the assize court from some cities to give it to others.

225A–C. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO THE DIONYSIAC ARTISTS

Egypt. Three papyri from Oxyrhynchus.

For editions, further publications, and a list of contents of the three papyri (A: *BGU* 1074; B: *P. Oxy. Hels.* 25), which contain among other pertinent documents the two very similar copies of an epistle of Severus and Caracalla, see introductions to Nos. 24 and 212.

225A (*BGU* 1074, lines 7-8)

θεῶν Σεουήρου κ[αί] Ἀντωνείνου· Τοῖς ψηφί[σ]μασιν ὑμῶν κ[αί] πάνυ
πεφροντισμένω[ς] ἐνετύχομεν, ὥς μήτε ὑστερεῖν τι ὑμῖν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
δικαίων μη
8· [τε ἀπολλύεσθαι? τι τῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ νενομισμένων -----]λλειον
παρ[.....] Εὐτυχεῖτε.

225B (*P. Oxy. Hels.* 25, lines 6-7)

6 [θεῶν Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνείνου· Τοῖς ψ]ηφίσμασι ὑμῶν [κ]αί πάνυ π[εφροντι
σμένως ἐνετύχομεν ὥς μήτε ὑστερεῖν] τι ὑμῖν τῶν ὑπ[αρχόντων δικαίων
μήτε ἀπολλύεσθαι? τι τῶν ἐκ] παλαιοῦ ν[ενομισμένων ca. 5]
[ca. 20 τι τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ] βέλτερον παρεσχημένων. [Εὐτυχεῖτε].

B6 ἀπολλύεσθαι? Oliver, cetera M. Kaimio. **C** (*P. Oxy.* 2610) has in line 7 τι
τῶ[ν ε]κ παλαιοῦ γ[ε]νο[μισμένων].

Translation

From divi Severus and Antoninus: We read your decrees with great care, so that there be no failure to obtain any of your existing rights [and] no loss of age-old [customs nor of any of — —] that have been provided [for their] improvement. Farewell.

226–238. THE APOKRIMATA OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA, A.D. 200

Egypt. Papyrus from the Fayum, now *P. Col.* 123 in New York, where it was examined in the Butler Library of Columbia University on 9 July 1973.

Westermann and Schiller, *Apokrimata*, with photograph; H. C. Youtie and A. A. Schiller, "Second Thoughts on Columbia *Apokrimata* (*P. Col.* 123)," *Cd'E* 30 (1955) 327–345 with important new readings by Youtie and with new legal commentary by Schiller on subscripts I, VI, VII, VIII, and XIII; [Kiessling, *Sammelbuch* 6 (1963) No. 9526].

See also P. de Francisci, *Iura* 6 (1955) 181–188; F. Casavola, *Labeo* 1 (1955) 90–97; C. B. Welles, *AJP* 77 (1956) 84–88, important review of Westerman and Schiller; A. H. M. Jones, *JHS* 76 (1956) 144; H. J. Wolff, *ZSav* 73 (1956) 406–418, important review of Westerman and Schiller, and Youtie and Schiller; V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Gnomon* 28 (1956) 186–192, important review of Westerman and Schiller, and Youtie and Schiller; M. David, "Ein Beitrag zu *P. Col.* 123, 13–17," *Eos* 48 (1956) 191–195; N. Lewis, *Eos* 48 (1956) 217–219 on Subscript IX; E. Pringsheim, *Eos* 48 (1956) 237–249 on Subscripts IV, V, VII, and XII; E. Seidl, "Neue klassische Konstitutionen aus den Papyri," *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni* 2: (Milan, 1957) 307–315; E. Schönbauer, "Die neu gefundenen Reskripte des Septimius Severus (*P. Col.* 123)," *AnzWien* 94 (1957) 165–197 with Greek text and commentary; A. d'Ors, "Notulas sobre los apokrimata de *P. Col.* 123," *Eos* 48 (1957) 83–88, especially on Subscripts IV, VI, XII, and XIII; F. Oertel, "Zum Reskript des Septimius Severus vom Jahre 200 n. Chr., *P. Col.* 123, 13–17," *JJP* 11/12 (1957–1958) 51–57 (finished in 1956 and not revised); [E. Kiessling, *Sammelbuch* 6 (1963) No. 9526]; F. Grosso, "Ricerche su Plauziano e gli avvenimenti del suo tempo," *RendLinc*, 23 (1968) 7–58, especially 26–34; E. Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als römischer Provinz* (1973) 31–40; N. Lewis, *BASP* 13 (1976) 11 and *RIDA* 25 (1978) 270–273; A. d'Ors and F. Martino, *AJP* 100 (1979) 120.

226. Response I to Ulpius Heraclanus called also Callinicus

227. Response II to Artemidorus called also Achilles

228. Response III to Aurelii Artemidorus, Anubion, et al.

229. Response IV to Cil..dis called also Midas through Philocrates his son

230. Response V to [Ma]thalge daughter of Ambrelus through Abdomanchus her son

231. Response VI to Apollon son of Harnectotes, et al.

232. Response VII to Aurelius Sarapion
233. Response VIII to Proclus son of Apollonius
234. Response IX to Cronius son of Heraclides
235. Response X to Dioscorus son of Hephaestion, Pieseis son of Osiris, et al.
236. Response XI to Isidorus son of Dius
237. Response XII to Isodorus called also Heraclides, through Apollonius
238. Response XIII to A[bd]elathe daughter of Ocaerenus

226

ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ

Ἀντίγραφα ἀποκριμάτων <προ>τεθέντων ἐν τῇ στοᾷ
τοῦ γυμνασίου ἧ (ἔτους) Φαμενώθ ιη' (2nd hd.) Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος
[Σεπ]τίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς
μέγιστος

Σεβαστὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς
5 (1st hd.) Οὐλπίω Ἡρακλάνω τῷ καὶ Καλλινείκῳ.
τὰς ἐπιβληθείσας Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι ἢ Αἰγυπτίοις ζημί
ας τῇ δωρεᾷ χρόνον προσαγα[γόν]τες ἀνήκαμεν.

227

Ἀρτεμιδώρ[ω] τῷ καὶ Ἀχιλλῷ.
τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις συνκαταθέμενος βραδέως

10 μέμφη τὰ δόξαντα.

228

Αὐρηλίοις Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ καὶ Ἀνουβίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις.
τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις πίθεσθαι.

229

Κιλ[.]ιδις τῷ καὶ Μίδα διὰ Φιλοκράτους υἱοῦ:
ὥσπερ ἀνατραπῆναι τὴν πρᾶσιν τῶν ὑποθη
15 κῶν οὐ δικαίως ἀξιοῖς οὕτως ἀπολαβεῖν σε
τὴν νομὴν τῶν χωρὶς συνβάσεως κατεχομένων
πρὸς βίαν χωρίων ὃ ἡγούμενος τοῦ ἔθνους κελεύσι.

230

...[.]θαλγῇ Ἀμβρήλου διὰ Ἀβδομάνχου υἱοῦ.
φργύριον γυναικες δανίζεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων
20 ἐκτίνιν οὐ κωλύονται.
Ἰθ' ὁμοίως προτεθῇ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στζῶ.

231

[Ἀ]πόλλωνι Ἀρνεκτώτου καὶ ἄλλ[ο]ις.

<ή> περὶ τῶν ἐπισκέψεων κρίσις κοινὴ παρέσχεν
πρόνοιαν Αἰγυπτίοις.

232

- 25 *Αὐρηλίῳ Σαρ[α]πίωνι:*
τὰς *Ιε[ρ]ω[σ]ύνας* ἐκ μητρώου γένους εἰς διατοχὴν
κατέρχεσ[θ]αι πρώην ἐκωλύσαμεν.

233

- Π[ρ]όκλῳ Ἀπολλ[ω]νίου:*
τοὺς γεγρ[α]μμένους κληρονόμους, κἂν αἱ διαθῇται
30 *π[ε]πλάσθαι* λέγωνται, τῆς ν[ο]μῆς οὐκ ἔστιν
δίκαι[ο]ν ἐκβληθῆναι. φροντ[ί]σουσιν δὲ οἱ
τὰ[ς] *δίκας* ἐπιτετραμμένοι καλέσαι τοὺς
εὐ[θ]υνομένους εἴ γε τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔστιν ἐν τῇ
τάξει τῶν διαγνώσεων.

234

- 35 *Κρονίῳ Ἑρακλείδου:*
αἱ πρόσκαιροι νόσοι τῶν πολιτικῶν οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσου
σιν λειτουργιῶν, καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς δὲ τῷ σώματι λιτουρ
[γ]οῦσιν ἐὰν τῇ φροντίδι τῶν οἰκίῳ πραγμάτων
ἐξαρκῇ δύνωνται.

- 40 *κ̄ ὁμοίως·*

235

Διοσκώρῳ Ἑφαιστίωνος καὶ Πιεσῆι Ὀσίριος
καὶ ἄλλοις:
ἀργύριον ἀντὶ πυροῦ καταβάλλιν ὑμᾶς ἐκω
λύσαμεν.

236

- 45 *Ἰσιδώρῳ Δείου:*
τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ Κόμωνος τετολημμένα
Φ<ού>λουεῖος Πλανδιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος ἐπαρχος
τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ οἰκεῖος ἡμῶν
ἐξετάσι. πρὸς δὲ Ἀπίωνα τὸν τελώνην, εἰ μὴ
50 *κοινωνῇ* τῶν ἐκκλημ[ά]των Κόμωνι, τὸν
ηγούμενον τοῦ [ἔ]θνους ἔξεις δικα[σ]τήν.

237

- [Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ καὶ Ἑρακλ[εῖδ]ῃ [διὰ Ἀ]πολλων<ί>ου:
τῆς πατρῴας κληρονομίας ἀποστὰς καὶ
τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας οὐ[κ] ἔχων βοήθειαν τῷ
55 νόμῳ τῶν πράσεων, ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν δε
δημεῦσθαι φῆς, πείθ[ο]υ.

238

- Ἀ[βδ]ελάθῃ Ὠκαιρένου.*
ἐὰν τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς ἐπιτρόπους λ[ά]βῃς
ἔξωθεν τάξεως, ὑπὲρ τῶν χωρίων πρὸς τοὺς
60 νεμομένους δικαστῆς δοθήσεται.

Translation

- 226** Copies of responses published at Alexandria in the stoa of the gymnasium. Eighth year, Phamenoth 18.
Imperator Caesar L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus Augustus and Imperator Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus to Ulpius Heraclanus called also Callinicus: We remitted the penalties which had been imposed on Alexandrians or Egyptians but added a time limit to the benefaction.
- 227** To Artemidorus called also Achilles: It is late to complain about the decision once you have agreed with the findings.
- 228** To Aurelii Artemidorus and Anubion and others: Obey the findings.
- 229** To Cil..dis called also Midas through Philocrates his son: Just as you are wrong in asking that the sale of the hypothecated properties be rescinded, so the governor shall order that you recover possession of the properties which are held forcibly without (legal) agreement.
- 230** To [Ma]thalge daughter of Ambrelus through Abdomanchus her son: Women are not forbidden to borrow money and to pay in behalf of others.
(Phamenoth) 19. Likewise. Published in the same stoa.
- 231** To Apollon son of Harnectotes and others: The general decision concerning inspections gave consideration to Egyptians.
- 232** To Aurelius Sarapion: Lately we stopped the priesthoods from passing down in succession from the maternal side.
- 233** To Proclus son of Apollonius: It is not right for the heirs who have been written (into the will), even if the articles are said to have been forged, to be expelled from the possession. Those who have been charged with the (supervision of) cases shall take care to cite the accused persons if the matter is indeed scheduled for a trial.
- 234** To Cronius son of Heraclides: Temporary illness does not release a man from liturgy to the city, and those who are chronically sick in body perform liturgies if they are well enough to take care of the affairs of their own estate.
(Phamenoth) 20. Likewise.
- 235** To Dioscorus son of Hephaestion and Pieseis son of Osiris and others: We stopped you from making payment in silver instead of grain.
- 236** To Isidorus son of Dios: Fulvius Plautianus, the *clarissimus*

praetorian prefect and kinsman of ours, will examine the enormities committed by Comon. With respect to Apion the tax farmer, if he is not involved as an accessory in the charges against Comon, you will have the governor as judge.

237 To Isidorus called also Heraclides through Apollonius: Having abandoned your paternal inheritance and not having the exemption based on minority status, comply with the law pertaining to the sales (of confiscated properties), for you admit that the estate has been confiscated.

238 To A[bd]elathe daughter of Ocaerenus: If you receive for the orphans guardians who neglect their studies, in defense of the property against those in possession a judge will be given.

Commentary

The papyrus contains a group of thirteen responses which were published at Alexandria on three successive days, 18–20 Phamenoth = 14–16 March, of the year 200. The word ἀποκρίματα is explained by Schiller as a non-technical term for any kind of imperial decision, and it here refers to responses (ὑπογραφαί). Contrast No. 18, line 107. A second hand has completed the imperial titles in lines 3 and 4, and this suggests, as Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte* 31f., points out, that the collection was made for official use or publication (see also Lewis).

Most Romanists write as if there must have been a Latin original of which the published response was a mere translation. To be sure, the emperor and his advisers, or some of his advisers, thought in familiar terms of Roman law and discussed in Latin the reply to be made. But there is no statement that the response has been translated. Is it not more likely that the response was first drafted in Greek and took its start from the Greek wording of the *libellus*? Often the reply reflected the Latin phrases of the discussion but at other times did not.

The first line includes the words ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ written above it. The emendation <προ>τεθέντων for τεθέντων was made by Youtie.

Response 1: As Welles argues, Ulpius Heraclanus, called also Callinicus (a significant nickname), probably attained Roman citizenship as a soldier. The ζημίαι here remitted are not identified but may have been penalties for tax arrears. The indulgence or benefaction (δωρεᾶ, read by Youtie) may have been an extension of time.

Response II: “The petitioner has no further recourse because he has delayed too long and by non-action, at least, has implicitly accepted the findings” (Schiller).

Response IV: The background is much disputed. Perhaps the petitioner has asked that the sale of an old “mortgage” on his real estate to a third party be canceled and that he recover property from which he is being excluded. The first request is denied as against the law, but the second request is granted because what the other party is doing in excluding him is likewise against the law. The emperors stress the parallel. The property forcibly withheld (by the third party) is presumably part of the hypothecated property (David and Oertel *contra*).

Response V: The names, as Welles points out, are Arabic, but the emperors answer “in the scope of the classical Roman law” (Schiller with reference to the *SC Velleianum*).

Response VI: Since the response begins with the article αἱ, Westermann treated the first four words as a heading. Youtie rightly removed Westermann’s period after ἐπισκέψεων but read κρίσ(ε)ις κοινῇ and treated παρέσχεν as an error for παρέσχ(ο)ν. D’Ors emended αἱ to <ῇ> but assumed an error κοινῇ(ν). All the response needs is the one correction <ῇ> proposed by d’Ors, and it then makes excellent sense.

Response VII: The word διατοχήν was recognized as διαδοχήν by Welles and Youtie, though Westermann mistook it for δια(κα)τοχήν. The reading ἱε[ρ]ω[σ]ύνας by Youtie instead of γενο[μ]ένας uncovered the subject of the rescript. The petitioner has Roman citizenship. This suggests that we are dealing with a priesthood not of an Egyptian cult but of a Greek one. The rules of succession at an Egyptian sanctuary had long been solidified; documents from the temple of Socnebtynis offer no insight here, but some uncertainty in Greek practice appears in the decision of Marcus Aurelius concerning the priesthood sought at Athens by Valerius Mamertinus (No. 184 *supra*, E 7–14).

Response VIII: Youtie’s reading π[ε]πλάσθαι cleared the way for an understanding of the subject. For the phrase ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν διαγνώσεων, “in the sequence of trials,” Schiller cites *De ordine iudiciorum* (C. 3.8) and *De ordine cognitionum* (C. 7.19), and says that it “would signify that the criminal action was to precede the civil suit.” Arangio translates: “sempre che la causa risulti iscritta nel ruolo dei processi.”

Response IX: Arangio finds this response in D. 27.1.10§8: *Adversa quoque valetudo excusat, sed ea quae impedimento est, quo minus quis suis*

rebus superesse possit, ut imperator noster cum patre rescripsit (cited from Ulpian).

Response X: The *adaeratio* into money payments would, as Westermann pointed out, have been to the advantage of those taxed and the tenants of the imperial domain, because the denarius in the open market did not circulate at the fictitious value which the government placed upon it.

Response XI: Comon is unknown, likewise Apion the tax farmer. Fulvius Plautianus (*PIR*² F 554), the famous praetorian prefect, was to preside at the trial of Comon *vice principum*. The trial had important implications and ramifications about which we are not informed.

Response XII: Youtie recognized that ἐπί (Westermann, rather than ἔτι Welles) was to be read as ἐπ(ε)ί. Someone who abandoned (so d'Ors) rather than repudiated his paternal estate and did not avail himself of the *aetatis auxilium* seems to have objected to an auction of the property confiscated for non-payment of taxes. The meaning of the phrase τῷ νόμῳ τῶν πράξεων is still under dispute, but it clearly refers to the law concerning confiscated properties. The petitioner may have found that the property was worth more than he had thought.

Response XIII: The recipient is another with an Arabic name, as Welles noted. She is the widowed mother. The phrase ἐξωθεν τάξεως was interpreted by Schiller as a rendering of the Latin phrase *extra ordinem*. Arangio disputes this. Also d'Ors interprets the phrase to mean *extra ordinem* but connects it with the following clause, "a judge will be given." One need not search and strain for a Latin original. The phrase ἐξωθεν τάξεως probably means ἀτακτοῦντας or λιποτακτοῦτας. If the guardians turn out unworthy, the governor will appoint a judge to protect the property.

227B & 239. TWO RESPONSES OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA, A.D. 199/200

Egypt. Papyrus from Ashmunen, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, where it was examined on 9 July 1973. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Amherst Papyri* 2 (London, 1901) No. 63; [Th. Mommsen, *ZSav* 22 (1901) 143 = *Jur. Schr.* II 369]; Mitteis, *Chrestomathie* 2 (1912) No. 376; Westermann and Schiller, *Apokrimata*, No. 2 as another copy of the first *apokrima*; H. J. Wolff, *ZSav* 73 (1956) 413–414.

227B. Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Response to Artemidorus called also Achilles

239. Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Response [to — —] son of Eudaemon

227B

[Αὐτοκράτωρ] Καῖσαρ Λούκι[ος Σ]επτίμιος [Σεουήρος] Εὐσεβῆς
[Περτίναξ Σεβ]αστός 'Αραβ[ι]κὸς [ς] 'Αδιαβηνικὸς Παρθ[ι]κὸς Μέγισ[τ]ος
[καὶ Αὐτοκράτ]ωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος 'Αντων[ί]νος
[Εὐσεβῆς Σεβ]αστός νν 'Αρτεμιδώρῳ τῷ καὶ 'Αχιλλεῖ. Τοῖς
5 [νν ἐγνωσμέν]οις συνκαταθέμενος βραδέως μέμφη τὰ
[νν δόξαντα. Πρ]οετέθη ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ ἡ (ἔτει) Φαμενώθ ιη.

239

[Τὸ ἀπόκριμα τ]ῶν κυρίων Σεουήρου καὶ 'Αντωνίνου
[..... Ε]ὐδαίμονος ν Τὸ συμβό[λ]αιον ἀποδοθῆναι
[.....] καὶ ἄκυρον ἐκ τῆς διαλ[ύ]σ[ε]ω[ς] φανέν καὶ
10 [.....]υ γενομένην κέλε[υσι]ν δηλοῖ συνθη
[.....]ν[ο] [...].εαν[.....]σει ν Προετέθη
[ἐν 'Αλεξανδρ]εῖᾳ ἡ (ἔτει) Φ[αμε]νώθ κδ. ['Α]ντινοϊτικόν
[]

Translation

[Imperator] Caesar L. Septimius Severus Pius [Pertinax] Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus [and Imperator] Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus [Pius] Augustus to Artemidorus called also Achilles: It is late for you to complain of the decision once you have agreed with the findings. Published at Alexandria in the eighth year, Phamenoth 18.

[The response] of our lords Severus and Antoninus [to — —] son of Eudaemon: The contract — — — — —
Published at Alexandria in the eighth year, Phamenoth 24.

Commentary

The two *apokrimata*, published at Alexandria on 14 and 20 March of A.D. 200 respectively, were perhaps related in theme. The first *apokrima* is restored from the wording of the other copy, No. **227A**, P. Col. 123. The restoration of line 7, the heading of the second *apokrima*, is by Oliver; those of lines 1–4 are by Grenfell and Hunt.

**240A & B. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO
UNKNOWN, A.D. 200**

Egypt. Two fragmentary papyri from Oxyrhynchus. Copy A, now at London in the British Museum (BM 2447), was examined in October 1972 but without knowledge of new evidence from Copy B.

Copy A: B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 12 (1916) 1405; E. P. Wegener, *Mnemosyne* 1 (1948) 119–125 on the *apokrima* or rescript; P. Mertens, “Un demi-siècle de stratégie oxyrhynchite,” *Cd'E* 31 (1956) 353 on the date of the *strategus* Aurelius Leonides of line 14.

Copy B: J. R. Rea, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 43 (1975) 3105 with photograph.

The constitution, *θεία διάταξις*, is cited in two petitions from the reign of Severus Alexander as a precedent.

240 A

Copy A

	[-----]
	[-----]ρ[....] παρεχώρ[ησας]
	[-----] εὐδηλόν ἐστιν μὴ τῷ
	[ταμεί]ω ἡμῶν τὴν παραχώρησιν
	[γενέσ]θαι ἀλλὰ τῷ εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν
5	[σ' ἐλο]μένω, ὃς ἀναλαβὼν σου τὰ
	ὑπάρχον[τ]α τὸ τε[μ]ή[μημά] σου] τὸ [πολ]!
	τε[μ]ή[μημά] σου] παρέξει καὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀπὸ
	πληρώσει· τὸ γὰρ ταμεῖον ἡμῶν
	τῶν τοιούτων παραχωρήσεων
10	οὐκ ἐφείτῃ. ἡ δὲ ἐπιτεμμία σου ἐ
	κ τούτου οὐδὲν βλαβήσεται, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ
	σῶμα ὑβρεισθήσεται. Προετέθη ἐν Ἀλεξαν
	δρείᾳ ἡ (ἐτους) Φαρμουῦθι.

The first thirteen lines of a later petition follow
1–4 G/H. 5 Oliver. 6–7 Rea (*P. Oxy.* 3105). 8–26 G/H.

240 B

[-----]
[....] παρ[ε]χώρησας [..... εὐδηλόν]
[ἐσ]τίν μὴ τῷ ταμείω ἡμῶν τὴν [παρα]χῶ
ρησίην γενέσθαι ἀλλὰ τῷ εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐλ[ο]

5 [μέν]ω σε, <ὅς ἀναλαβὼν σου> τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τὸ τεῖμημά σου
 [τὸ] πολειτικὸν παρέξει καὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν
 ἀποπληρώσει. τὸ γὰρ [ρ] ταμεῖον ἡμῶν τῶν
 τ[οι]ούτων παραχωρήσεων οὐκ ἐφίεται. ἡ δὲ
 ἐπ[ι]τειμία σοι ἐκ τούτου οὐδὲν βλαβήσεται
 οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ σῶμα ὑβρισθήσεται. Προετέθη ἐν Ἀ
 10 λεξανδρείᾳ ἡ (ἔτους) Μεχείρ.

There follow twenty lines of a later petition

Translation

— — — you ceded (your property) [— — —] it is clear that the *cessio bonorum* was made not to our fiscus but to the [man who nominated] you for the liturgy. Having taken possession of your property, he will provide your assessment to the city and fulfill the liturgy. For our fiscus does not desire such cessions. Your civil status will in no way be injured thereby, nor will you be physically mistreated.

Published at Alexandria. Year 8, Mecheir (so B, but Pharmouthi A).

Commentary

The papyri, similar to No. 224 = BGU 473, contain applications to the *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome to be relieved of a liturgy. The reply, cited in each case in support of the application, may be safely dated to the year when Septimius Severus and Caracalla visited Egypt. Copy B, the earlier, differs from Copy A in the position of the enclitic σε in line 4 and, more surprisingly, in the month of its publication. Were there two versions of an official response to similar questions two months apart?

Between lines 3 and 4 of Copy B the reading ἐλ[κο]μένω is impossible according to Rea, but ἐλ[οι] [μέν]ω, though difficult, is, it seems, possible. Line 8 has σοι in error for σου.

The word τεῖμημα, clearly legible in line 4 of Copy B, calls for explanation. Rea took it in the usual sense of “fine.” He translated the whole phrase τὸ τεῖμημά σου [τὸ] πολειτικόν “your fine due to the city(?)” I think it is the city’s two-thirds of the estimated value of the property (see Wegener’s discussion).

The words ὅς ἀναλαβὼν σου, omitted from line 4 of B, were rightly supplied there from A by Rea.

241. SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO SARAPION, APRIL 200**242. [SEVERUS AND CARACALLA] TO ARSINOITE
PAEANISTAE**

Egypt. Papyrus of the third century from Oxyrhynchus with three imperial constitutions including No. **105** (Hadrian) in lines 12–16. It is now stored in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (Plate 16).

P. J. Parsons, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 42 (1974) 64–66, No. 3018.

J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 96 (1975) 229–231; N. Lewis, *BASP* 13 (1976) 170 f.

241

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ
[Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγισ]τος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ
[Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς] Σεβαστὸς Σαραπίωνι Διδύμῳ.
[Παιανισταῖς ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴν λειτ]ουρ[γίας] ἔχουσι φυλάττειν ἀν<ε>μ[πὸ]
5 [διστον] χρή. Προετέθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ γυμνασίου, ἧ Φαρμ
(οῦθι) ι[.].

242

[Ἄλλο τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτοκρατόρων] το[ῖς Παλ]αίων Ἀρσινειτῶν παιανισταῖς
δι[ἀ]
[name Τὰ νόμιμα μ]έχρι[νῦν] θρησκευέσθαι καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα χρή
[φυλάττειν -----]εθεῖ[.] καὶ μηδὲν καινουργεῖσθαι. τὰ γὰρ
[ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων] συ[γκε]χωρημένα ἀκωλύτως μεμ[έ]
10 [νηκε ----- Π]ροετέθη πρὸ ἐπτά εἰδῶν Δεκεμβρίω[ν]
[-----] vacat Ἄλλο θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ vacat
[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σε]βαστὸς τοῖς κατ[ἀ τ]ὴν ἐπαρχεί[αν]
[ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐπιτρόποις μου καὶ τοῖς στ]ρατηγοῖς Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις
[καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην κατ]ο[ι]κοῦσι χαίρειν. Ἐπέταξα παιαν
στά[ς]
15 [τοῦ Παλαιῶν Ἀρσινειτῶν Σαραπίου] ἀνει[σ]πράκτους παντὸς τελέσματος
ς[α]
[τὰ τὴν ἐπαρχείαν εἶναι καὶ ἀπαρενοχλήτ]ους ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων[.]ε[– –]
[-----]

Translation of Nos. **241**, **242** and **105**

241 [Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius] Severus Pius Pertinax
[Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus] and Imperator Caesar
[Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius] Augustus to Sarapion son of
Didymus: [The exemption] from liturgy [which the Paeanistae]

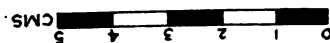


Plate 16. Nos. 241, 242, 105.

242 have [it is necessary] to preserve unhindered [for them. Published at Alexandria] in the stoa of the gymnasium, Pharmouthi [-]th. [Another document of the same emperors] to the Paeonistae of Old Arsinoites through [so and so: What is customary] ritual down to [our] time one must preserve [- - -] and not make changes. The privileges granted [by the emperors before us] have

remained unhindered. [— — —] published on the seventh day before the Ides of December (December 7).

- 105 [Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian] Augustus to the provincial [magistrates and my procurators and to the] Greek and non-Greek officials [and] to [all] those who inhabit [Syria and Phoenicia], greetings.

I have ordered that Paeanistae [of the Old Arsinoite Serapeum be] excused from every levy [in the province and be undisturbed] in their own [— — —]

Commentary

The papyrus contains documents referring to the Paeanistae of Old Arsinoites. Paeanistae began as an institution connected with the city cult of Asclepius at Athens in the fifth or fourth century. The three Attic inscriptions concerning the Paeanistae of Asclepius, who were still singing in the third century after Christ the paean composed by the tragic poet Sophocles, may be consulted in “Paeanistae,” *TAPA* 71 (1940) 302–311. At Memphis and Alexandria the institution was connected with the cult of Sarapis; from Alexandria the institution reached Rome (*IGUrbRomae* 35 and 77) and from Memphis Arsinoe.

The Old Arsinoites, the descendants of early Hellenic settlers, appear in No. 39 as the Six Thousand Four Hundred and Seventy Five. Here they are called [παλ]αιοι or [ἀρχ]αῖοι Ἀρσινοεῖται.

The first response (to Sarapion) was published at Alexandria in the stoa of the gymnasium, where, as Parsons noted, also the *apokrimata* were published. Parsons thought that a single response ran from line 1 through line 10, but when Oliver pointed out that the whole first response (except for the heading) was contained in lines 4–5, Lewis recognized the phrase ἀπαλλαγὴν λειτ]ουργίας φυλάττειν ἀν(ε)μ[πόδιστον and suggested for lines 4–5 something like [τοῖς παιανισταῖς τοῖς ἀπαλλαγὴν λειτ]ουργίας ἔχουσι φυλάττειν ἀν(ε)μ[πόδιστον τὸ γέρας ἡμῖν δοκεῖ. Προετέθ]η.

The second reply, published probably in the East but outside of Egypt, may conceivably date from an earlier reign, but it is easier to account for the short heading by assuming that it emanates from the same authors. It was communicated to the Paeanistae through some unknown intermediary.

Below these two replies the original (Roman) grant of privileged

status to the Old Arsinoite Paeanistae is cited, because it is this document which justifies the two replies. The privileges of the Paeanistae are, as Parsons noted, modeled on the privileges of the Dionysiac Artists (Nos. **24A–B**). Hadrian issued the charter in the form of an *epistula generalis* to everybody concerned, i.e., to all Roman, Greek, and “barbarian” magistrates. For the word *βάρβαρος* see T. J. Haarhoff, *The Stranger at the Gate* (Oxford, 1948) 51–59, 126, 216–221. Since it is hard to think of the elders in the Jewish *politeuma* of Alexandria and in various Egyptian communities being designated as *strategi*, Parsons pointed to the existence of *strategi* in Asia Minor. But the word *στρατηγοί* means the chief magistrate(s) of any city organized as a polis, colony, or *municipium* (see Modestinus in *Digest* 27.1.15.9). Since the epistle addresses the Roman officials and the Greek and barbarian *strategi* of a single province which can hardly be Egypt, it would be easier to identify the province as Syria and Phoenicia and to explain the *strategi* as magistrates in cities of Graeco-Macedonian, Phoenician, and other antecedents. A piece of negative evidence is that the lacuna in line 14 is not long enough to support a restoration [καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον κατ]ο[ι]κοῦσι but can support [καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην κατ]ο[ι]κοῦσι.

Then an attempt must be made to explain why the Paeanistae would cite an epistle to the officials of Syria instead of Egypt. The privileges of the Paeanistae were established when the institution was transplanted to Egypt and were never disputed in Egypt under the first Roman emperors. Since they were not introduced into Egypt under the Roman emperors, there was no Roman charter in Egypt. The Paeanistae, however, had a role in the spread of the cult of Sarapis, and in connection with this expansion Hadrian issued an epistle to all Roman, Greek, and barbarian officials of Syria. Under Septimius Severus the Paeanistae cited this charter because they could not cite a Roman charter for Egypt.

The Paeanistae of the cult of Sarapis go back to Demetrius of Phalerum, who according to Diogenes Laertius (5.76) owed restoration of his sight to Sarapis, ὅθεν (λέγεται) καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας ποιῆσαι τοὺς μέχρι νῦν ἄδομένους. The prominence of Demetrius of Phalerum in the cult of Sarapis does not depend upon the historicity of the illness or Picard’s identification of a statue in the Great Sarapeum at Memphis (Ch. Picard, *Les statues*

ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis [Paris, 1955] 68–89). It was the healing god in Sarapis that reminded the Athenian of Asclepius and the latter's reception by the tragic poet Sophocles. At Athens Menander (*Dyskolos* 230) seems to mention paeanistae. The three Attic inscriptions, of which the two more important have escaped editors of the *Dyskolos*, are:

- 1) a stele from the Antonine period with a catalogue in which, with date by the priest of Asclepius, οἱ π[ρέσβει]ς [τοῦ ἐν] ἄσ[τει] Ἀσκλη]π[ιεῖο]υ το[ῦ]ς πα[ι]ανιστ[άς] (ἀνέγραψαν);
- 2) a report of a decision (now broken away and lost) ca. 209/10 with a heading dated by the priest of Asclepius and the words οἱ παιανισταὶ τοῦ Μουνιχίου Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ἐντυχόντες τῷ κρατιίστῳ λογιστῇ τῆς λαμπροτάτης Ἀθηναίων πόλεως name, καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐ χρημάτισε, διὰ Αὐρ. Εἰσιδῶρου τ[οῦ] ἱερέως], ὑπετάξαμεν, κτλ. (the Paeanistae of the Munychian Asclepius had handed in a petition through an intermediary, as the Paeanistae of Old Arsinoites petitioned the emperors through an intermediary);
- 3) the paean of Sophocles and a catalogue inscribed in the Severan period on the sides of an earlier triangular monument for Plutarch's friend Sarapion of Chollidae in the Asclepieum on the south slope of the Acropolis. The catalogue containing the names of Athenian dignitaries is dated by the archon, the priest and other officials of the sanctuary but preserves only a small part of the heading: ὁ ὑπο[— — — —] καὶ οἱ [πρέσβεις τοῦ ἐν ἄστει Ἀσκληπιδίου] ἀνέγ[ραψαν τὸν Σοφοκλέους εἰς Ἀ]σκληπιὸν π[αιᾶνα καὶ το]ὺς παιανιστάς. The paean of Sophocles is most conveniently available in *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 109–114, though the date of its inscription had not yet been ascertained through the catalogue. The heading: Σοφοκλέους [Παι]άν.

In Egypt paeanistae are found in *Sammelbuch* I 1743 and 5803. In fact, the former, which reads Εἰς Πανῶν Σαραπίωνι πεανιστῇ, could be the mummy ticket of the Sarapion in our line 3.

The name "Old Arsinoites" may have come into favor (or existence) in 130 when Hadrian established a city for the Ἀντινοεῖς Νέοι Ἕλληνες, at least partly recruited from Arsinoite Greeks.

**243. DECISION OF SEVERUS AND CARACALLA FOR
UNKNOWN, A.D. 200**

Egypt. Papyrus in Berlin, Inv. No. 7346 Verso, three fragments.
Non vidi.

H. Frisk, *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 282–284 [Kiessling, *Sammelbuch* 7366].

J. H. Oliver, “A Parallel for the Tabula Banasitana,” *AJP* 97 (1976) 370–372; W. Williams, “Two Imperial Pronouncements Reclassified,” *ZPE* 22 (1976) 240–245; N. Lewis, *RIDA* 25 (1978) 271, n. 37.

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	Fragment A.		Fragment B.
	περὶ []ω[]θέσθα[ι [.]
	χωρησ[]ωφελι[.]
	λον εἰς[]ροπολ[. .]μ[. .]α
	σαν ἀπ[]κοῖνα βοηθησόμενον
5	νησ[	5	]μαὶ τὰς δυνάμεις
	θείσα[		]εσιαν ανεωσομε
	γραφ[. . .]οπρ[		]οτειμίαν διὰ τοῦ
	καὶ νῦν συνεχω[		]γ αὐτοκρατόρων
	γράφειν καὶ μ[		]αι ἄξιον
10	τὴν ἀναγωγὴν	10	]ς εἶτε ἐν ἀργυρίῳ
	σαντι ὅτι[		]ντε ἐν κρι. . η ε
	θη ὡς κακω[		]ενει τῷ ταμείῳ
	νέχεσθαι αὐτ[		]τὴν ς εἰδω –
	λημα αὐτοῦρ[		]μέχρι λγ (ἔτους)
15	διατάξεως[	15	Κλ]άρῳ ὑπατείας
			]τοῖς τελώναις

	Fragment C
	[.]. ησι[– – – – –]
	[.]σιπ. λ. . . κει[.]ο
	[.]των ἐλογισάμ[εθα]
	[. . .]ηποτ[. .]ναιτ. . κριθ[.] ἔξε
5	[τασθῆ]ναι χρη̅ ἐκ τῆς πρὸ ε̅ ε[ιδ]ῶν
	Ἀφ[ρι]λίων{ι} Φάλκωνι καὶ [Κ]λάρῳ ὑπατεί
	ας, [d]λλὰ εἶνα μὴ βι. τε. . . μπιρηπε
	σπ[. .]ον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταμ[ί]ου ἐκδικασθῆ.
	ἐ[κ]ελεύσαμεν ἀπὸ δ (ἔτους) [μέ]χρι η (ἔτους)
10	πόσον ἀθροισθῆσεται [ὡς] τῆς φιλοδωρείας

- ἡμῶν εἶνα γνωσθῇ· [τ]ῷ διατάγματί μου
 διδώσα[με]ν καὶ πόσον συνάγει ἕκαστος
 ...ος· ἐχαρίσαμεν vacat
- 15 Πομπήιος Λιβελάριος ἀγγέγων, προσή
 [νε]γκον Κρησκεντιανός, ἐσφραγίσα
 μεν Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Γεωργός, Μάρκος
 Αὐρήλιος [Φ]ῆλιξ, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Πούπλιος Αἴλιος Σύμφωνος, Μάρκος
 Αὐρήλιος Σύμφλεξ. Εὐτυχῆς ἀπόφασις
- 20 τῶν κυρίων (ἐτους) ἡ Φαμενώθ ἡ
 περὶ τῆς παλα[ι]ᾱ[ς] ἐκθ[έ]σε[ως] καὶ παν
 τασπόρου μέχρ[ι - (ἐτους)] θ[εο]ῦ Κομόδου
 ἐχαρίσαντο vacat

6l. Ἀπριλίῳν. 7l. ἵνα. 10l. ἀθροισθήσεται. ὡς Oliver, ἐκ Frisk.
 19l. Σίμπλεξ.

Translation of Fragment C

— — — must be examined from 9 April of the consulship of Falco and Clarus, but in order that — — — might not be claimed for the *fiscus*, we have given orders, so that as much (debt) as will be collectively owed from the fourth year (A.D. 196) to the eighth year (A.D. 200) be known [as] of our generosity. By my edict we have made a gift and granted remission of as much as each [household?] brings together.

I, Pompeius Liberalis, checked it. I, Crescentianus, presented it. We, Marcus Aurelius Georgus, Marcus Aurelius Felix, Titus Aelius Achilles, Publius Aelius Symphonus, Marcus Aurelius Simplex, attached our seals as witnesses. A fortunate decision of our lords in year 8 (A.D. 200), on Phamenoth 8, about the old debt and completely unsown land: they graciously remitted (what was owed) as far back as [the —th year] of *divus Commodus*.

Commentary

The papyrus contained a decision of Septimius Severus and Caracalla about old claims of the *fiscus*, a decision made in A.D. 200 during their visit to Egypt. Though what is left of the *apophasis* concerns only claims on farmers which arose during the reign of Septimius Severus, lines 21–22 show that the emperors canceled older claims too from some year in the reign of *Commodus* on.

Hesychius (ed. Latte), ἔκθεσις: ὀφειλὴ παλαιά.

The date mentioned in lines 6–7 is that of the proclamation of Severus by his troops at the beginning of his reign, 9 April 193.

In line 7 the phrase *βίᾱ τε καὶ ὕβρει* may be suspected, though the second noun is then misspelled *ὑμπιρη*. The phrase *πε(ρὶ) σπ[όρ]ον* may have followed.

In line 11 the phrase *[τ]ῷ διατάγματί μου*, if *μου* is not an error for *ἡμῶν* (compare No. 216 on the painters), refers to an old edict before Caracalla shared the imperial office.

In line 13 the four-letter word at the beginning looks like a misspelling of *οἶκος*, i.e., *[ῖ]κος*.

In line 14 Frisk recognized the *cognomen* *Liberalis*. Names like *Cerealis* frequently went into Greek with an *-ιος* ending.

The procedure implied in lines 14–19 is best understood by comparison with the *Tabula Banasitana*. Crescentianus (line 15) had been ordered to prepare the document, a rescript (Oliver), or an oral pronouncement (Williams), after the elder emperor had examined the problem with his advisers and staff. He was the scribe, probably a freedman. Pompeius Liberalis (line 14), the bureau chief or acting chief of the bureau, checked the prepared copy. The five Romans who attached their seals included an imperial procurator assigned to Egypt (*PIR*² A 1503) and another knight (*PIR*² A 127), the second and third names respectively.

Lines 19–23 do not explain for what individual or group the *apophasis* of A.D. 200 has been given, but they make it clear that it was an *apophasis*. The latter presumably clarified something that the edict mentioned in line 11 had left obscure, perhaps how the edict applied precisely to the inquirer(s). Debts from the reign of Commodus were involved. Since claims for nine years of the reign of Commodus on borrowers of alimentary funds were canceled by Pertinax (J. Béranger, “Pertinax et les alimenta: *SHA* Pert. 9.3,” *Bonner Historia Augusta Colloquium* 1975/1976 [Bonn, 1978] 75–86; A. R. Birley, “Pertinax and the Alimenta,” *ibid.* 87–90), it is easy to suppose that an early edict of Septimius Severus took care of other debts.

244. CARACALLA TO EPHEBUS, A.D. 201

Ephesus. Discovered in the theatre, five fragments which join as two. The writer could not find them in October 1973.

R. Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesos* 2 (1912) 125–126, No. 26 with drawing; H. G. Plaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain* (Inst. Fr. Arch. Beyrouth 57 [1960] 610–613, No. 230, on lines 16–18); J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 333 f. on lines 16–18; L. Robert, *RevPhil* 41 (1967) n. 6 on line 8.

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[-----]
 [Εὐσεβῆς] Εὐτυχ[ής]
 [Σεβαστὸς Ἐφεσίων τοῖς ἀρχου]σι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ κ[αὶ τῷ δήμῳ]
 [χαίρει]ν []
 [-----]ους ὑπεραίρετε τοσο[-----]
 5 [-----]αγμένων ἡδονῇ τ[-----]
 [-----] κ[αὶ] εὐφραίνεσθαι [-----]
 [-----]γματι πα[-----]

lacuna of unknown extent

[----- τὸν] ἡμέτερον οἶκον > καὶ πρ[ὸ] λιν μεγίστην]
 [καὶ καλλί]στην > κα[ὶ] μεγίστη θεῶ ἀνακειμένην > κατοικοῦντας [---]
 10 [νῦν δ]ὲ τὸ ψήφισμα δεξάμενος ὑμῶν, δι' οὗ συνήδεσθέ μοι εἰδρῦσαν[τος]
 [ἐν τῇ ν]εῖκῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ κυρίου μου πατρὸς > καὶ πᾶν καθελόντος τὸ ἀ[.]
 [. . . κ]αὶ θρασυνάμενον περὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας > εὐφράνθη καὶ ἥσθη > καὶ πολ[ύ]
 [πρὸς τ]ὴν Ἐφeson φίλτρον ἔλαβον ὡς ἂν οὕτως ἔχοντι περὶ ὑμᾶς συνειδῶς
 [τῷ]

vacat

πατρί

vacat

15 [᾽ὦν δὲ π]ροεπρέσβευεν ἡ πατριος ὑμῶν θεὸς Ἀρτεμις, > Ἀντ > Ἰοῦουενις

[κα]ῖ [> Σεπτ >]

[Ἀπερ] οἱ κράτιστοι φ[ίλ]οι μου, > Αἴλ > Ἀντίπατρος ὁ φίλος μου καὶ
 διδάσκαλος κ[αὶ]
 [τὴν τά]ξιν τῶν Ἑλλη[νι]κῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπιτετραμμένος, > Αἴλ > Κοίραν[ος
 ὁ φί]
 [λος μ]ου καὶ τὴν ἐξή[γησιν] τῶν ἀξιομάτων πεπισ[τευμένος] -----
 [---]ς Ἑρμοκράτ[ης] -----
 [-----]

Translation

--- our house and inhabiting [a very great and very beautiful] city dedicated to a very great goddess. [Now] having received the decree in which you congratulate me upon the occasion when the lord my father established our rule [with his] victory and removed all [---] and rashness connected with the

hopes (of troublemakers), I rejoiced and was delighted, and I conceived much affection [for] Ephesus, being conscious that this was how [my] father would feel toward you.

[As for what] your ancestral goddess Artemis sought to obtain through the embassy, the *clarissimi* Antonius Juvenis [and Septimius Aper] my friends, Aelius Antipater my friend and teacher and *ab epistulis Graecis*, Aelius Coeranus my [friend] and *a libellis* [— — —] Hermocrat[es — — —]

Commentary

Heberdey interpreted the first part of the inscription as concerning, after some remarks about loyalty, a decree of congratulation on a victory, through which Caracalla's father Septimius Severus established their rule, *εἰδρύσαν[τος εὐτυχες|τάτη ν]εἴκη τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ κυρίου μου πατρός* (lines 11–12). This restoration, however, is at the end of line 11 six or seven letters too long. The lacunae at the beginnings and ends of lines must be calculated from the fact that the word *πατρί* in line 14 is exactly centered. Heberdey throughout has miscalculated the length of the final lacunae, as his own drawing shows. Furthermore, he did not adduce the important parallel for the participle *εἰδρύσαν[τος]* in the Athenian decree of celebration for the accession of Geta as third co-emperor, *IG II² 1077* (= Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius*, No. 23), where in lines 25–26 Septimius Severus and Caracalla by raising Geta to this equality of *imperium* were said to have established the kingship of the world on their whole family, *ἰδρύσαντες τοῦ κόσμου τὸ βασιλείον ἐν ὁλοκλήρῳ τῷ γένει*. In the decree of the Ephesians was Caracalla congratulated on his accession or on his father's victory? Did Severus establish the Roman rule with his victory, [*ἐν τῇ ν]εἴκη*, or establish the government on a family basis, [*ἐν γεν]εικῇ*?

The two clues to the date are (line 1) the epithets Pius Felix which Caracalla is not thought to have borne before A.D. 200 and (line 17) the name of Aelius Coeranus who was involved with Plautianus and would not have belonged to the *consilium* after A.D. 205. If, then, the accession of Caracalla occurred in 198, it is unlikely that the Ephesians waited until 200 or 201 to congratulate him. In line 11, accordingly, we restore [*ἐν τῇ ν]εἴκη*.

The sojourn of Septimius Severus and Caracalla in Egypt lasted from November 199 until at least March or April of 200, as was

recognized first by Hasebroek, then more clearly by Wilcken, and supported by W. L. Westermann and A. A. Schiller, *Apokrimata* (New York, 1954) 26–34. Responses in Egypt were issued in the joint names of Severus and Caracalla. In 201 the two emperors were together as they sent out an epistle to the Attic Panhellenion (No. 245), but between April 200 and the end of 201 they may have been separated several times. Since Caracalla, born 4 April, is known to have assumed the *toga virilis* at Antioch in 201, he was presumably twelve years old in 200 and thirteen in 201. Caracalla became consul for the first time on 1 January 202, still at Antioch. In our epistle to the Ephesians he is called [Pius] Felix, but he bears no titles. This suggests that he was not yet consul even for the first time, and it was more politic to omit all titles and to emphasize instead the new epithets Pius Felix, which are here so strangely set apart in a line by themselves with vacant areas. The fact that he received congratulations and wrote an epistle in his own name suggests that he had assumed the *toga virilis* and could be treated as more than a child. By 13 April 202, Septimius Severus and Caracalla, travelling together, were back in Rome.

The victory, accordingly, ought to have been the great victory in the Parthian war, for which monuments like *CIL* VI 225 were still being erected in 202.

The interpretation of the first participial phrase as a reference to the victory over the ancestral enemy of the Greek cities of Asia determines the interpretation of the second participial phrase. Septimius Severus had destroyed the wild hopes of the barbarians by putting down the criminal rashness which had occurred. The wording of this epistle published at Ephesus may be reflected in the bilingual dedication at Ephesus erected by an imperial freedman in A.D. 207 (*CIL* III 427), ἐλπίδας τῶν ἀνοσίων [ἐπιβουλευτῶν, but in the Latin version *spes*] *parricidiales insid[iatorum]*. The word ἀ[νό]σιον suits both the sense and the limited space available in lines 11–12. But so would the restoration ἄ[πι]στον, for which Cassius Dio (*Exc. Val.* 388, p. 754 from 77.20.2², p. 398 Boissevain) may be cited: "Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἑαυτὸν διέβαλε, φάσκων ὅτι τῶν Κελτῶν τὴν θρασύτητα καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν τὴν τε ἀπιστίαν, ἀνάλωτον οὖσαν βίαν, ἀπατήσας εἰλήφει.

In the first half of the epistle Caracalla merely acknowledged

congratulations which were addressed apparently to him alone. The Ephesians knew that Severus would be absent.

In the second half the 13 year old Caracalla made (or envisaged) a decision which is now lost, but in doing so he published the names of his *consilium*, a cabinet of experienced men. A young emperor was supposed to advertise the names of his advisers. At least Commodus did so in writing to the Athenians after the death of Marcus Aurelius (Nos. 199, 200, 201, 207, 209).

The name erased in lines 15–16 was unusually short. We may assume that he suffered condemnation later in the reign of Caracalla and that at the moment of engraving he was a senator but did not outrank Antonius Juvenis (*PIR*² A 847). The name of Sept(imius) Aper, who was still a *praetorius*, fits the conditions perfectly.

At the beginning of line 15 there is a lacuna of five rather than four letter spaces, and this causes no problem if the rare verb *προπρεσβεύω* takes the genitive like *προπονέω*. The embassy which delivered the decree had a second and more important commission to speak for Artemis.

This very important inscription complements what we know about the development of Septimius Severus, who before his proclamation had no real military experience. One may quote the comment of Eric Birley in his excellent article, "Septimius Severus and the Roman Army," *Epigraphische Studien* 8 (1969) 78: "When . . . operations against Niger in the East became necessary, he was not surprisingly content to leave the conduct of those operations to his subordinates. What is more surprising . . . is that he should have assumed personal command in the Parthian war." He now recognized what had to be the emperor's main task; he concentrated all his energies on the war, and he made the victory of the army his own.

The inscription, furthermore, shows Caracalla taking his father's place in affairs of lesser importance and replying to embassies or correspondence in his own name. Affairs of the greatest importance were doubtless reserved for the later attention of Severus, but in the meanwhile much business was settled without waiting for the opportune moments of the senior emperor's leisure. Septimius Severus did not revive the kind of delegation which Marcus Aurelius practiced in the case of the Quintilii, who later seemed a threat to Commodus. Rather he

gave Caracalla a new position, so that experienced men like the advisers, who contributed to the prestige of Caracalla, could make the real decisions without achieving quite the same independence.

It is the earliest document of the kind and deserves notice in a study of *imperatores pueri*.

In the absence of Septimius Severus the latter's place at the audience was not taken by Fulvius Plautianus, who had recovered his position as sole praetorian prefect before 16 March 200 at the latest (see F. Grosso, "Ricerche su Plauziano e gli avvenimenti del suo tempo," *RendLinc* 23 [1968] 7–57), but the influence of Plautianus is nevertheless represented, for example, by Aelius Coeranus. The first step in the direction of an *imperator puer* had been taken by Marcus Aurelius to forestall military uprisings; Septimius Severus in appointing Caracalla came one step nearer, but he (or Julia Domna) may have thought rather of removing temptation from Plautianus.

245. [SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS] AND CARACALLA TO THE PANHELLENION, A.D. 201

Athens, the Roman Market Place. Now Roman Agora No. 598 a and b in the Tower of the Winds, where it was examined on 20 October 1973.

N. M. Verdelis, *BCH* 71–72 (1947–1948) 34–42 with photograph of the two fragments; J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius (Hesperia Suppl. 13, 1970) 107–108, No. 21.*

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καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ]

[Καῖσαρ, Α. Σεπτιμίου] Σεουήρου Εὐσε[βοῦς]

[Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδία]

[βηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου υἱός, θεοῦ]

[Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ]

5 Γερμανικοῦ Σαρματικο[ῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ]

Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς ἔκγρ[νος, θεοῦ]

Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ [Παρθικοῦ]

καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος, Μάρκος [Αὐρήλιος]

Ἀντωνῖνος, Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστός, δημαρχ[ικῆς]

10 ἐξουσίας τὸ δ', ὑπατος ἀποδεδιγμένο[ς],

ἀνθύπατος, τῷ Πανελληνίῳ χαίρειν.

15 'Εδήλωσεν ἡμεῖν Κοκκήιος Τιμάσαρχος
 ὁ ἀρχας ὑμῶν, ὅτι τῶν ἀθλητῶν τινες τοῦ
 ἀγῶνος καταφρονήσαντες παρέπλευσαν
 τὰς 'Αθῆνας· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνανεοῦμεθα μεν
 [-----]

The restorations are by Verdelis.

Translation

— — — and Emperor Caesar] Marcus [Aurelius] Antoninus Pius Augustus, [son] of [L. Septimius] Severus Pius [Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus, grandson of divine Marcus Antoninus Pius Augustus] Germanicus Sarmaticus, great-grandson of [divine] Antoninus Pius, descendant of [divine] Hadrian and divine Trajan [Parthicus] and divine Nerva, tribunician power for the fourth time, consul designate, proconsul, to the Panhellenion, greetings.

Cocceius Timasarchus, your ex-archon, has declared to us that some of the athletes in contempt of the contest passed up Athens. We then renew — — —

Commentary

The year is 201, because Caracalla was not yet consul but had become consul designate on 1 January 201 at Antioch. Since Septimius Severus and Caracalla were still at Antioch on 1 January 202 (*Vita Severi* 16.8), it appears that the ex-archon Cocceius Timasarchus went to Antioch on this embassy.

As H. W. Pleket (*ZPE* 20 [1976] 7 f.) noted, Timasarchus was M. Cocceius Timasarchus of Rhodes, thrice president of the Great Games in honor of Helios at Rhodes and once of the Olympic Games in Greece.

246–247. SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO AURELIUS HORION, A.D. 202

Egypt. Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, now said to be in Cambridge (Add. Ms. 4416).

B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 4 (1904) No. 705 (all three columns); Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*, Nos. 153

(columns I and II) and 407 (col. III); A. Fuks, *CPJud* 2 (1960) No. 450 (columns I and II only), with bibliography.

Hugh MacLennan, *Oxyrhynchus, An Economic and Social Study* (Diss. Princeton, 1935) 20–26; J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (*Trans. Am. Philosoph. Soc.* 43.4, 1953) chap. 7, “Roman Declarations Protecting Greek Endowments”; K. J. Rigsby, “Sacred Ephebic Games at Oxyrhynchus,” *Cd'E* 52 (1977) 147–155, on Horion’s gift in 202 and the emperors’ elevation of the status of the contest in 209.

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Col. I

- [*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σ*]επτίμ[ι]ο[ς]
 [*Σεουῆρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σ*]εβαστὸς
 [*Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Πα*]ρ[θικ]ὸς
 [*Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτ*]οκράτωρ *Κ*[αῖ]σαρ
 5 [*Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀν*]τωνίνος *Εὐ[σ]εβῆς*
 [*Σεβαστὸς*]
 [*Αὐρηλίῳ Ὁρεῖῳ*]νι χαίρειν.
 [15 letters] . ηχα[.] ἐπεδο
 [13 » τῶ]ν Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν [.]οφ
 10 [16 »]αἰτιμα . . . αγ[.]ν
 [16 »]α. [.]εἴ. . . [.]λ[.]
 [15 »]μας εἰς [.]ε[.]
 [15 »]τιασι [.]ε[.]
 [15 »] . ἔστιν [δὲ ἡ δ]ξί[ωσις]
 15 [*Τοῖς εὐμενεστάτοις Αὐτ*]οκράτορσιν [*Σ*]εο[υῆ]ρω
 [*καὶ Ἀντωνίνῳ τοῖς πάν*]των [δ]νθρώπων
 [*σωτήρσι καὶ εὐερ*]γέταις *Αὐρήλιος*
 [*Ὁρεῖων γενόμε*]νος στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχι
 [*δικαστῆς τῆς λαμ*]προτάτης πόλ[ε]ως τῶν
 20 [*Ἀλεξανδρέων*] χαίρειν.
 [. ὧ φιλανθρωπ]ότατοι *Αὐτοκράτορες*
 [14 letters] . ! τ[ῆ] πό]λει μεγάλῃ
 [14 »]ενει καὶ ἔτι [σ]ωζούσῃ
 [13 »] . [.]νεαῖν κατ[ο]ικισέγ. . ν
 25 [15 »] *Τίτ[ο]ς Τίτ[ο]ς* [εἰανὸ]ς
 [15 »] . ενωτε[.]νε
 [15 »] νδελ[.]ν
 [14 »] ὄν[.]ε[.] . ς

Col. II

- α[.....]ον καὶ ἀλ[.]σαμ[...].λων[....]
 30 ...[.] π[λ]εῖω ὧν ὁ [λ]όγος ἐμὲ τ[... λ]ανθά[νει],
 πρ[όσε]στ[ι] δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὖ[οι]
 ἅ τε καὶ πίστις καὶ φιλία ἦν ἐνεδείξαντο κα[ι]
 κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Εἰουδαίους πόλεμον συμμαχή
 σαντες καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὴν τῶν ἐπινεικίων
 35 ἡμέραν ἐκάστου ἔτους πανηγυρίζοντας.
 ἐτειμήσατε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδη
 μῆσ[αν]τες τῷ ἔθνει πρώτοις μετὰ Πηλου
 σιώτας μεταδόντας τῆς εἰς τὸ δ[ικ]αστήριον ὑμῶν
 εἰσόδου, γνωρίζει δὲ τὴν πόλ[ιν] καὶ ὁ λαμπ[ρότα]
 40 τος Λαῖτος ἐπὶ τε τοῖς καλλίσ[το]ις καὶ ἐλε[υθερω]
 τάτους ἔχουσιν τοὺς ἐνοικο[ῦν]τ[ας κα]ὶ π[ερὶ] τα]
 μείζ[ον] ἐπικεικαστάτους. διὰ δ[ὲ] πάντα ταῦτα]
 τὴν πόλιν ἠθέλησα μηδε[μίας] ἐνδεεστέραν]
 τῷ[ν] ἡμετέρων καταλιπε[ῖν 11 letters]
 45 τρη[.]ζήμην καὶ τοὺς ὑπυσμ[13 »]
 οὐκ [ἐ]λ[α]ττον Ἀττικῶν μυρι[....]ε τωγ[.....]
 τας δανεῖζεσθαι τε καὶ φυλ[άσσε]σθαι καθά[περ] [ι]
 τῶν προτέρων ὥρισταί, τὸ[ν δὲ] σ[υ]ναγόμενον
 τ[ό]κον χωρεῖν εἰς ἑπαθλα ἐφήβων τῶν παρ' αὐ
 50 τ[ο]ῖς κατ' ἔτος ἀγωνιουμένων ἐφ' οἷς κα[ὶ] οἱ Ἀγ
 τ[ι]ν[οῖς] ?) γῶν ἀγωνίζοντε. καὶ ἀξιώ[σασθαι] ὑμᾶς
 κα[ὶ] τ[ὴν] αὐτ[ὰ] τὰ χρήματα μηδενὶ ἐξεῖν[αι] εἰς ἄλ
 λ[ο] μηδὲν πε[ρ]ισπᾶν.

247

Col. III

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Α[ο]ύκιος [Σ]επτίμ[ιος Σ]ε[ου]ήρος
 55 Εὐσεβ[ή]ς Περτίναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἀράβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίσ[το]ν [κ]αὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ
 Μάρκο[ς] Αὐρηλίος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβ[ή]ς Σεβαστὸς
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ὁρείωνι χαίρειν.
 ἀποδεχόμεθα σε καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιδόσεως ἦν
 60 ἀξιοῖς ἐπιδοῦναι ταῖς κώμαις τῶν Ὀξυρυχειτῶν
 ἀποδιδούς ἀμοιβὴν ἐνκτήσεως. τ[ὸ] ὅμοιον δὴ καὶ
 ἐ[π]ὶ τούτου φυλαχθήσεται καὶ καθότ[ι] ἡθέλησας ἀμε
 τάστρεπτον εἰς ἕτερόν τι δαπανήσ[εσθαι] τὴν χάριν.
 ἔστιν δὲ ἡ ἀξίωσις·

- 65 *Τοῖς αἰμενεστάτοις Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρσι Σε[ουήρ]φ καὶ Ἀντωνίνῳ*
τοῖς πάντων ἀνθρώπων σωτήρσιν [κ]αὶ εὐεργέταις
Αὐρήλιος Ὡρείων γενόμενος στρατη[γ]ός καὶ ἀρχιδικασ
τῆς τῆς λαμ[π]ροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων χαίρειν.
Κῶμαί τινες τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου νομοῦ, ὧ φιланθρωπότα
70 *τοι Αὐτοκράτορες, ἐν αἷς ἐγὼ τε <καὶ> οἱ υἱοί μου χωρία κεκτήμε*
θα σφ[ό]δρα ἐξησθένησαν ἐνοχλούμεναι ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' ἔτος
λειτουργιῶν τοῦ τε ταμείου καὶ τῆς παρα[φ]υ[λ]ακῆς τῶν
τόπων, κινδυνεύουσί τε τῷ μὲν ταμείῳ παραπολέ
σθαι τὴν δὲ ὑμετέραν γῆν ἀγεώργητον καταλιπεῖν.
75 *ἐγὼ [ο]ὖν καὶ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου καὶ τοῦ χρησίμου στοχα*
ζ[όμε]νος βούλομαι εἰς ἀνάκτησιν αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσιν
τ[ινα] βραχεῖαν ἐκάστη ποιήσασθαι εἰς συνωνήν
χ[ωρί]ου οὐ ἢ πρόσσδος κατατεθήσεται εἰς τροφὰς καὶ
δ[απά]νας τῶν κατ' ἔτος λειτουργησόντων ἐπὶ τῷ

32. πιστ of πιστις corr. 35. l. πανηγυρίζοντες. 38. l. μεταδόντες.
 40. l. ἐλε[υθερω]τάτοις. 41. υσαν of εχουσαν above ντας erased.
 45. ὑπ Pap. 51. l. ἀγωνίζονται. 55. ξ σεβαστος inserted later,
 τος being above the line. l. Ἀραβικός. s of αδιαβηνικος corr.
 from υ. 56. l. Παρθικός Μέγισ[το]ς. 57. Final s of ευσεβης inserted
 above the line. 70. υιοι Pap. 74. l. ἡμετέραν(?).

Restorations: 1–24 G/H. 25 Wilcken. 30–40 G/H. 41
 ἐνοικο[ῦν]τ[ας κα]ὶ G/H; π[ρὸς τὸ τα] Wilamowitz, π[ερὶ τα] Oliver,
 π[λέον] Wilcken. 42 διὰ δ[ὲ] πάντα ταῦτα Oliver, διὰ δ[ὲ] τοῦτο
 ταύτην Wilcken. 43–44 Wilcken. 46 [ἐ]λ[α]ττον G/H; μυρῖ[ων ἐπ]ὶ
 τῷ .[. . . αὖ] Wilcken. 47–77 G/H. 78 Wilcken. 79 G/H.

Translation

- 246 [Imperator Caesar Lucius] Septimius [Severus Pius Pertinax]
 Augustus [Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Māximus and] Im-
 perator Caesar [Marcus Aurelius] Antoninus Pius [Augustus to
 Aurelius Horion] greetings. [— — —] of the Oxyrhynchites
 [— — — —]

[And] here is [the] petition:

To [the most gracious] emperors Severus [and Antoninus,
 saviors and] benefactors of all mankind, Aurelius [Horion, for-
 merly] strategos and archidikastes of [the] most famous city of
 the [Alexandrians], greetings. [Oh] most [humane] emperors

[— — —] to the great city [— — —] and still preserving [— — — — —] Titus Titianus [— — — — —], but they also have the recommendation of goodwill, reliability, and friendship to the Romans which they exhibited in the war against the Jews, giving aid then and even now keeping the day of victory as a festival every year. You yourselves honored them during your visit to Egypt by giving them access to your tribunal first after the men of Pelusium. The most illustrious Laetus knows that the city has inhabitants of the best and most generous spirit and most conscientious [in dealings with the] fiscus. For [all these] reasons I wished to leave the city in no way [inferior] to any in our land [— — — — —] not less than 10,000 Attic drachmas to be lent and safeguarded according to the former regulations, and the accruing interest to go for prizes for the ephebes who will compete there each year, on the same terms as the Antinoeis presently compete. And I ask you to forbid that these monies too be diverted to any other purpose.

247 Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus to Aurelius Horion greetings. We commend you also for this endowment which you ask to establish by giving the villages of the Oxyrhynchites a return for a right to acquire land. Under similar penalties it shall be guaranteed in this case too that the benefaction defray the expenses which you have wished and that it be not diverted to any other purpose.

And here is the petition:

To the most gracious emperors Severus and Antoninus, saviors and benefactors of all mankind, Aurelius Horion, formerly strategos and archidikastes of the most famous city of the Alexandrians, greetings. Certain villagers in the Oxyrhynchite nome, most humane emperors, in which both I and my sons own estates, are utterly exhausted by the burdensome demands of the annual liturgies required both for the fiscus and the protection of the districts, and there is a danger of their being ruined as far as the fiscus is concerned and leaving your land uncultivated. Having, then, this both useful and humane object in view, I wish, as an aid to their recovery, to make some small donation to each for a joint purchase of an estate, the revenue of which shall be devoted to the support and expenses of those who will each year perform liturgies, on condition that

Commentary

The papyrus contains two rescripts with the petition recorded below each rescript. The emperors acknowledge the usefulness of the endowments for which Horion desired imperial support (not permission), and they accord their protection. An endowment was perfectly legal without the emperor's permission, but it then had merely the protection of local courts, and the local authorities who had influence might be tempted to divert the funds to another purpose in order to save themselves expenses which an officeholder, it was hoped, would undertake himself as a *munus patrimonii* in addition to his *munus personale*. The purpose of the request to the emperor was to assure the added protection of a Roman court. A commitment of this sort was not made unless the public interest was involved.

These petitions to the emperors postdated (in my opinion) the visit of Severus and Caracalla to Egypt in 199/200 because of the participle ἐπιδημήσαντες in lines 36–37. Wilcken's date, A.D. 202, seems approximately correct. The emperors were probably in Syria. Communications between Alexandria and Antioch were good.

The war against the Jews (line 33) was the clash of A.D. 115–117, as Fuks cogently argues and as Wilcken and MacLennan saw.

The reference in lines 35–39 is to the *conventus*, which, as Wilcken explained in *ArchP* 4 (1908) 379–381, met at Pelusium.

For the prefect T. Flavius Titianus of line 25, A.D. 126–133, see *PIR*² F 385 and G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 304. For the prefect Q. Maecius Laetus of line 40, A.D. 200–203, see A. Stein, *Präfekten*, 110 f. and Bastianini 304.

The reference in lines 35–39 is to a court held by the emperor(s) possibly at Pelusium (so Wilcken, *ArchP* 4 [1908] 379–381), possibly at Memphis (so G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo nell'Egitto greco-romano* 1: [Milan, 1974] 98–101).

In lines 49–50 Horion mentions the Antinoeais(?) as models (so Wilcken) or as participants (so Fuks) for the prizes in the ephebic contests which the endowment will make possible.

In line 40 the phrase ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίσ[το]ις is interpreted by Wilamowitz (*GGA* [1904] 660) to mean “von der vorteilhaftesten Seite.”

In lines 41–42 the restoration π[ρὸς τὸ τα] |μεῖο[ν], proposed

by Wilamowitz (*loc. cit.*) and accepted by Fuks, is too long for the lacuna indicated by Grenfell and Hunt. It is more likely to be an anarthrous phrase resembling *περὶ δεῖπνον*.

With the end of line 42 compare the decree of the Panachaeian syndrion as read by W. Peek, *AbhLeipzig* 60.2 (1969) 29: *διὰ δὴ πάντα ταῦτα ἔδοξε, κτλ.*

While the first endowment was to the city of Oxyrhynchus to supply prizes for the ephebic contests, the second endowment went to the villages of the Oxyrhynchites for the relief of those who undertook liturgies.

In line 61 the phrase *ἀποδιδούς ἀμοιβὴν ἐνκτήσεως* refers to lines 70–71 of the petition. Aurelius Horion and his sons are rich outsiders (Alexandrians) who have received the right to acquire land in Oxyrhynchite territory. The papyrus throws light on the way investments in land could be made and large estates might come into existence. First, they established an endowment to supply prizes in ephebic contests at Oxyrhynchus; next the city of Oxyrhynchus granted them *enktesis*; Horion and his sons then acquired estates and announce in return for this privilege a further contribution to the villagers, who are most directly affected. Horion presents it as in the public and imperial interest and so obtains a guarantee from the emperors.

248–253. FOUR SEVERAN REPLIES ON EXEMPTION OF THE OLD AND INFIRM FROM LITURGY—TWO SEVERAN CONSTITUTIONS ON PROTECTION AGAINST TAX COLLECTORS

Egypt. Papyrus in two columns, *P. Flor.* 382, now stored in the Laurentian Library in Florence, where it was examined in March 1974. It is a petition of A.D. 223 referring in line 55 to *τὰς προκειμένους θείας διατάξεις*.

G. Vitelli, *Papiri Fiorentini* 3 (1915) No. 382; E. M. Husselman, *Michigan Papyri* 9 (= Philological Monograph 29, 1971) 29 (lines 17–23 only).

N. Lewis, *Cd'E* 50 (1975) 202–206; and *RIDA* 25 (1978) 270–273.

The six documents are:

248. *Apokrima* of Severus and Caracalla to Unknown, A.D. 200, in lines 1–4.

249. Caracalla to Julius Diodorus, A.D. 216, in lines 5–9.
 250. Severus? and Caracalla? to Unknown in lines 10–12.
 251. Same Emperors to Unknown in lines 13–14.
 252. Edict of Severus and Caracalla, 5 December 199, in lines 17–23.
 253. *Apokrima* of Severus and Caracalla to Callimachus in lines 24–26.

Column I

248

1 Αὐτοκράτωρ [Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος] Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβαστὸς
 'Αραβικὸς 'Αδιαβηνικὸς
 Παρ[θικὸς μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Κ]αῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος
 'Αντωνίνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστὸς
 [] Τοῖς ἐ[β]δομήκοντα ἔτη βεβιωκόσι
 γέρας ἀλιτουργησίας
 [] προτετέθη? –]... ἐν 'Α[λ.]εξανδρεία ἡ (ἔτους), Μεχέρ κζ.

249

5 Αὐτοκράτωρ [Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος 'Αντωνίνος] Παρθικὸς
 μέγιστος Βρεταννικὸς μέγιστος Γερμανικὸς
 μέγιστος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστὸς] 'Ιουλίῳ [Δ]ι
 [οδ]ώρῳ. Εἰ ἐβδομήκοντα
 ἔτη ἐκπλήρωσας
 [π]άσης [] ῥσβασ ἡλικίας
 καὶ τῶν διατάξεων ἐλ[ευ]θερία
 ζε...['Αλεξαν]δρείας π[ρὸ] τ[] κ[α]λῶνδων
 Φεβρारीων[] 'Αλβίνῳ τὸ δεύτερον
 καὶ 'Ανν[αλίνῳ ὑπάτοις]

250

10 Θε... Σεουήρ 30-35 letters]ων η..... πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλη
 ρῶσαι ἐβδομήκοντα
 ἔτη .[ca. 25-30 letters πλη]ρωθέντος τ[οῦ ἀρι]θμοῦ
 διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ τῶν λειτουρ
 γιών[]ων ἐλευθερωθῆναι.

251 Οἱ αὐτοὶ κύριοι τῷ δεῖνα – ἐβδομ]ήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἡσθας ἐν ταῖς πολιτι
 καὶς λειτουργίαις

οσ...[] καὶ πρὸς μόνας τὰ[ς] οὐσίας διαφέ
 ρουσι τὴν προνομίαν

15 ' εξ...[προτετέθη] ἐν 'Αλ[ε]ξ[α]νδρ[ε]ια π[ρὸς] τῷ
 ἡγουμένῳ πυλῶνι τοῦ [γ]υμνα

252 σί[ο]υ[]]

17 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖ[σαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσ]εβῆς, Περτίναξ Σεβ[α]
 στὸς 'Αραβικὸς 'Αδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς
 Μέγ[ιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος] 'Αντωνίνος [Εὐ]σεβῆς
 Σεβαστὸς <λέγουσι> ὃ Λέγουσιν ἔτι πολλοί

- [*Αύ*]τοκράτωρ *Καῖ*[σαρ] *Λούκιος Σεπτί*[μιος Σεουήρος]
 40 [*Εύσε*]βῆς *Περτίναξ Σε*[β]αστὸς *Ἀραβικὸς* [*ς* *Ἀδιαβηνικὸς*]
 [*Παρ*]θικὸς *Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ* [*ρ Καῖ*]σαρ *Μάρκος*
 [*Αύρ*]ήλιος *Ἀντωνίνος Εύσεβῆς Σεβ*[αστὸς λέγουσιν].
 [*Ἔτι*] πολλῶν ἐντυχόντων ὥσ[τε ἀφεθῆναι τοῦ]
 [ὑπ]έραλλα ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ὡς ἐξ ἄλλ[ηλεγγῶς παρὰ τὰ]
 45 [ἄν]ωθεν διατεταγμένα, ἀν[αγκαῖον ἥγη]
 [σά]μεθα τὸ προηγορευμένον ἔ[κθεμα πάλιν ἀγο]
 [ρε]ύειν, μηδένα ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ὑπέραλλα μήτε πα[τερ]
 [τέ]ραν ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ μήτε [υἱὸν ὑπὲρ πατρὸς μήτε]
 [ἄλ]λον ὑπὲρ ἄλλου μήτε [-----]
 50 [...]*εσθαι προφάσει ἀπαιτήσεως* [ἡστινοσοῦν?].
 [ἐὰν] δέ τις φωραθῇ ὑπέραλλα ἀπαιτ[ῶν ὑβριστικῶς?].
 [τιν]α, οὐ τὸν τυχόντα κίνδυνον ὅφ[εξει vacat]
 [*Πρ*]οετέθη ἐν *Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ* (ἔτους) *η΄*, *Μεχ*[εῖρ --]

The text is based on that of N. Lewis.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius [Severus] Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus [Adiabenicus] Parthicus Maximus and Imperator [Caesar Marcus] Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus [say].

Inasmuch as many [still] petitioned us to [be freed] from demands for taxes owed by others as if on a basis of mutual liability [contrary to] the orders that have been issued long ago, we [found it necessary] to [publish an edict again] that no one is to be asked to pay [taxes owed by another, neither a father] for a son nor [a son for a father nor] anyone else for another nor [---] on a pretext of collecting [---. If] anyone is caught [outrageously?] dunning [someone] for taxes owed by another, he shall run no ordinary peril.

Published at Alexandria, year 8, Mecheir [---].

Commentary

The emperors renew in this edict orders against the abuse by tax collectors who make unlawful demands on one man for taxes owed by another, usually a relative. The adjective *ὑπέραλλα*, as Lewis says, "is here an alternative expression for the *ὑπὲρ ἄλλου* of line 49."

There is a close relation between this edict (on *P. Mich.* IX 529) from January or February of A.D. 200 and Nos. 252 and 253 (two documents on *P. Flor.* 382). Number 252 is dated as of 5 December 199. It is highly significant that the order had to be repeated and at such short intervals.

255. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO THE
CITIZENS OF SMYRNA, A.D. 202

Smyrna, where E. Prideaux, Thomas Smith, and Spon and Wheler copied it in the Cemetery of the Armenians. Now lost. Not in either museum at Izmir.

H. Prideaux, *Marmora Oxoniensia* (Oxford, 1676) 303–304, No. XXX of Appendix (from a copy by E. Prideaux); Thomas Smith, *Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum Notitia* (London 1676), 37–38, and second edition (Utrecht, 1694) 55–56; J. Spon and G. Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (Lyons, 1677) 126–129; Michael Maittaire, Appendix ad *Marmora . . . Academiae Oxoniensis* (London, 1733) CLXXIX or *Marmorum Arundellianorum Seldenianorum aliorumque Academiae Oxoniensi donatorum secunda editio* (London, 1733) CLXXIX (from H. Prideaux); [L. A. Muratori, *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum . . . hactenus praetermissarum* 2 (Milan, 1740) DXCIX, 2]; A. Boeckh, *CIG* I (1825) 3178; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*¹ (1883) 290 and *SIG*² (1898) 414; [Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 72]; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ (1917) 876; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 127; [G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 1402]. See also *ARS*, No. 267 for translation (inaccurate) and commentary; also G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969) 41; V. Nutton, *JRS* 61 (1971) 54.

255

Οἱ θεϊότατοι αὐτοκράτορες Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνεῖνος Σμυρναίοις.
Εἰ Κλαύδιος Ῥουφῖνος ὁ πολεῖτης ὑμῶν ὁ δὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν
ἢ σύνεστιν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ τὸν ἐν λόγῳ συνεχῆ βίον τὴν
προκειμένην τοῖς σοφισταῖς κατὰ τὰς θείας τῶν προγόνων
5 ἡμῶν διατάξεις ἀτέλειαν τῶν λειτουργικῶν καρπούμενος
ὑμῶν αὐτὸν ἐκουσίῳ ἀνάγκῃ προκαλουμένων ὑφ᾽ ἑστέ τὴν
στρατηγίαν κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα φιλτρον τὴν γαῶν εἰς τὰ

ἄλλα μένειν ἀπραγμοσύνην ἀκείνητον αὐτῷ δικαιοτάτον
 ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς φιλοτειμίαν γενέ
 10 σθαι ζημίαν, καὶ μάλιστα ταύτην ὑμῶν αἰτούντων ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν. Εὐτυχεῖτε vacat
 Ἐπρέσβευον Αὐρ · Ἀντωνεῖνος καὶ Αἴλιος Σπηράτος vac

Translation

The most divine emperors Severus and Antoninus to the Smyrneans.

Claudius Rufinus your fellow-citizen, because of his ever present concern for education and his life continuously spent in practice and study of disciplines, merits the immunity available to the professors of rhetoric according to the divine constitutions of our predecessors. If he, when you were calling him forth with pressure on a not unwilling man, undertook the generalship in his love for his ancestral city, it is most right that his political inactivity remain undisturbed at least in respect to the other services. For it is not fair that his noble ambition (on this occasion) to do something handsome for you should become a (future) handicap for the man, especially when you yourselves ask on his behalf the favor (of immunity). Farewell.

Ambassadors were Aurelius Antoninus and Aelius Speratus.

Commentary

Claudius Rufinus (*PIR*² C 998) is the sophist mentioned without much respect by Philostratus, *VS* 2.25.1 (p. 110 Kayser).

In his first edition Smith placed four dots in line 1 between Ἀντωνεῖνος and Σμυρναῖοις. Prideaux placed here the word τοῖς which looks like an unbracketed restoration, although Smith (or the editor) adopted it in his second edition. Spon and Wheler at this point have Καίσαρες, and so does Muratori, but also this can probably be dismissed as an unbracketed restoration. The line is long enough without either restoration or blank.

The epistle may be securely dated between Caracalla's association with his father (as Caesar in 197, as Augustus in 198) and the elevation of Geta (209/10), but since the affair hardly justified an embassy all the way to Rome, the date was probably in 202 when Severus and Caracalla were not far away, as they set out from Antioch through Asia Minor for the Balkans and Italy.

The city of Smyrna (ὑμῶν αἰτούντων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν) has rewarded Claudius Rufinus for having assumed the generalship

by calling him to the attention of the emperors and eliciting a special guarantee of future immunity. That he came within Smyrna's quota is not stated. V. Nutton argues convincingly that his claim to immunity at Smyrna was based rather on the recognized distinction of the ἄγαν ἐπιστήμονες (*Digest* 27.1.6.10). For the phrase ἐν λόγοις (line 3), see Oliver, *Civilizing Power*, 91 f. For the constitutions mentioned in lines 4–5, see Appendices 8 and 9 (*Digest* 27.1.6.1–8).

The traditional text of line 6, ὑμῶν αὐτὸν ἐκουσίῳ ἀνάγκῃ προκαλουμένων, has rightly been retained by all previous editors, though an emendation ἐκουσίω(ς) may have tempted Abbott and Johnson, who shrank from transposition but who translated “voluntarily undertook.” This interpretation, though factually correct, is linguistically wrong, because the position of ἐκουσίῳ ἀνάγκῃ connects it with προκαλουμένων, not with ὑφέστη. Although the clause may have read αὐτὸν ἐκούσι(ον), no emendation is needed because it is easy to assume variation of a stereotyped phrase, ἀκουσίῳ ἀνάγκῃ meaning “pressure (so Bowersock) on an unwilling man.” If such a phrase were familiar, the adjective ἐκουσίῳ would not have seemed to modify ἀνάγκῃ. The procedure of “drafting” or “calling forth” a good man, however, is well attested and contrasts with an ordinary election. A man at Dionysiopolis, called by his fellow citizens ([προκληθεῖς ὑ]πὸ τῶν πολιτῶν), assumed a long vacant priesthood (*IGBulg* I 13). At Argos a man who had been called to every office (κληθέντα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀρχήν) was honored at last with the greatest honors (*IG* IV 609), and at Athens too a man, exceptionally around A.D. 174, might be “called by the demos” (No. 184, E 6). Ordinarily the higher posts were honors, even coveted honors, as well as unpaid services. The man who aspired to office because he wished to cut a good figure volunteered. Then in periods of need or crisis someone who did not volunteer was “called forth,” and finally overuse of this method of filling them made the municipal offices mere burdens. Whether or not Claudius Rufinus could have refused on grounds of legitimate exemption, he accepted on the understanding that his patriotism would be acknowledged and that the city would send an embassy to ask the new emperors formally for confirmation of his exemption as sophist.

A word in line 8 has a background studied by W. Nestle, “Ἀπραγμοσύνη,” *Philologus* 35 (1926) 129–40 and K. Kleve, “Ἀπραγμοσύνη and πολυπραγμοσύνη: Two Slogans in Athenian

Politics," *SymbOsl* 39 (1964) 83–88 (cf. also V. Ehrenberg, *JHS* 67 [1947] 46–67 and A. W. H. Adkins, "Polupragmosune and 'Minding One's Own Business': A Study in Greek Social and Political Values," *ClPhil* 71 [1976] 301–327), but in this context, where it means ἀτέλεια τῶν λειτουργιῶν, it has the purity of a classical term for a new institution without the overtones of an old slogan.

In his first edition Smith read AYTO in line 8, and so did Spon and Wheler, but Prideaux has ἀντῶ, whether a reading or an emendation. Spon and Wheler are not truly independent of Smith here. On p. 129 they write, "Il y en a encore sept ou huit autres (inccriptions) dans ce Cimetière, qui ont été données au public dans un petit livre d'un Anglais nommé M. Thomas Schmidt, intitulé notitia septem Ecclesiarum Asiae Minoris."

In line 12 again the reading or restoration ἐπρέσβευον goes back to Prideaux, while Smith and Spon and Wheler have ἐπρέσβευεν.

256A–B. TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN RESCRIPT, A.D. 204

256A. One Translation of Latin Rescript, A.D. 204

Paros, at Paroikia. The inscription with the Greek text (a literal translation) was seen by Wilhelm in the house of Andreas Varouchas, then transferred to the "museum" at Paroikia. In May 1974 it could not be found in the new archaeological museum. The inscription in two fragments containing the Latin original was copied by K. Krispi in a ruined church of Paroikia and published by Wilhelm, but this copy too is now lost. From Phrygia and Lydia other copies of the Latin original were recognized and published by Drew-Bear and P. Herrmann, and from Ephesus two more copies of the Latin original were published by D. Knibbe and R. Merkelbach.

L. Ross, *Inscriptiones Graecae ineditae* 2 (Berlin, 1842) 152 b with drawing by Dr. N. Charetas; Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, 2110; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*² (1898) 415; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 74. The Greek and Latin texts were republished together by A. Wilhelm, "Zwei Inschriften aus Paros," *JÖAI* 3 (1900) 75–78; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* XII 5 (1909) 132 and *SIG*³ (1917) 881.

Th. Drew-Bear, W. Eck, and P. Herrmann, "Sacrae Litterae," *Chiron* 7 (1977) 355–83 with texts of the four copies known up to that time and with a splendid commentary; D. Knibbe and R. Merkelbach, "Allerhöchste Schelte (Zwei Exemplare der sacrae litterae aus Ephesos)," *ZPE* 31 (1978) 229–232.

256 A

Ἰερὰ γράμματα

[Δ]οκεῖς ἡμεῖν τὸ δόγμα
 [τ]ῆς συγκλήτου ἀγνο
 [εῖ]ν, δς ἐὰν μετ' ἐμπεῖ
 5 [ρ]ων συναντιβάλῃς,
 [ε]ῖσῃ μὴ εἶναι ἐπάναγ
 [κ]ες συγκλητικῶ
 [δ]ήμου Ῥωμαίων ἄκον
 [τι] ξένον ὑποδέχε
 10 [σ]θαι. Ἐδόθη
 [πρ(ὸ)] α' Καλ(ανδῶν) Ἰουνί(ων) Ῥώμῃ
 [Φα]βίῳ Κεῖλῳνι τὸ β' καὶ
 [Ἀ]ννίῳ Λίβῳνι ὑπάτοις.

Translation Imperial Rescript

You seem to us to be ignorant of the *senatus consultum*. If you consult with experts in Roman Law, you will find that it is not necessary for a senator of the Roman People against his will to take a stranger into his house.

Rendered at Rome, May 31 in the consulship of Fabius Cilo for the second time and Annius Libo.

Commentary

In their discussion Drew-Bear, Eck, and Herrmann point out that the rescript, a *subscriptio* to an unknown inquirer, protected any senator from having soldiers or officials quartered upon him against his will. The emperors refer to an unknown *senatus consultum*, but the people who erected the inscriptions preferred to cite the imperial decision (*sacrae litterae*) as more authoritative. Knibbe and Merkelbach think that the inquirer was the proconsul himself and that the emperors deliberately humiliated him. This seems hard to accept. The Greek translation, moreover, was not made to warn future governors but future local officials.

256B. Second Translation of Latin Rescript, A.D. 204

Asia Minor. A stone of unknown provenience in the archaeological depot on the citadel of Ankara.

L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 432–437 with photograph of squeeze.

256 B

- [*Videris nobis s. co. i*]gnorare quod
 [si cum peritis contuler]is, scies se-
 [natori p. R. necesse non esse] invito
 4 [hospitem suscipere.] Θ. Γρ.
 [Δοκεῖς ἡμεῖν τὸ δόγμα τῆς συ]νκλήτου
 [ἀγνοεῖν θ, εἰ μὲν ἐμπείρων ἐπι]σκέψη, μαθή
 [ση μὴ συνκλητικῶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἀνάγκην
 8 εἶναι ἄκοντι ξένον ὑποδ]έχεσθαι>

The restorations are by Robert, who recognized a second version of No. **256A**.

Commentary

This copy with the Latin word “*contuleris*” translated more idiomatically as ἐπισκέψη instead of συναντιβάλλης and with “*sacrae litterae*” translated as θ(εῖα) γρ(άμματα) instead of ἱερὰ γράμματα illustrates, as Robert says, the divergence and private character of the inscriptions. Also the Latin “*quod [si]*” here differs from the Latin “*qui si*” at Satala in Lydia.

257. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO THE CITIZENS OF SYROS, A.D. 205(?)**258. CARACALLA TO THE CITIZENS OF SYROS**

Syros. Copied by Le Bas in a church at Hermupolis, but unlocatable in May 1974.

Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* 2 (Paris, 1853) 1892 (copy without text); [mentioned by Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, as No. 75]; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG XII* 5.1 (1903) 658, from Le Bas’s copy.

- 257** [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ <Μάρ.> Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβ.
 Γερμ[αν. Σαρ]ματ. [υἱός, θεοῦ Κ]ομ[μόδ]ο[υ ἀδελφός], θεοῦ Ἀν
 [τ]ω[ν]εῖ[ν]ου Εὐσεβ. υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἀδριαν[ο]υ ἑκγον[ος, θεοῦ Τραϊα

- νοῦ Π[αρθ]. κ[α]ι [θεοῦ Νέρ]ουα ἀπόγονος, Σεπτ. Σεουήρος Εὐσε[β]. Περτί
 5 ναξ [Σεβ]. Ἀρα[β]. Ἀδ[ια]β. Πά[ρθ]. Μέγ., ἀρχ. μέγ., δημαρχικῆς ἐ]ξουσίας
 τὸ ι[γ´, αὐ]τ. τὸ ιβ´, ὑπατος τὸ [γ´, πατήρ πατρι]δ[ο]ς, [καί]
 Αὐτ. [Κα]ί[σ]. Αὐτ. Καίσ. Σεπτ[ιμίου Σε]ουήρ[ο]υ Εὐσεβ. Περτ[ί]ν[α]
 [κ]ος Σεβ. Ἀρ[α]β. Ἀδιαβ. Παρθ. [Μεγίστ. υἱός, θε]οῦ <Μάρ.>
 Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβ. [Γερμα]ν. Σαρμ[ατ. υἱό]νός, θεοῦ Ἀν
 10 τωνεῖνου Εὐσεβ. ἔκγονος, θεοῦ [Ἀ]δρ[ια]νοῦ καὶ θεοῦ
 Τ[ραι]ανοῦ Παρθ. καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος, [Μάρ].
 [Αὐ]ρήλ. Ἀντωνεῖνος [Εὐ]σ[εβ]. Σ[εβ., δη]μαρχ[ικῆς ἐ]ξουσίας
 [τὸ η´, αὐτ. τὸ β´], ὑπατος [τὸ β´, Συρίων τοῖς] ἀρ[χουσι]
 [καὶ τῇ βουλῇ κ]α[ι τῷ δήμῳ χαίρει]ν vacat
 15 Τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μακροῦ δ[ι]γ[ω]ν[ο]ς [ἐ]νε[κ]α [τῶν τοῦ] σ[ε]ί[το]υ[...]ν αὐ[τοῖ]
 ἐδιδάξατε τὸν κράτιστονν τὸν ἀν[θύ]
 πατον τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς ν..... πεί[θε]
 ται στοχαζόμεν[ος]εμ -----
 ἐφαρμόσαι ταῖς Ἀσί[α]ς ... ἐπι[-----]
 20 Καμερίου. [Εὐτυχεῖ]τε.
 258 Ὁ αὐτὸς Αὐτ. Καίσ. Μάρ. Αὐρ.] Ἀντων[εῖν]ος [Εὐσεβ. Σεβ.]
 Συρίων τ[οῖς] ἀρχουσ[ι] κ[α]ι [τῇ β]ο[υ]λῇ [κ]α[ι τῷ] δήμῳ χαί[ρειν].
 Ὁ καλούμενος σ[ι]τίων [ἀγών(?)] -----
 ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν ἀντιγραφ[ὴν] ----- τοῦ]
 25 θεοῦ μου πατὴρ ε[ἰ]σ[ε]ν[η]ν[ε] [γμ[έ]νη]ν(?) -----
 ταύτῃ τῶν ἀν[θ]υ[π]άτ[ω]ν ... εἰσο...ν -----
 ἐπρέσβευεν ... νο... μαρ... εὐ-----
 τιμησις [----- πάν]
 τ[α], ὅσα γρά[φο]μεν] πρὸς τὰς πόλεις(?) -----
 30 προσέ[ταξε]ν ----- τὴν [κ]οιν[ὴν]
 ἀγορὰν τ[ῶν] σ[ι]τ[ί]ων -----
 ὀρίξεσθ[ι] ----- ἀπροσδο(?)]
 κήτων [----- κατὰ τὸ πρότερόν]
 μου διά[γραμ]μ[α, ὅ]τι δε...ε -----
 35 τὰ ὠρισμένα τούτου .μ-----
 τῆς προσηκούσ[ῃ]ς ... λίας -----
 κεν ... ὡναλ..... τὸν κρ[ά]τι[σ]τον ἐπ[ι]ε.τω-----
 ος εαν -----
 σ...ελεσ ----- ν.πέμψει -----
 40 .τους τ... πε[ρ]ι[ν]ῶν[τ]ας(?) τε-----
 πέμψατε -----
 τοὺς ... τ..... τ[α]ς.

1 Μάρ Oliver, cetera Hiller. 2–5 Hiller. 6 ι[γ´] Oliver, ι[ς´] et cetera Hiller. 7 Hiller. 8 {AN} Hiller, (Μάρ) Oliver; cetera Hiller. 9–12. Hiller. 13 τὸ η´ Oliver, τὸ ια´ Hiller; ὑπατος [τὸ β´] Oliver, [τὸ γ´] Hiller; cetera Hiller. 14–19 Hiller.

Commentary

Both documents are epistles, and line 13 is best restored with more than one consulship for Caracalla (cos. II in A.D. 204), while line 6 has not much room for anything after τὸ ι. Since ιγ would take less space than anything else, the numeral of Severus's tribunician power suits A.D. 205 best, though no year between 204 and 210 can absolutely be excluded.

Severus accepted only eleven imperial acclamations. There was one which he did not accept but which often appears (A. A. Boyce, "The Twelfth Imperial Acclamation of Septimius Severus," *AJA* 53 [1949] 337–344). This twelfth acclamation, received and sometimes recorded, corresponds to the second acclamation, received but not accepted, of Caracalla, who did accept a second acclamation in 213 and a third in 214 (H. Mattingly, *BMC* 5 [1950] cxiv). A thirteenth acclamation appears on a diploma of A.D. 209 (J. F. Oates, *Phoenix* 30 [1976] 282–287).

The text is so fragmentary and so uncertainly read that not much emerges. The first epistle mentions grain and the proconsul of Asia.

The second epistle postdates the death of Geta in A.D. 212. Caracalla again mentions provisions and proconsuls (presumably of Asia), and draws attention to certain arrangements made by the *divus* his father. Perhaps Septimius Severus had deprived Athens of priority in respect to the importation of grain and established at Syros a common market (see lines 30–31) for the Aegean area. This would be the second identifiable right or privilege of which Septimius Severus according to the *Vita Severi* (3.7) deprived Athens, the first being the right to coin (J. H. Kroll, "The Eleusis Horde of Athenian Imperial Coins . . .," *Hesperia* 42 [1973] 312–333, especially 323).

259. SEVERUS AND CARACALLA TO [MINOA?] ON AMORGOS

Formerly at Katapola (the chief port of Amorgos) in a private house but unlocatable in May 1974 (even in 1908). The stone may have come from nearby Minoa. Since there were many Samians at ancient Minoa and close connections exist even today

between Samos and Amorgos (or specifically Katapola), it is possible also that the Samians were the recipients of this epistle.

R. Weil, *AthMitt* 1 (1876) 349–350, No. 17; J. Delamarre, *IG XII* 7 (1908) 243 (from Weil). See also J. A. O. Larsen in Frank, *Ec. Survey*, 4:458.

259

[Ἀγαθῇ] Τύχη

- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Κ]αῖσαρ, θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου
 [Εὐσεβοῦς Γερ]μανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ
 [Κομμόδου ἀδ]ελφός, θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς
 5 [υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἀ]δριανοῦ ἔκγονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ
 [Παρθικοῦ κ]αὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος, [Λούκιος]
 [Σεπτίμ]ιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ [Σεβαστός]
 [Ἀραβικὸς] Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς [Μέγιστος],
 [ἀρχιερε]ὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς [ἐξουσίας]
 10 [τὸ ι.΄, αὐτ]οκράτωρ [τὸ] ιβ΄, ὑπάτος [τὸ γ΄],
 [πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀν]θύπατος νννν καὶ
 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖ]σαρ, Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου
 [Σεουήρου Εὐσεβ]οῦς Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ
 [Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβ]ηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου
 15 [υἱός, θεοῦ Μάρκου] Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς
 [Γερμανικοῦ Σαρμ]ατικοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ
 [Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσ]εβοῦς ἔκγονος, θεοῦ
 [Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ] θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ
 [θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπ]όγονος, [Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος]
 20 [ννν Ἀντ]ωνίνος Εὐσεβῆς [Σεβαστός ννν]
 [δημαρχικ]ῆς ἐξουσία[ς τὸ ι.΄, αὐτοκράτωρ]
 [τὸ β΄, ὑπατ]ος [τὸ] γ΄, ἀνθύπατος, [— — —]
 [τοῖς ἀρχουσι] καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ [δήμῳ]
 [χαίρειν ὧς Κα]ὶ τότε εἰκότως οἱ κρα[τοῦν]
 25 [τες ca. 6 —]q τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἐπι[τελέσαι]
 [σθαι ὑμᾶς τ]ὰς στρατιωτικὰς θυσίας [—]
 [— — — καὶ] νῦν ἀκόλουθον ἐν[— — —]
 [— — — —]ιν ὑπαρχούσης καὶ τιν[ος]
 [— — — —]ντων πεπαῦσθαι [— — — —]
 30 [— — — — νι]κηφόρου. Εὐτυχεῖτε []

1–7 Weil. 8 Oliver. 9 Weil. 10 [ἐξουσίας ἰς' αὐτ]οκράτωρ κ' ὑπάτος γ' Weil. 11 πατὴρ πατρίδος Oliver, ἀν[θ]ύπατος Weil. 12–14 Weil. 15 υἱός, θεοῦ Weil, Μάρκου Oliver. 16–18 Weil. 19 Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Oliver, cetera Weil. 20 Ἀντ[ων]ίνος Weil, Σεβαστός Oliver. 21 αὐτοκράτωρ Oliver, ἰα' et cetera Weil. 22

ὑπατ]ος Weil, cetera Oliver. 23 Weil. 24 χαίρειν Weil, κα]ὶ et κρα[τοῦντες Delamarre. 25–27 οἱ κρα[τοῦντες ἄριστα] τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἐπι[τελεῖσθαι τὰ]ς στρατιωτικὰς θυσίας εὐδοκιμοῦν, καὶ] Delamarre, ἐπι[τελέσασθαι ὑμᾶς Oliver. 28 Delamarre. 30 Weil.

Weil's diplomatic transcript rather than his text, prepared later, is the basis. His text indicates where line 15 begins but not where other lines (apart from 1 and 2) begin and end. His interpretation κ' for the numeral of the imperial salutation in line 10 does not accord even with the two vertical hastas of his transcript; Delamarre's υ[ς]' exceeds the number which Septimius Severus is known to have had, namely eleven or twelve (see A. A. Boyce, "The Twelfth Imperial Salutation of Septimius Severus," *AJA* 53 [1949] 337–341; but also *Phoenix* 30 [1976] 282–287).

Translation

To [Good] Fortune.

[Imperator] Caesar [L. Septimius] Severus Pius Pertinax [Augustus] Adiabenicus Parthicus, son of divine Marcus Antoninus [Pius] Germanicus Sarmaticus, brother of divine [Commodus, grandson] of divine Antoninus Pius, great-grandson of [divine] Hadrian, descendant of divine Trajan [Parthicus] and divine Nerva, [pontifex] maximus, tribunician [power for the sixteenth time], imperator for the [fifteenth] time, consul [for the third time], proconsul, and [Imperator] Caesar [M. Anto]ninus Pius, son of L. Septimius [Severus Pius] Pertinax Augustus [Arabicus] Adiabe]nicus Parthicus Maximus, grandson of [divine] Antoninus Pius Germanicus Sarm]aticus, great-grandson of divine [Antoninus Pius], descendant of divine [Hadrian and] divine Trajan Parthicus and [divine Nerva, tribunician] power [for the eleventh time, consul] for the third, proconsul, [to the archons], Council and [Demos of – – , greetings]:

– –] the powers above both then probably – – the time of [– – accepted] the sacrifices (made to them in the name of the) army [and] now – –

Farewell

Commentary

The epistle is dated between 208 and 212 by a Caracalla who was thrice consul, and before 210 by the absence of Geta's name in the heading. Weil and Delamarre attributed the epistle to the beginning of 208.

Weil interpreted the *στρατιωτικαὶ θυσίαι* as sacrifices for the success of the British campaign. Weil's restoration Νι]κηφόρου fits the religious context better than Delamarre's *φόρου*, which is tribute.

The main problem is what to do about the end of line 22. Delamarre, who may have thought that the stonecutter omitted the name of the city addressed, printed (*Μεινοητῶν*). We, who think that Weil indicated merely what he saw without pointing out lacunae, would much prefer to edit [*Σαμίων*] to mean that the name of the addressee once had stood there, with all that that implies for other lines, and to assert a stronger claim for the Samians than for Minoa. Another imperial letter found at Kata-pola on Amorgos, No. 107, was almost certainly addressed to the Samians.

260–262. EDICTS AND INSTRUCTIONS OF CARACALLA,
P. GISS. 40

Egypt, Heptakomia (?). Papyrus of the first half of the third century, Inv. No. 15 in the library of the University of Giessen since 1930. A photograph accompanies the first publication. H. G. Gundel, "Papyruskonservierung in den Giessener Papyrus-Sammlungen," *Libri* 6 (1955) 48–64, reported on the damage suffered in 1945 and presented a photograph, Abb. 1, to show the condition of the papyrus. In *Kurzberichte* 22 (1966/1973) he published a photograph taken in 1962. Photographs appear also in vol. 2 of H. Wolff, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana und P. Giss. 40 I* (Cologne, 1976).

The whole text of the papyrus in two columns was published (with help from U. Wilcken) by P. M. Meyer, *Griechische Papyri im Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen* 2 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910) No. 40 with photograph, and 3 (1912) 164 f. with Schubart's revision. The documents, our Nos. **260**, **261A**, and **262**, are often reproduced and studied separately (see below), but with help from Kalbfleisch and with measurement of lacunae the whole papyrus was republished by F. M. Heichelheim, "The Text of the Constitutio Antoniniana and the three other Decrees of the Emperor Caracalla contained in Papyrus Gissensis 40," *JEA* 26 (1940) 31–38.

260. The First Document

Other editions of *P. Giss. 40 I*: L. Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*, No. 377; P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* (Berlin, 1920) No. 1; P. F. Girard, *Textes*, 203–205; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, No. 192; Riccobono, *FIRA I*², No. 88. Notable separate editions were by V. Capocci, *Atti Lincei*, ser. VI, Mem. 1 (1925) 5–136 with photograph; G. De Sanctis, *RivFil*, n.s. 4 (1926) 488–500; E. Schönbauer, “Reichsrecht gegen Volksrecht?” *ZSav* 51 (1931) 277–335, especially 286–320; A. Wilhelm, “Die Constitutio Antoniniana,” *AJA* 38 (1934) 178–180; J. Keil, “Zum Text der Constitutio Antoniniana,” *AnzWien* (1948) 143–151; D. Weissert, *Hermes* 111 (1963) 239–250.

Other notable discussions were by E. Bickermann, *Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla in P. Giss. 40* (Diss. Berlin, 1926); J. Stroux, “Die Constitutio Antoniniana,” *Philologus* 88 (1933) 272–295; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford, 1939) 220–227; E. Schönbauer, “Rechtshistorische Urkundenstudien,” *ArchP* 13 (1939) 177–209; W. Schubart, “Zur Constitutio Antoniniana,” *Aegyptus* 20 (1940) 31–38; Chr. Sasse, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana: Eine Untersuchung über den Umfang der Bürgerrechtsverleihung auf Grund des Papyrus Giss. 40 I* (Wiesbaden, 1958) (a Marburg juristic dissertation, important for its discussion and its virtually complete bibliography); W. Seston and M. Euzennat, “La citoyenneté romaine au temps de Marc-Aurèle et de Commode d’après la Tabula Banasitana,” *CRAI* (1961) 317–323 (with restoration of line 9, later altered in *Mélanges Carcopino* [Paris, 1966] 320); J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1967) No. 116 (important for the occasion and date); C. B. Welles, “Another Look at *P. Giss. 40 I*,” *EtPap* 9 (1971) 35–54; H. Wolff, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana und Papyrus Gissensis 40 I* (Cologne, 1976), important discussion denying any connection between *P. Giss. 40 I* and the CA, reviewed by J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 99 (1978) 403–408; W. Williams, “Caracalla and the Authorship of Imperial Edicts and Epistles,” *Latomus* 38 (1979) 67–89 on the highly personal tone, the grandiose and obscure style of Caracalla’s edicts and epistles.

To these might be added discussions of the first effects of Caracalla’s universal grant of citizenship: J. F. Gilliam, “Dura Rosters and the Constitutio Antoniniana,” *Historia* 14 (1965) 74–92 (“the edict is not later than January, 213”); P. Herrmann, “Überlegungen zur Datierung der Constitutio Antoniniana,” *Chi-*

ron 2 (1972) 519–30 (traceable influence 3 March 213 in Lydia); Follet, *Athènes*, chap. 2 (publication at Rome between March and July 212). Critical reports by A. d'Ors may be recommended, notably "Nuevos estudios sobre la 'Constitutio Antoniniana'," *Atti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milan, 1966) 408–432 with addendum in *Kurzberichte* 22 (2nd ed., 1973) 15–17, and by Chr. Sasse, *JJP* 14 (1962) 109–49 and 15 (1965) 328–366. In the wake of the famous debate *Reichsrecht gegen Volksrecht* (Mitteis, Schönbauer, Arangio-Ruiz) one might mention particularly F. De Visscher, "Bürgerrecht und Kultureinheit im Imperium Romanum," *Österr. Zeitschrift für öffentliches Recht* 12 (1962) 71–85; J. Modrzejewski, "La règle de droit dans l'Égypte romaine," *American Studies in Papyrology* 7 (1970) 317–77; M. Talamanca, "Su alcuni passi di Menandro di Laodicea relativi agli effetti della 'Constitutio Antoniniana'," *Studi in onore di Eduardo Volterra* (Rome, 1972) 5:433–560; and the above cited book by H. Wolff. For the religious aspect, see J. H. Oliver, "On the Piety of Commodus and Caracalla," *GRBS* 19 (1978), 375–385; J. Modrzejewski, *ArchP* 26 (1978) (report on bibliography for 1962–1972).

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Col. I

- *Mā*]ρκος Ἀντ[ωνί]νος [.....] Ἀντωνίν[ος] Ε[ύσεβ]ῆς (or <Σ>ε
[βαστὸς]) ὡς λέγει.
---]Ἡ μάλλον ΑΝ[----- τὰς ἀγίας κ[α]ὶ το[ύς] λ[ογισ]μοὺς
---]θεοῖς [τοῖς] ἀθ[αν]άτοις εὐχαριστήσαιμι, ὅτι τῇ[ς] τοιαύτῃ[ς]
---]ἡς με συν[ε]τήρησαν / Τοιγαροῦν νομίζω[ν] οὕτω με
5 ---]ὡς δύ[ν]αται τῇ μεγαλειότητι αὐτῶν τὸ ἱκανὸν ποι
---]ᾶσαι ἐὰν ὑ[π]ερίβη[ωσιν] εἰς τοὺς ἔμοῦς ἀν[θ]ρώπους
---]τῶν θεῶν συνεισενέγκ[οι]μι ὧν δίδωμι τοῖς σ[υνα]πα
---]τήν οἰκουμένην π[ο]λείαν Ῥωμαίων, μένοντος
---]ἀτ[τ]ῶν χωρ[ῆς] τῶν [...]εἰρκίων ὧν Ὁ[φ]είλει [γ]ὰρ τὸ
10 ---]νεῖν πάντα Α[...]. Ἡ δὲ κ[α]ὶ τῇ νίκῃ ἐνπερι
---]διὰ τ[ῆς] ἐξ[ε]πλώσει[ε] τὴν μεγαλειότητα [το]ῦ Ῥωμα[ί]ου
---]περὶ τοὺς [...]ους γεγενῆσθαι ἥπερ δ[ι]α-
---]ταλειφ[ω]ν τῶν ἐκ[κ]λήσεων
---]ΗΤΩ[---] π[ρ]οσ[---]
15 ---]ΘΗ[---]
---]ΟΛΩ[---]
[-----]ΤΟ

τῇ[s] Bickermann. 4 [ἐπιβουλῆς Schönbauer, [συμφορᾶς γενομένης Bickermann, τῇ[ι] τοιαύτη[ι] | συμφορᾶ περιπεσόντα Stroux, σῶο]ν ἐμὲ συν[ετή]ρησαν Schubart (*P. Giss.* III, p. 164). 5 [γαλομερῶς Wilhelm, [γαλοπρεπῶς καὶ εὐσεβ]ῶς δύ[να]σθαι Meyer (ἄν καὶ Weissert), [γάλως καὶ φιλανθρώπ]ως Schönbauer, θεοπρεπ]ῶς Stroux, εὐλαβ]ῶς Keil. 6 [εἶν εἰ τοὺς ξένους ὅσ]άκις Meyer (τοὺς βαρβάρους Bickermann, τοὺς συμμάχους De Sanctis, τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ Schönbauer, τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους Schubart [*Aegyptus* 20 (1940) 34], νῦν ἅπαντας καὶ Oliver), τοσάκις μυρίουσ ὅσ]άκις Stroux (τοσάκις χιλίους Keil); ὑ[π]εισέλθ[ωσ]ιν Meyer; ἀν[θρ]ώπους Meyer. 7 [καὶ ἄλλοι Oliver, [εἰς τῶ]ν Meyer, [εἰς θρησκείας τῶν ἡμετέρω]ν Bickermann, [καὶ (Vogliano) εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ De Sanctis, [ἰσοτίμους εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῶ]ν Schönbauer, [συνθύοντας Stroux, [ὡς Ῥωμαίους εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῶ]ν Wilhelm, [τῇ λατρεῖᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων θεῶ]ν Keil; συνεπενέγ[κοι]μι Meyer, συνει[σ]ενέγ[κοι]μι Bickermann; τοί[ν]υν ἅπα Schubart (*P. Giss.* III, p. 164)). 8 [σιν ξένους τοῖς κατὰ τ]ήν Meyer, τοῖς οὔσι κατὰ τ]ήν Schönbauer, [σι ὅσοι ἐὰν ὥσι κατὰ τ]ήν Stroux, [σιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τ]ήν Wilhelm, [σι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκ]ήν Heichelheim, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ μου Oliver; π[ολιτ]εῖαν Meyer, τῇ[ν μεγαλ]εῖαν H. Wolff; [μ]ένοντος Meyer. 9 [παντὸς γένους πολιτευμ]άτων Meyer, “*etwa μένοντος ἀκεραίου τοῦ δικαίου τῶν πολιτευμάτων*” Kübler (*RE* 19 [1937] 642), [παντὸς δικαίου τῶν πολιτευμ]άτων Seston (*Mélanges Carcopino* [1966] 899); [δεδ]ειτικίων Meyer, [ἀδδ]ειτικίων Oliver, (*AJP* 93 [1972] 340); Ὁ[φ]ίλει [γ]άρ Meyer. 10 [πλήθος οὐ μόνον Schubart (*P. Giss.* III, p. 164), [συμμαχικὸν οὐ μόνον συνδιακο]νεῖν De Sanctis, τᾶλλα συννπομέ]νειν Wilhelm; ἀ[λλ]ὰ Schubart, ἀ[λλὰ τ]ὰ Wolff. j 11 [λῆφθαι Wilcken (Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*, 377), [λεῖσθαι Schubart, [λημμένα Wolff; διάτ]αγμα Wilcken, Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ Meyer (*Jur. Papyri* 1), Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἐμὸν διάτ]αγμα Wilhelm; ὁ[μ]αλῶς εἰ[s τὴν] Meyer and Wilcken, ε[. .]. λώσει [τὴν] Schubart (*P. Giss.* III, p. 165), ἐ[ξαπ]λώσει Wilhelm, ἐ[ξα]πλώσει[ε Wolff. 12 [ὡν δήμου Meyer; διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξι]ν περὶ τοὺς [ἄλλο]υς γεγενῆσθαι Schönbauer, συμβαίνει γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴ]ν Wilhelm; ἥπερ δ[ι]α Schubart (*P. Giss.* III, p. 165). 13 [πρέπουσιν ἀνέκαθεν Ῥωμαῖοι τιμῇ κα]ταλειφ[θέντων Wilhelm (τῶν κα]ταλειφ[θέντων (Meyer); μηδεν]ῶν Heichelheim. 19 τῶ]ν Ἑλλά[ν]ων Wilcken, ἀπάντ]ων ἐλλή | [γωσι Heichelheim. 24 Wilcken. 27–28 see No. 261A.

Translation of *P. Giss.* 40 I

[Imperator Caesar] Marcus Aurelius Augustus Antoninus [Pius] says: — — — rather — — — the causes and considerations — — — — — to [the] immortal gods I may give thanks that [when] the so frightful [ambush occurred] they preserved me. Therefore, thinking that I should be able [on a grand scale and with piety] to make the return which would correspond to their majesty, [if] I were to lead [to the sanctuaries] of our gods [all those presently my people and others too] as often as they enter the ranks of my people, I grant to all those [who throughout] the world [are under my rule] Roman citizenship without the [extras], with [the claim of communities] (on the services of their members) remaining unimpaired. For the [whole population?] ought [— — — —] already to have been included also in the victory. [— — — my] edict would expand the majesty of the Roman [People — — —

Commentary

The question whether the papyrus contained only three documents (so Meyer) or four, as Heichelheim supposed, is important for the extent and character of No. 260. On col. II a whole line has been left vacant between Nos. 261A and 262 as Meyer, but not Heichelheim, noted. Similarly a vacant area should separate the first from the second document in col. I, where the first such possibility occurs in our line 26 = 27 Heichelheim. Number 261A begins, as Heichelheim recognized, in our line 27 = 28 Heichelheim of col. I. Heichelheim assumed a line missing between our line 16 and our line 17, though he did not leave it blank in his text; but Meyer's photograph shows no line missing and Heichelheim's text with the heading of an edict, Αὐτο | [κράτωρ, beginning so near the end of a line is palaeographically unacceptable, when one compares it with the appearance of col. II, line 15. The result is that we assume an extent of twenty-five lines for No. 260 and the remains of only three documents on the papyrus.

The heading proves that the first document is an edict. The date is not stated but most commentators accept the likelihood that the three documents are in chronological order. A difference of opinion still exists whether the first document is, as Meyer claimed, the famous *Constitutio Antoniniana* with a universal grant of citizenship to the *peregrini*. This claim, rejected by Bickermann and others, has been strengthened by the publication of the

Tabula Banasitana with grants of citizenship made with two reservations, *salvo iure gentis* and *sine diminutione*, etc., in that order. Even if it be accepted that the first document is the CA, the occasion can be disputed because no occasion is mentioned in the ancient sources. The CA is usually dated to 212. A. C. Johnson and his collaborators in *Ancient Roman Statutes* (Austin, 1961) 226, n. 2, accepted the first document as the CA but denied that it had anything to do with the murder and alleged conspiracy of Geta. Because of the word *νίκη* in line 10 they connected it with the campaign for which in May 213 Caracalla was hailed as Germanicus Maximus. The same opinion is held by W. Seston, *Mélanges Carcopino* (Paris, 1966) 877–888, M. Euzennat, *Antiquités africaines* 10 (1976) 63–68, and presumably H. Wolff, but the majority perhaps still adhere to the old date 212. Among those who do not accept the first document as the CA are A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1973) 286, who mistakenly visualizes the phrase *ὁσ]άκις ἐὰν ὑ[π]εισέλ[θω]σιν εἰς τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀν[θ]ρώπους* in line 6 as exhausting the list of beneficiaries, and H. Wolff, who restores *τῇ[ν μεγαλ]είαν* instead of *π[ολειτ]είαν*, where Meyer and others, rightly in our opinion, considered the pi certain.

References to the CA, which Ulpian and Cassius Dio assign to Caracalla, are the following:

Ulpian cited in *D.* 1.5.17: In orbe Romano qui sunt ex constitutione imperatoris Antonini cives Romani effecti sunt.

Dio-Xiphilinus (eleventh-century epitome) 78.9.5: *Οὗ ἔνεκα καὶ Ῥωμαίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ μὲν τιμῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως πλείω αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου προσίη διὰ τὸ τοὺς ξένους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν μὴ συντελεῖν, ἀπέδειξεν.* (Dio's account of the reign of Caracalla is one long Philippic, wherein many facts but no motives can be accepted without other evidence.)

Menander of Laodicea (ca. A.D. 275) on Epideictic Orations, *Rh. Gr.* III 363 Spengel, 11–14: *ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν νόμων* (the praise of cities for their laws) *ἐν τοῖς νῦν χρόνοις ἀχρηστον · κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς κοινούς τῶν Ῥωμαίων νόμους πολιτευόμεθα, ἔθεςσι δ' ἄλλη πόλις ἄλλοις χρήται, ἐξ ὧν προσῆκον ἐγκωμιάζειν.* (This testimony was added by Mazzarino, *Trattato*, 398, but it applies to the assimilation of the laws of Greek cities [e.g., Hadrianic Athens] to those of Rome [and vice versa], an assimilation which did not begin in 212 but became more rapid certainly after 212. Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaic* 253, still respected the convention.)

Aurelius Victor (ca. A.D. 360), *De Caesaribus* 16.12 (on Marcus Aurelius): *Data cunctis promiscue civitas Romana.*

Vita Severi 1.1–2: *Interfecto Didio Iuliano Severus Africa oriundus imperium optinuit. Cui civitas Lepti, pater Geta, maiores equites Romani ante civitatem omnibus datam.*

St. John Chrysostom (ca. A.D. 400), *Homilia* 48.1: Μεγάλην εἶχον ταύτην τότε προνομίαν οἱ ἀξιούμενοι οὕτω (scilicet Ῥωμαῖοι) καλεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐ πάντες τούτου ἐτύγχανον· ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἀδριανοῦ φασι πάντας Ῥωμαίους ὀνομασθῆναι, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν οὐχ οὕτως ἦν. (This is confusion between the grant of citizenship in A.D. 212 and a tendency, from the time of Hadrian on, to call Greeks as well as Romans Ῥωμαῖοι by contrast with those outside the empire.)

St. Augustine (ca. 420), *Civitas Dei* 5.17: *quod postea gratissime atque humanissime factum est, ut omnes ad Romanum imperium pertinentes societatem acciperent civitatis et Romani cives essent, ac sic esset omnium quod ante erat paucorum.*

Apollinarius Sidonius, *Epist.* 1.6.2: (Rome) *patriam libertatis, in qua unica totius orbis civitate soli barbari et servi peregrinantur.*

Justinian, *Novellae*, 78.5: ὥσπερ γὰρ Ἀντωνίνος ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπώνυμος . . . τὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας πρότερον παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπηκόων αἰτούμενον καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τῶν καλουμένων peregrinῶν εἰς Ῥωμαϊκὴν εὐγένειαν ἄγον ἐκεῖνος ἅπασιν ἐν κοινῷ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δεδῶρηται.

Line 1, which consists of a formula, presumably extended one or two letters farther into the left margin than the rest of the lines in the same document. This consideration affects the measurement of the initial lacunae in the following lines, which, however, may have been slightly more crowded.

Line 2: The exact wording, even whether the edict began with an independent or subordinate clause, is unknown. P. M. Meyer read the last word as λ[ιβ]έλλου[s]. The initial lambda of the last word is represented merely by the lower tip of the first stroke of a lambda like that in the word λαμπροτάτο[v] in Col. II, line 4. Welles, who rejects the stroke as part of a lambda (p. 39, n. 1) on the grounds that “no other lambda in the papyrus reaches below the line at all,” is simply mistaken. The letter must be read either as lambda or chi. The new reading ἐλ]έγχους, proposed by Welles, does not account for that stroke and thereby collapses. Furthermore, the letter traces read as λλ by Meyer and γχ by Welles, were read as μ by Schubart, who proposed

λ[ογι]σμού[ς]. On the photograph the reading *σμ* seems far easier than *ελλ* or *εγχ*. In our opinion the choice lies between Schubart's λ[ογι]σμούς and a word beginning with chi (χ[ρη]σμούς or χ[αρι]σμούς). Plato, *Timaeus* 33a6, τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν λογισμόν, cited by D. Weissert, *Hermes* 91 (1963) 245, supports Schubart's version.

Line 3: Some adjective accompanies the word "gods." This was read as ἀθ[αν]άτοις not by Wilhelm first but by Schubart. Meyer and Mitteis printed Wilcken's earlier suggestion ἀγ[ιωτ]άτοις. The latter would be a very free translation of any likely Latin original, whereas *di immortales* has the right sound. Since there are no cases of iota adscript in this papyrus, probably the reading τῇ[ς] τοιαύτῃ[ς] alone will account for a very short lacuna after each of these words.

Line 4: The disputed readings, whether σῶ[ο]ν ἐμὲ συν[ετή]ρησαν (Schubart) or γενομένης με (Bickermann and Wolff), give a satisfactory sense. The gods saved him. The restoration ἐπιβουλῆς at the beginning of the line has some support in Cassius Dio 77.3.1, ὡς ἐπιβεβουλευμένος.

Line 5: Two adverbs are probable. We have taken the first from Wilhelm, the second from Meyer, and added the particle inserted by Weissert. These may not be the right adverbs but are good suggestions and suffice to show the construction.

Line 6: The personal tone in the phrase τοὺς ἐμούς ἀν[θρ]ώπους goes well with the reference in Cassius Dio 77.9.5 to the recipients as τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ. If one recognizes this equation as valid, "my dear people" cannot mean just those already citizens or the army either, but rather the free inhabitants of the empire over whom the *lex imperii* has made him *imperator*. In the clause ὅσ[τα]κις ἐὰν ὑ[π]εισέλθ[ωσ]ιν the force of the first prefix is not "secretly" but "subsequently," so that Caracalla here speaks not of those currently among his "dear people" but of those who may later enter the ranks of his "dear people." If this is so, we must assume that the preceding lacuna contained the connective (καὶ) and a reference to all who were already among his "dear people." One mention of his "dear people" serves for both. For ἐὰν instead of ἀν see Lars Rydbeck, *Studia Graeca Upsaliensia* 5 (1967) 119–144.

Line 7: Our interpretation of line 6 leads to the necessity of supplying in line 7 a subject for the verb of line 6. The phrase εἰς τὰ ἱερά comes from De Sanctis, but the thought goes back through Bickermann to a suggestion of Meyer's; the same phrase

was adopted by Schönbauer and paraphrased by Keil. On the restoration τοῖς σ]υνάπα | [σι, see Wolff.

Line 8: The traditional reading π[ολειτ]εῖαν is here accepted as certain. The word σ]υνάπα | [σιω is accordingly interpreted as corresponding to “all” the recipients of Caracalla’s universal grant of citizenship, and a restoration is made on the basis of Cassius Dio, who certainly knew the Greek version of the CA and described the recipients as πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ. Indeed Dio is more likely to have echoed the very phrase, for which Aelius Aristides, *Roman Oration* 59, may have been in the emperor’s or writer’s mind, πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς . . . ἅπασαν . . . τὴν οἰκουμένην. And *Roman Oration* 60 continues, ξένος οὐδεὶς . . . ἀλλὰ καθέστηκε κοινὴ τῆς γῆς δημοκρατία ὅφ’ ἐνὶ τῷ ἀρίστῳ ἄρχοντι καὶ κοσμητῇ. It is a mistake to think that what the sophists said had no effect. The passage of Aristides, though easily recognized as an exaggeration, had gained a wide acceptance as an ideal.

Line 9: Some grants of citizenship on the *Tabula Banasitana* (published by W. Seston and M. Euzennat, *CRAI* [1971] 468–490) were accompanied by two reservations, the ‘salvo’ clause protecting the claim of the tribe on the services of the recipients (for the interpretation see H. Wolff, 99–102) and the ‘sine’ clause excluding certain additional privileges that in the half century before 27 B.C. sometimes accompanied grants of citizenship (see Seston and Euzennat). Line 9, preceded by μένοντος and containing χωρ[ίς], presents Greek versions of a ‘salvo’ clause and a ‘sine’ clause in the same order as the *Tabula Banasitana*. Since the reference is to citizenship in both and even the order is the same, the conclusion is inescapable that the reservations with no intervening conjunction are identical, even if a short phrase, namely “without the ‘additicia’,” replaces the “sine diminutione tributorum et vectigalium populi Romani” of the *Tabula Banasitana*. Meyer’s restoration χωρ[ίς] τῶν [δεδ]ειτικίων was made at a time when the formula had not been available for comparison. He had no parallel. Since, therefore, there is no justification for the restoration [δηδ]ειτικίων, it should be dropped. The Latin word “additicia” from Caracalla is no more difficult than the Latin word “asp(e)ratura” from Hadrian in No. 84, line 25.

Line 10: While the victory mentioned by Caracalla in line 10 means the victory over the Germans to some, it is the victory over conspirators to those who think the background was the enmity with his brother, and the claim here of a victory in the

murder of Geta explains the delightful proposal by the son of Pertinax to add "Geticus" to the emperor's epithets.

Lines 11–25: The amnesty decree which the second edict, No. 261, corrected may have been part of No. 260. Heichelheim, who claimed another edict between Nos. 260 and 261A, wanted to restore in lines 21–22 ὑπο| [στρεφέτωσαν πάντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας τὰς ἰδίας on the basis of col. II, lines 8–9. There is too little preserved to justify restoration here, but it is not unreasonable to expect that the papyrus once offered the original decree as well as the correction. To allow the temporary *relegati* apart from those punished by Septimius Severus to return was part of a unifying plan, if the conspirators, and not the Germans, provided the occasion.

In its motivation and formulation No. 260 owed something to the inspiration directly or indirectly instilled in Caracalla by Plutarch, *On the Fortune of Alexander*, 328D and 329C.

261A. The Second Document, July 11, 212

Other editions of *P. Giss. 40 II*: Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*, No. 378. R. A. Coles, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 36 (London, 1970) 30–32, published another copy, No. 2755 (= our No. 247B), and supported or corrected the text of lines 2–11.

261 A

Column I

[Ἄλλο: Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβασ]τὸς
28 [λέγει vacat]
[-----]

Column II

κα[τα]γέμειν ἡμ[.....] ἀποκατασταθεῖσιν [.....] ΝΕ[-----]
ἵππον δημόσιο[ν προαπ]ε[σ]χηκόσιν ἀπο[δίδ]ωμ[ι καὶ] οὐσ[ιῶν ἐπὶ κρ]ίσις
[δ]εήσει ἢ [κ]α[ι] ἡ πα[ρ]α[σ]φ[η]με[ί]ωσις ἀποφά[σ]εως [εἰς τὸ δια]κατέχειν ἢ λα[μβά]νειν τὰς πολ[ι]τικὰς
[τ]ιμὰς. καὶ τοῦ[τοις <τοῖς>]
μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς τά[ξε]ως ἑαυτῶν <ἢ> συ[νη]γορίας πρὸς χρ[ό]ν[ον] κωλυθεῖσι
μετὰ τ[ὸ]
5 π[λ]ηρωθῆναι τὸ τοῦ χρ[ό]νου διάστημα οὐκ ὀνειδισθήσεται ἢ τῆς ἀτιμ[ί]ας
παραση
μεί[ω]σις. καὶ εἰ φανερόν ἐστιν πῶς πλήρη τὴν χάριτά μου παρενέθηκα, ὅμως

- ἵνα μή τις στενότερον παρερμηνεύσῃ τὴν χάριτά μου ἐκ τῶν ῥη[μά]των το[ῦ]
προτέρου διατάγματος, ἐν ᾧ οὕτως ἀπεκριν[ά]μην, « Ὑποστρεφέτωσαν πάντες
 εἰς τὰς πατρίδας τὰς ἰδίας, » ἐλευθέραν με τούτοις πᾶσιν τὴν ἐπάν[ο]δ[ο]ν
 δεδωκέναι
 10 [ε]ἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆ[ν] καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τὴν ξμὴν δηλωταίον [ἐ]δοκίμασα,
ἵνα μ[ὴ]
 π[αρ' α]ὐτοῖς ἡ δειλίας αἰτία ἢ παρὰ το[ῖς] κακοήθεσιν ἐπηρ[ε]ίας ἀφορμὴ
 υπολειφθῇ.
 Προετέθη πρὸ εἰδῶν Ἰουλίῳ δυσι Ἀσπροις ὑπάτοις, ὃ ἐστιν κ (ἔτους)
 Ἐπεὶφ ἴς,
 ἐν δὲ Ἀλεξαν[δ]ρ[εῖ]α ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῶν οὐσιακῶν κα (ἔτους) Μεχείρ
 ἴς, γενομένου
 [ὑπ]ομνήματος ἐπὶ τοῦ λαμπροτάτο[υ] ἡγεμόνος Βαιβί[ο]υ Ἰο[υ]γκίνο[υ] τῇ δ
 15 [τοῦ] αὐτοῦ μηνὸς Μεχείρ vacat
 vacat

The text of col. II is based on that of Meyer with changes, some necessitated by the discovery of the other copy, *P. Oxy.* 2755. Letters attested by *P. Oxy.* 2755 are here underlined. Col. I 27 Ἄλλο Oliver (Ἄλλης Heichelheim). Col. II 2 οὐσ[ιῶν] Heichelheim (οὐσ[ίας] Meyer), ἐπ[ί]κρ[ι]σις [δ]εήσει ἢ [κ]α[ὶ] ἴπα[ρ]α σ[η]με[ί] Heichelheim. <τοῖς>] Rea et al. 4 τὰ[ξ]ε[ως] Schubart (*Berichtigungsliste* I 170), ἢ addidit Heichelheim. 5–15 Meyer. 16 Ἄλ[λ]ης] etc. Meyer. 17–23 Meyer. 24 ἔρ[γ]ον Wilcken; <οὔτινες> addidit Meyer. 25–27 Meyer. 28 [αὐτ]οῖ Schubart (*Berichtigungsliste* I 170), [δ]ηλ[οῖ] <αὐτοῦς> Kornemann apud Meyer; ζω[ῆ] Edgar/Hunt, ζω[ῆ] Meyer. 29 Meyer.

Translation of the Second Edict, No. 261A

[Another: Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus]tus [says with authority]:

— — — — to assign — — — restored — — — — to these who had the public horse [previously] I give it back, and a [verification of] property will be necessary or even a notation of a decision [for the] holding or acceptance of the municipal offices. Those who were afterward temporarily excluded from their rank or advocacy shall not be subject, after the completion of their terms, to the disqualification which the mark against them effects. And even though it is clear how complete the pardon is which I attached, nevertheless in order that one may not narrow the pardon by misinterpretation of the words of my previous edict, in which I

decreed “Let all return to their own fatherlands,” I have deemed it necessary to make clear that I have granted all these the right of free return to any part of the world including my own city of Rome, so that there may not remain cause for fear in their minds or incentive for mischief in the minds of malicious persons.

Published in the consulship of the two Aspri on July 11, which is year 20, Epeiph 16, and at Alexandria by the procurator usiacus on Mecheir 16 of year 21, from a record dated on the fourth of the same month Mecheir in the time of his Excellency the governor Baebius Juncinus.

Commentary on Second Edict, No. 261A

The novella, as Meyer noted, is mentioned in the following passages:

Ulpian, libro tertio de officio proconsulis (*Digest* 50.2.3.1): imperator enim Antoninus edicto proposito statuit, ut quicumque aut quacumque causa ad tempus ordine vel advocationibus vel quo alio officio fuisset interdictum, completo tempore nihilo minus fungi honore vel officio possit.

Cod Iust. 10.61 (59): De his qui in exilium dati vel ordine moti sunt, 1: Pars edicti imperatoris Antonini A(ugusti) propositi Romae V id. Iul. duobus Aspris cons(ulibus). Quibus posthac ordine suo vel advocationibus ad tempus interdicetur, post impletum temporis spatium non prorogabitur infamia.

In lines 2–3 the prefix of $\pi[\alpha\rho]\alpha\sigma[\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}] \mid \omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$, if that is right, was written as a correction above the line; Meyer pointed out that this word need not be so read, but it suits the traces and was adopted by Heichelheim, though not by Wilcken. The city *honores* are, as Meyer noted, the magistracies and membership in the city council.

Lines 8–9 contain a quotation from the amnesty decree, perhaps a citation of Edict I, lines 21–22.

Line 10: The $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$ indicates the family’s original citizenship, and this interesting reference from an emperor stands with those from an emperor of the second century in an epistle to Ephesus on Egyptian grain, from Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 6.44, and from Gordian III in the epistle to Epaphras. On the family of Septimius Severus see the *Vita* 1.1 and *IRT* 412 (cf. H. E. Herzig, *Chiron* 2 [1972] 399–404).

262. The Third Document, A.D. 215

Other edition of *P. Giss. 40 III*: Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*, No. 22; A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2 (Loeb Classical Library, 1934) 90–93, No. 215, “Extracts from a Letter of Caracalla, A.D. 215.”

P. Benoît and J. Schwartz, “Caracalla et les troubles d’Alexandrie en 215 après J.-C.,” *EtPap* 7 (1948) 17–33; H. Wolff, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana und Papyrus Gissensis 40 I* (Cologne, 1976) 131–134; R. W. Davies, *JRS* 67 (1977) 60–61; W. Williams, *Latomus* 38 (1979) 81–86.

262

- 16 Ἀλ(λο): Αἱ[γύπτι]οι πάντες, οἳ εἰσιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ μάλιστα ἄ[γ]ροικοί,
οἵτινες πεφε[ύ]γασιν
ἄλ[λοθεν κ]αὶ εὐμαρῶς εἰ[ύ]ρίσ[κε]σθαι δύναντα[ι], πάντῃ πάντως ἐγβλήσιμοι
εἰσιν, οἱ[ύχ]ῃ
μ[έν]τοι γε χοιρέμπο[ρ]οὶ καὶ ναῦται ποτά[μ]ιοι ἐκεῖνοί τε οἵτινες κάλαμον
πρ[ὸ]ς τὸ
ὑποκαίειν τὰ βαλα[νεῖ]α καταφέρουσι. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐγβ[α]λλε, οἵτινες τῷ
πλήθε[ι] τῷ
20 ἰδίῳ κα[ὶ οὐ]χὶ χρήσει ταράσσουσι τὴν πόλιν. Σαραπίους καὶ ἐτέρας τισὶν ἐρρ
τασί[μοις ἢ]μέραις εἰσθῆναι κατὰγειν θυσίας εἵνεκεν ταύρους καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ
ἐνψ[υ]χα ἢ καὶ ἄλλαις ἢ[μ]έραις Αἰγυπτίους μανθάνω· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἰσι
κωλυτέοι.
Ἐ[κεῖνοι] κωλ[ύ]εσθαι ὄφε[ι]λουσιν, οἵτινες φεύγουσι τὰς χώρας τὰς ἰδίας
ἵνα μὴ
ἐρ[γον] ἀγροικὸν ποιῶσι, οὐχὶ μέντοι <οἵτινες> τὴν πόλ[ι]ν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων
τὴν λαμπρο
25 τὰτ[ην] {ην} ἰδεῖν θέλον[τες] εἰς αὐτὴν συνέρχονται ἢ πολειτικωτέρας ζωῆς ἔνε
κεν [ἢ πρ]αγματείας προ[σ]καίρου ἐνθάδε κ[α]τέρχονται. Μεθ’ ἐ[τ]ερα.
Ἐπιγεινώσκει
σθαι γὰρ[ρ] εἰς τοὺς λ[ι]νοῦφ[ο]υς οἱ ἀληθινοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι δύναντ[α] εὐμαρῶς
φωνῇ, ἢ
ἄλλων [αὐτ]οὶ ἔχειν ὅψεις τε καὶ σχῆμα· ἔτι τε καὶ ζω[ῇ] δεικνύει ἐναντία ἥθη
29 ἀπὸ ἀναστρεφῆς [πο]λειτικῆς εἶναι ἀγροίκους Αἱ[γ]υπτίους vacat
vacat

The text is based on Meyer’s except for 16 Ἀλ(λο) Oliver (“Ἀλ[λ(ης)] Meyer), 24 ἐρ[γον] Wilcken, 27 φωνῇ ἢ Oliver (ἢ Meyer, φωνῇ Wilcken), 28 [αὐτ]οὶ Schubart (*Berichtigungsliste* I 170), ζω[ῇ] Edgar and Hunt.

Translation of the Third Document, No. 262

Another: All Egyptians who are in Alexandria, and especially peasants who have fled from elsewhere and can easily be distinguished, are by all means to be expelled, not however the pork merchants or rivermen or those who bring down reeds for the heating of baths. Expel the rest, who disturb the city by their sheer number without performing a service. I understand that at the Sarapea and on some other festal days the Egyptians bring down bulls and certain other animals for sacrifice, on other days too. They are not to be hindered in this. Those ought to be hindered who flee their own lands in order to escape farm work, not however those (who) gather in Alexandria because they wish to see the very brilliant city of the Alexandrians or (who) come down here for a more civilized existence or for a temporary business visit. Further on: For in respect to your linen weavers the true Egyptians can easily be recognized by an accent, or they (can easily be recognized) to have an alien appearance and dress. Also in the way they live, opposing customs far from a civilized behavior show them to be Egyptian peasants.

Commentary on *P. Giss.* 40 III

L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (Vienna, 1953) 462, classified this document as one containing *mandata*. In line 16 the word ἄλλ(ο) stands for ἄλλο δίκαιον, another document.

The word ἐνθάδε in line 26, as Wilcken persuaded Meyer, shows that Caracalla was in Alexandria when he dictated these instructions. Caracalla's visit to Alexandria in 215 is attested by Dio-Xiphilinus 77.22, Herodian 4.8.6 through 9.8, *Vita Caracallae* 6.2–3.

The Egyptians whose expulsion was ordered were workers who were needed in the country and who were a potential source of new trouble in the already overcrowded city. Cassius Dio misrepresented it as an arbitrary expulsion of all strangers except merchants. The expulsion, which followed a massacre of local inhabitants in revenge for old jokes about the emperor and his mother, is reported by Dio-Xiphilinus in these terms: ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἔπαθον, οἱ δὲ δὴ ξένοι πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν πλὴν τῶν ἐμπόρων.

Wolff, who calls the document an "epistle" composed in time of peace, rejects the riots as a background and sees in it a quite

ordinary expulsion of agricultural workers who had fled from the fields. Williams, who does not mention either Wenger or Wolff, likewise calls it an epistle, which, he says, was based on autopsy and strong emotion. He is probably wrong about it being an epistle but right in considering the instruction to officials how to detect Egyptians among linen weavers as a reflection of personal observation on a single occasion.

261B. Edict of Caracalla on Effects of Amnesty, July 212

Oxyrhynchus. Papyrus of the Egypt Exploration Society now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

R. A. Coles, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 36 (London, 1970) 30–32, No. 2755.

261 B

[-----]
 [...]σιν ἀποδίδωμι [
 ἀπ]οφάσεως εἰς τὸ διακατέχειν [
] καὶ τοῦτοις τοῖς μετὰ ταῦ[τα
] πρὸς χρόνον κωλυθεῖσι ν' μετὰ τ[ὸ
 5 διάστημα]α οὐκ ὀνειδισθήσεται ἡ τῆς δ[ι]τιμίας
 φανε]ρόν ἐστιν ^{τοῦ}[[πῶς]] ^ἡπλήρ[[ης]]
^{ως}]ς]] ἵνα μή ^{τε}[[τις σ]τενότερον]]
 τῶ]ν ῥημάτων τοῦ προτέρου δ[ιατάγματος
] ὑποστρεφέτωσαν πάντε[ς
 10 ἐλευ]θέραν με τοῦτοις πᾶσιν τ[ὴν
] τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμη[ν
 ἐδοκί]μασα ἵνα μηδ' αὐτοῖς ἡ [

"4 ν of κωλυθεῖσι ν' added by second hand. 9 ὑπο- pap. 11 After γῆν a high stroke of ink. 12 ἵνα pap. δαν written in rather messy fashion. There are two spots of ink below the end of this line. They are too high up to be from the line below: they may, however, be from an alteration to that line."

263. CARACALLA TO AURELIUS JULIANUS, A.D. 213

Philadelphia in Lydia. Found in a Turkish bath at Alaşehir and now apparently lost. In 1973 it could not be found in museums at Izmir and Manisa.

K. Buresch, *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* 8 (1891) 1242–245; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*² (1898) 415; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 78; F. Hiller von Gaertingen, *SIG*³ (1917), 883; Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 463, No. 134; G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 1619; W. Williams, *Latomus* 38 (1979) 87 f.

263

Αὐτοκράτωρ
 Καῖσαρ Μάρκος
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖ
 νος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβασ
 5 τὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγισ
 τος Βρεταννικὸς Μέ
 γιστος Γερμανικὸς
 Μέγιστος Αὐρηλίῳ
 Ἰο[υλιανῶ]ι τῷ τιμι
 10 ωτάτῳ χαίρειν.
 Εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς αἰρεῖ
 λόγος τὸν Φιλαδελ
 φέα Ἰουλιανὸν ἀ
 πὸ τῶν Σαρδιανῶν
 15 εἰς τὴν τῆς πατρί
 δος μεταθεῖναι φι
 λοτειμίαν, ἀλλ' ὅμως
 σὴν χάριν ἡδέως
 τοῦτο ποιῶ, δι' ὃν καὶ
 20 τὴν νεωκορίαν αὐ
 τὴν τοῖς Φιλαδελ
 φε[ῦσιν δέ]δωκα
 Ἑρρωσο, Ἰουλι[ανῆ]
 τιμιώτατέ μοι καὶ φίλ
 25 τατε.
 Ἀνεγνώσθη ἐν τῷ
 θεάτρῳ ἔτους σμε', μη
 νὸς Ἀπελλαίου ε'.

Translation

Imperator Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus, Parthicus Maximus, Britannicus Maximus, Germanicus Maximus, to Aurelius Julianus, the most highly esteemed, greetings.

Although no reason compels Julianus the Philadelphian to transfer his generosity from the Sardians to his own city, nevertheless I gladly do this for thy sake, on whose account I have

granted to the Philadelphians even the neocory itself. Farewell, my very dear and most highly esteemed Julianus.

Commentary

As a *summa honoraria* Julianus the Philadelphian was to give a gladiatorial show in honor of the emperor. He was expected to do it at Sardis but he preferred to give it in his own city. The emperor so allows as a favor to Aurelius Julianus.

Williams supports Dittenberger against Hiller von Gaertringen that two Juliani are involved, one being the emperor's friend, the other the friend's client. He stresses as typical of Caracalla the tactlessness of ascribing the neocorate entirely to the friend's influence. This was done, of course, to support the friend at home. The Senate used to have a part in the granting of neocorates, but the imperial policy changed with the development of imperial autocracy (L. Robert, *RevPhil* 41 [1967] 48 f.). On the word *φιλοτιμία* the reader may compare L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec* (Paris, 1940) 276–280 and *AJP* 100 (1979) 159, n. 28.

264–266. THREE EPISTLES AT EPHESUS, FROM UNKNOWN, JULIA DOMNA, AND CARACALLA

Ephesus. A broken, white marble plaque found in a late pavement in the gymnasium of the theatre and moved to the yard of the Agora Depot, where it was examined on 10 October 1973.

J. Keil and G. Maresch, *JÖAI* 45 (1960) Beiblatt 80–83; L. Robert, *RevPhil* 42 (1967) 44–64; *Année ép.* (1966) 430. See also B. Lifschitz, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 57–60 (on lines 13–14).

264. Epistle of Unknown on the Artemisia

265. Julia Domna to Ephesians, A.D. 215(?)

266. Caracalla to the Commonalty of Asia on the Third Neocory

264

[-----]
 [---] πανηγυριαρχίαι [-----]
 τῷ δόξαι τὸν νεῶ τὸν τῆς Ἀ[ρτέμιδος ----- ε]

πώνυμον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων[ν -----]

νων· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν ἀτέλειαν [-----]

- 5 τῶν Ἀρτεμεισίων εἰσελαστ[κῶν προσῆκον? γὰρ ἡγησά]
μην τῇ πολεμικωτάτῃ καὶ ἀνδρειοτ[άτῃ καὶ ἐνεργεστά]
τῇ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἀγῶσιν ἐφεστηκέναι []
Εὐτυχεῖτε

265 Ἰουλία Σεβαστὴ Ἐφεσί[οις]

- 10 Πάσαις μὲν πόλεσιν καὶ σύνπασιν δῆμοις ε[ὐεργεσιῶν]
τυγχάνειν τοῦ γλυκυτάτου μου υἱοῦ τοῦ α[ὐτοκράτο]
ρος συνε[ύ]χομαι, μάλιστα δὲ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ διὰ [τὸ μέγεθος]
καὶ κάλλος καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν δόσιν καὶ τὸ παιδ[ευτήριον]
εἶναι τοῖς πανταχόθεν ε[ἰς τὸ] ἐργαστήριον [ἤκουσιν?]

266

- 15 Ὁ κύριος νν Ἀντων[ε]ῖνος ννν τῇ [Ἀσίᾳ]
Ἀπεδεξάμην [τ]ῆς γνώμης ὑμᾶς μεθ' ἧς προσ[εδόθη? νεωκορία τῇ]
λαμπροτάτῃ τῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλει· κρίσει γὰρ τὴν τ[ε]ιμὴν πρέπει
προσνέμειν· διόπερ ἀξιώσασιν ὑμεῖν καὶ συναπο[δοχῆς ἐπὶ Ῥώ]
μης ἡγουμένους τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἐφεσίων αἵτησιν ἔδωκα κ[αὶ συνεχώρη]
20 σα τρεῖς εἶναι νεωκόρους τὴν πόλιν· ἣν δὲ ἐπώνυμ[όν μοι δίδετε]
νεωκορίαν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν αἰδῶ ἀνατίθηναι τῇ ἐνεργεστάτῃ θεῷ [Ἀρτέμιδι]
ὥς μὴ ἐξ ἐμοῦ νεῶ καρποῦσθαι τὴν τειμὴν· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς κατα[λογῆς]

2–3 K/M. 5 εἰσελαστ[κῶν K/M; προσῆκον (exempli gratia) γὰρ ἡγησά] Robert. 6 ἀνδρειοτ[άτῃ K/M; καὶ ἐναργεστά] Robert. 9 K/M. 10 ε[ὐεργεσιῶν] Robert, ἐ[πιδημίας] K/M. 11–12 K/M. 13 παιδ[ευτήριον] Robert, παιδ[αγωγείου] K/M. 14 K/M. 15 Ἀντων[ε]ῖνος τῇ [Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ K/M, τῇ [Ἀσίᾳ Robert. 16 Oliver. 17 τ[ε]ιμὴν καθήκει] Robert, πρέπει] Oliver. 18 συναπο[δεξαμένοις τοῖς Ῥώ] K/M, τοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥώ] Robert, συναπο[δοχῆς Oliver. 19 κ[αὶ συνῆνε] K/M, συνῆνε] aut συνεχώρη] Robert. 20 τὴν δὲ ἐπώνυμ[ον ἐμαντοῦ] K/M, ἣν δὲ ἐπώνυμ[όν μοι δίδετε (aut ἔδοτε)] Oliver. 21 Ἀρτέμιδι Oliver. 22 κατα[λογῆς τῆς θεοῦ?] K/M.

There is nothing stylistically wrong with the restoration *καθήκει* in line 17 but *πρέπει* is one full-sized letter shorter. The tau of what K/M read as a second *τὴν* in line 20 (without claiming a ligature) does not exist.

Translations

264

– – –] festivals [– – –] the temple of Artemis [– – –] patroness of human [– – –]. Yet truly the tax-free status [– – –] of the

Artemisia contests celebrated by a triumphal entry. [For it behooves, I thought], the most martial and courageous [and effective] of the gods to preside over contests [which – – –]. Farewell.

265 Julia Augusta to the Ephesians. I join in the prayer of all cities and all peoples to receive [benefactions] from my dear son, the emperor, especially in the case of your city on account of [its magnificence] and beauty and the rest of its endowment and because of the fact that it is a school for those who come from anywhere to its seat of learning.

266 Our lord Antoninus to [(the Commonalty of the Hellenes of) Asia]. I commend you for a draft of a decree by which [another neocory is accorded to the] most brilliant city of the Ephesians. Additional grants of this honor [should] always be made with circumspection. To you, therefore, who had asked for it and were initiators of a joint approval at Rome, I have granted the petition in behalf of the Ephesians and [joined in permitting] the city to be thrice temple-warding, but the neocory title, [which you offer to me], I reassign in my modesty to the most effective goddess [Artemis], so that the city may harvest the honor of a temple not from me but from the respect shown to her.

Commentary

The first epistle (No. 264) seems to emanate from an emperor and concerns privileges, notably the tax-free status of the festival of the Artemisia. In line 6 Robert recognized that the third adjective meant “la plus efficiente,” but his Greek restoration contained what I presume to be a slip of the pen, unfortunately perpetuated in *Année ép.* (1966) 430.

The second epistle (No. 265) emanates from Julia Domna, who accompanied her son to Nicomedia in 214/5. The Ephesians had apparently written to her to use her influence with Caracalla so that Ephesus might obtain a third neocory. Keil and Maresch draw attention to Cassius Dio 77.18 and Herodian 5.3.2. She helped her son with his correspondence, but as Robert comments, nothing is decided here. She replies in flattering terms which reflect the old theme of Athens as the school of Hellas. For παιδ[εντήριον] Robert cites Diodorus 13.27 and Strabo 4.181. Lifschitz explains the word ἐργαστήριον in line 14 splendidly as *officina sapientiae* (Cicero, *Laws* 1.36). Also Xenophon’s description of Ephesus as πολέμου ἐργαστήριον (*Hell.* 3.4.17 and *Ages.* 1.26: cf. Polyb. 10.20.7 and Athen. 10.421B) may be worth recalling.

The third (No. 266) epistle with its informal heading was addressed to the Commonalty of the Hellenes of Asia, as Robert recognized, because the Ephesians, treated as a third party, could not have been the recipients. My restorations of lines 15–17 are based on Robert's interpretation but differ slightly in wording. The real disagreement, however, lies in the interpretation of lines 18–19, where one logically expected a reference to the Roman Senate. His restoration ἐπὶ Ῥώ] | μης is right, but Keil and Maresch's συναπο[δεξαμένοις τοῖς is too long and the usage would be quite unparalleled.

On the formula at the beginning of line 16 see Robert 55 for parallels collected by A. Wilhelm and later by himself.

Those interested in the neocory as an institution will read Robert. Before Pergamum received the right to a third temple and thus to a third neocory, the Ephesians, who already had temples of two emperors, wished to acquire a third provincial temple of an emperor and thus a third neocory. Caracalla denies them a third temple (namely one for himself) but allows them to count that of Artemis and so to call themselves thrice *neokoroi*. J. Keil, "Die dritte Neokorie von Ephesos," *NumZ* 48 (1915) 125–130 (cited by Robert), published an inscription with the formula τρεῖς νεωκόρου πρώτης, δις μὲν τῶν Σεβαστῶν, ἅπαξ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. The two imperial temples were those of Vespasian (originally Domitian) and of Hadrian.

In lines 20–22 the epistle of Caracalla attests a recollection of the Augustan policy toward divine honors. Until the publication of this inscription the latest attestation of the policy was contained in the epistle of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to the Gerusia of the Athenians in A.D. 179, published *supra* as No. 196. On other occasions Caracalla did not show the same modesty by refusing temples to himself.

For the word κατα[λογή], here respect shown to Artemis, see L. Robert, *RevPhil* 41 (1967) 11, n. 2.

267. ORAL RESPONSE OF CARACALLA ON THE MONODESMIA, A.D. 215

Egypt. The plea or advice of (Egnatius) Lollianus and the response of Caracalla are both preserved on two papyri, *P. Berol.* inv. 7216 in the Egyptian Museum of East Berlin and a second

but defective copy from Karanis at Ann Arbor, Michigan (*P. Mich.* IX 529, 25–38). A photograph of the Berlin papyrus was published by G. Cavallo, *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) Pl. 8.

Anna Swiderek, “Une nouvelle copie de *P. Mich.* IX 529, 25–38,” *Proc. XIV Internat. Congr. Papyr.* 1974 (*Graeco-Roman Mem.* No. 61, London, 1975) 293–298; N. Lewis, “The Michigan-Berlin Apokrima,” *Cd'E* 51 (1976) 320–330; J. H. Oliver, “The Michigan-Berlin Apokrima,” *ZPE* 31 (1978) 339–340. N. Lewis², “Further Thoughts on the Michigan-Berlin Apokrima,” *Papyrologica Florentina* 7 (1980) 127–133 with new readings by J. David Thomas in lines 5 and 11 of B; J. H. Oliver, “The Monodesmia Response of Caracalla,” *ZPE* 42 (1981) 133–136. [See N. Lewis, *ArchP* 33(1987) 49–53. K.C.]

We present the text of the better preserved and more accurate copy in Berlin.

267

- 5 [– – ἀπόκριμα] τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Σεουήρου
[Ἀντωνεῖνου Ε]ὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
[Λολιανὸς εἶπε]ν· τέλη ποικίλα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ
[νομῷ ὧν μισθω]τῆς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ βαρύνει τοῦ[ς λεπ]
[τοὺς γεωργοῦ]ς τε καὶ τῆς ἀβρόχου χώρας ἱ[ήν]
[μονοδεσμία]ν ἀπαιτεῖ. δέονται νῦν τὰ μ[ο]
[νόφυλα? τε]λῶν διὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπομισ
[θοῦν, ταῦτα δ]ὲ τῇ γῇ ἐπιβάλλεσθαι, οἴμ[αι],
[ἐστὶν ἀνετώτ]ερον ἀνθρώπου ἐνὸς γ[ὰρ δ]
10 [γαν ἐξουσί]α τοσαύτη. Ἀντωνεῖνος
[Σεβαστὸς εἶπ]εν· ἐπιβληθήσεται τοίνυ[ν]
[τοῖς πλου]σικωτέροις. εἰ δ' οὖν, τοὺς λ[ε]πτοῦ[ς]
[καὶ τοὺς δ]υροίκους οὐ βαρῆσι ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὀλ[ο]
[κλήρου τῷ]ν βουλευτῶν συμφωνεῖα.

2 Swiderek. 3 Lewis. 4–5 We accept as does Lewis² the reading of J. David Thomas, ἵς τε καὶ line 5, but we need λεπτόνους also. Without λεπτοῦς the emperor's comment in 12 would be unmotivated. He obviously understood λεπτοῦς from Lollianus, and without λεπτοῦς the enclitic τε of line 5 does not make sense. 6 The essential word μονοδεσμίαν is preserved in M 29. Where M 29 has τὰ δ]ὲ λοιπά in the most corrupt sentence of the papyrus, Lewis retains this reading even for B 6 while Oliver substitutes

ταῦτα δ]ἐ. An ancient scribe corrected mistakes in the wording of the emperor's decision without bothering about Lollianus, whose text must have been equally at fault. 8 *θοῦν* Oliver, *θοῦσθαι* Swiderek and Lewis. 9 Oliver's restoration [*ἐστὶν ἀνετῶτ*]ερων would reflect M 32 [*ἀνε*]τότερόν ἐστιν. 9–10 γ[ἀρ ᾗ] | γαν ἐξουσί]α Oliver. 13–14 ὁλ[ο] | κλήρου Oliver, ὁμ[ο] | λόγου Lewis, cetera Swiderek.

Translation

Another(?) response of our lord Severus Antoninus Felix Pius Augustus:

Lollianus said: In the nome there is a variety of taxes of which he is the contractor, but he oppresses the poor farmers, and he demands the tax bundle (*monodesmia*) even from (those who work) the unirrigated land. Now (the people) ought, yes, to let out the single(?) taxes through the council, but in my opinion it is too vague to impose those taxes “on the land,” because (in the hands) of one man authority such (as the contractor claims) is too much.

Antoninus Augustus said: Well now, (the taxes of the tax bundle) will be imposed on the more wealthy (with good land). If so, the agreement of the councilors to collect from the totality will not weigh heavily on those with poor land and on those who have no irrigated land of their own.

Commentary

The papyrus contains a notable decision regulating the manner in which the *monodesmia* was to be collected. The decision received ‘*propositio*.’ It is no translation, but a Greek original.

The text has a heading and consists of a streamlined version of the argument of Lollianus on which Caracalla based and justified his decision to allow the *monodesmia* to be continued but to order the application merely to the good land of the wealthier landowners. His aim was to relieve two groups, namely poor farmers who worked inferior land of their own and landless men who tried to raise crops laboriously in the neighboring unirrigated land. The two groups are mentioned by Lollianus in lines 5–6 and by Caracalla in lines 12–13. The application of the right to collect the *monodesmia* was not left to the discretion of the contractor.

On Egnatius Lollianus (recognized by Lewis), see *PIR*² E 36 and W. Kunkel, *Festschrift H. Lewald* (Basel, 1953) 84.

The Berlin papyrus contains an extract from a contemporary report of a hearing by the sole emperor Caracalla when he visited Egypt in A.D. 215. The conclusion of the advocate's or adviser's speech is followed by the favorable decision of the emperor to exempt those who work marginal land from taxes which the owners of good land are expected to pay. The emperor indicates that he wishes to keep the tax burden on the more affluent where it belongs and to prevent it from being extended to the poor. For εἰ δ' οὖν standing alone in line 12 one may compare Dio of Prusa 45.8, A. Wilhelm, *Mélanges Boisacq* (1938) 2:357–360 and J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1976) No. 684 (end).

The contrast lies first between the good land (γῆ) reached by inundations and the waterless land (ἄβροχος χώρα) which was not inundated but was close enough to the inundations for marginal utilization by peasants without any or enough good land for a living. The admittedly advantageous συμφωνία of the councilors imposed a tax bundle (*monodesmia*) on the good land, but this unnamed tax farmer whose authority Lollianus challenged was seeking to collect the same tax bundle from the poor who, with extra toil, succeeded in growing something in the neighboring unirrigated land.

Much of the restoration is suggested by the less accurate and later version in *P. Mich.* IX 529 verso, where, as Lewis shows, some corrections were made in antiquity in the emperor's response. In printing also this for comparison we ignore those mistakes already eliminated in antiquity.

- 5 [ἐξ ἀπ]οκριμάτων θεῶν Σεουήρου κ[αὶ Ἀντωνίνου].
 [μεθ']έτερα τὸ ἀνήκον μέρος. Λολιαν[ὸς εἶπεν· τέλη]
 [ποικ]ίλα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ νομῷ ὧν μισ[θωτής ἐστιν],
 [ἀλλὰ] βαρύνει τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ τῆς [ἀβρόχου χώρας]
 [τῇν] μονοδεσμίαν ἀπαιτῖ. δεόν τοῖς[υν τὰ μὲν ὀλόκ]-
 [ληρ]α τῶν τελῶν διὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἃ[πομισθοῦσθαι],
 [τὰ δ]ὲ λοιπὰ τῇ γῇ ἐπιβάλλεσθαι οἷ[μαι ἐγὼ ὅτι δι]-
 [και]ότερόν ἐστιν. ἀνθρώπου ἐνό[ς μὴ ἔστω ἐξου]-
 [σί]α τοσαύτη. Ἀντωνίνος Σεβασ[τὸς εἶπεν· ἐπι]-
 10 [βλη]θήσεται τοῖνυν τοῖς πλουσιω[τέροις] τ[ῇ γῇ],
 [ἵνα μ]ὴ οἱ ἄγροικοὶ ἐν τούτῳ βαρηνθῶσι []
 [ἐκ] τῆς τῶν βουλευτῶν συμφων[είας vacat]

**268. CARACALLA TO THE CITIZENS OF APOLLONIA BY
SALBACE, DEC. 215**

Apollonia. Seen at the village of Medet (= ancient Apollonia) and copied by Wilhelm Kubitschek and Wolfgang Reichel. All editions are based on their facsimile.

W. Kubitschek, "Ein Kaiserbrief an die Apolloniaten am Salbakos," *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz* (Vienna, 1902) 434–435; A. von Domaszewski, *SB Heidelberg* (1918) 3 [and *Epitymbion H. Swoboda* (Reichelberg, 1927) 18]; [W. Reusch, *Klio Beiheft* 24 (1931) 41–42]; L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* 2 (Paris, 1954) 274–276, No. 149.

268

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Σεπτιμίου]
[Σεουήρου υἱὸς κτλ. καὶ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ]
1 [θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρ]θικῶ[υ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρ]
[ουα ἀπόγο]γος, Μάρκος Αὐ[ρήλιος]
[Ἀντωνεῖνος] Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστ[ὸς Παρ]
4 [θικὸς μέγισ]τος Βρετανικὸς[ς μέγισ]
[στος Γερμα]νικὸς μέγιστος, δ[ρχιε]
[ρεὺς μέγιστ]ος, δημαρχικῆς ἐ[ξουσί]
[ας τὸ ἰθ', αὐ]τοκράτωρ τὸ γ', ὕ[πατος]
8 [τὸ δ', πατὴρ πατρ]ίδος, ἀνθύπατο[ς Ἀπολ]
[λωνιατῶ?]ν τῶν ἀπὸ Σαλβάκ[ης τοῖς]
[ἄρχουσι κ]αὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ [δήμῳ]
[χαίρειν. Οὐ]χ Ἡρακλεῶται μόν[ον ἀλλὰ]
12 [καὶ πάντες] οἱ κεκτημένοι πα[ρ' ὑμεῖν]
[-----]μενας ἐκτελε[-----]
[-----]α τὰ διατεταγμ[ένα ----]
[----- τοῖς μὴ?]λποῦσι [τ]ὴν τάξι[ν-----]
16 [----- τ]εθροσμένου τοῦ [-----]
[-----] περ οὖν οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἡρ[ακλεώ]
[ταις προ]σῆκεν, εἰ φωραθεῖε[ν-----]
[-----]τες περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν [-----]
20 [..σκε]υασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν ε[-----]
[Ἐπρέ]σβευεν Αἴλιος Ἀτταλ[ος, ὃ τὸ ἐφ]
[όδιον] δοθήτω κατὰ λόγον τ[-----]
[εἰ μὴ π]ροῖκα ὑπέσχηται. Εὐτ[υχεῖτε].
24 [Πρὸ.] καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίων δ[π' Ἀντι]
[οχεία]ς. Ἐπέμφθη τὸ ψήφισμα τ[ῷ κυρί]
[ῳ ἡμῶ]ν αὐτοκράτορι ἐπὶ συν[αρχόν]
27 [των τῶν] περὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Ἐρμόλαον α' [ἄρχοντα].

1–11 Kubitschek. 12 καὶ πάντες Kubitschek; πα[ρ' αὐτοῖς? Roberts, πα[ρ' ὑμεῖν? Oliver, πα[ρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Domaszewski. 15 τοῖς μὴ? Roberts. 17–18 Kubitschek. 20–21 Kubitschek. 22 ὁδῖον Kubitschek, τ[ῶν ἡμερῶν] aut τ[οῦ χρόνου] Roberts. 23–26 Kubitschek. 27 τῶν τῶν et ἄ[ρχοντα τὸ .] Kubitschek, α' [ἀρχοντα] Roberts.

Translation

[Imperator Caesar – – – – –] Marcus Aurelius [Antoninus] Pius Augustus [Parthicus Maximus] Britannicus [Maximus] Germanicus Maximus, [pontifex maximus], tribunician [power for the nineteenth time], imperator for the third time, [four times consul, pater] patriae, proconsul, [to the archons], Council, and [Demos of Apollonia] by Salbace [greetings].

Not only the Heracleotes [but also all] the privileged foreigners with land in [your? country – – – – –] Aelius Attalus was the [ambassador]. Let the travel allowance be paid to him according to [the length of time required, unless] he has promised to go at his own expense. Farewell. [The – – day before the] Calends of January [from Antioch].

The decree was sent to [our lord] the emperor in the term of [first archon] M. Aurelius Hermolaus and his colleagues.

Commentary

The epistle seems to bring the *κεκτημένοι* (probably the same as *ἐγκεκτημένοι*) in the territory of Apollonia into a share of certain obligations from which they claimed or might have claimed exemption. It strengthens the local authorities in their dealings with influential persons who have property in the city's territory. One may compare No. 156 (*IGBulg* IV 2263). The term *κεκτημένοι*, as the Roberts noted, occurs also in No. 56.

In lines 12–20 Domaszewski's complete restorations, which were shown by the Roberts to be without foundation, need not be reproduced here.

Kubitschek argued that the epistle had to be dated in A.D. 214–216, but while 214 would have called for Nicomedia as place of dispatch, 216 Rome, he dated the epistle in 215, since the name

of Antioch, right for A.D. 215, fitted the lacuna of lines 24–25 best. Accordingly, the Roberts restored the appropriate numeral for the tribunician power in line 7.

**269. CARACALLA TO UNKNOWN CONCERNING
COUNCILORS, A.D. 215/6**

Egypt. From Oxyrhynchus, now in the British Museum (BM 2448), where it was seen in October 1972.

B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 12 (1916) 1406; P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* (Berlin, 1920) 248–249, No. 72; S. Riccobono, *FIRA*², 449–450, No. 89.

269

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μ[ᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος]
 Σεουήρος Ἀντωνῖνο[ς Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος]
 Βρεταν<ν>ικὸ[ς Μέγιστος Γερμανικὸς]
 Μέγιστος Ε[ὗς]εβ[ῆς Σεβαστὸς]
 5 λέγει·
 Ἐὰν βουλευτὴς τὸν [πρύτανιν ἢ βουλευ]
 τὴν τύψῃ ἢ μέμψ[ητα]ι [.],
 ὁ μὲν βουλ[ε]υτὴς τῆς βουλείας ἀ[παλλά]
 ξεται καὶ εἰς ἀτιμον χώραν [καταστή?]
 10 σεται. Προετέθη ἐν Β[αβυλῶνι?]
 ὑπὸ σ[τ]οῦ δημοσίᾳ ἐν[άρχου ἀρ]
 χοντος Αὐρηλ[ίου] Ἀλεξάνδρου
 ἀπὸ Ἡλίου [π]όλεως.

Translation

Proclamation of Imperator Caesar M. [Aurelius] Severus Antoninus [Parthicus Maximus] Britannicus [Maximus Germanicus] Maximus Pius [Augustus].

If a councilor strike or verbally abuse [the prytanis or another] councilor, he shall be stripped of his councilor rank and be demoted to a position without honor and privileges. Published in a public stoa at B[abylon?] by Aurelius Alexander, [son of – – –], archon in office, from Heliopolis.

Commentary

For the lacuna in line 7 Grenfell and Hunt suggested αἰσχρολόγως, P. M. Meyer ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς.

270. EDICT OF CARACALLA

Egypt. Now No. 122826 in the Library of the University of Bologna, in the Sala Manoscritti, where it was examined in March 1974.

O. Montevocchi, *Papiri Bononienses* 1 (1953) No. 15.

270

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβῆς Ἀραβικὸς
Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος Βριταννικὸς]
[Μέγιστος Γερμανικὸς Σεβαστὸς λέγει: – –]ς Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σε[ευήρου
Εὐσεβοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός μου – – – – –]
3 [– – – – – ἐνεργεσίαις γενομένου παρ' ὑ]μ[ῖ]ν τειμῆς ἄξιου σ[υ]ν[ε]λ[ο]γε[σθαι] – – – – –
[– – – – –] ἐλκό[να]ς ἀνακτῶ ὅτ[ι] – – – – –
[– – – – –] ὅταν ὄντων προσ[υ]ν[ε]λ[ο]γε[σθαι] – – – – –
6 [– – – – –] οὗτο δὴ πάντων ξ[υ]ν[ε]λ[ο]γε[σθαι] – – – – –
[– – – – –] ἀξιούντες ἀνέγνω[σαν] – – – – –
[– – – – –] λ]αμβάνοντος δια[κονήσαντος] – – – – –
[– – – – –] κομ[η]ν. οἷον οὐδ[ὲ]ν – – – – –
10 [– – – – –] πυρὶ κα[τα]τέκα[υσαν] – – – – –
[– – – – –] των θεῶ[ν]]μ[η]ν – – – – –
[– – – – –] τοῦ σα[τάν] – – – – –
[– – – – –] αὐτὸν κα[τα]τέκα[υσαν] – – – – –
[– – – – –] ν καθὼς εἶ[ρη]ν – – – – –
[– – – – –] ερος ἐτρησθ[ῆναι] – – – – –
[– – – – –] ο καὶ δια[κονήσαντος] – – – – –
[– – – – –] κα. ισ[τορίας] – – – – –

The heading with the name of Caracalla was completely restored by O. Montevecchi as that of an edict. She records also between line 1 and 2 an interlinear addition] $\alpha\omega$ μηνι(?) κη vacat[. The $\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{o}[\nu\epsilon]$ s of line 4 (where she thinks a restoration $\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{o}\tau\omega\varsigma$ can be excluded) she connects with statues damaged in riots at Alexandria (*ÉtPap* 7 [1949] 22). However, she is uncertain whether this document is indeed an edict rather than the record of a trial or inquiry.

Commentary

The main difference between our version and hers lies in the interpretation of the sigma which is the first visible letter in line 2. She thinks it could be the final letter of *Καίσαρο*]ς so that the name of Septimius Severus would belong to the patronymic of the emperor's nomenclature. Since after the death of Severus the patronymic section of Caracalla's nomenclature, when included at all, regularly reads *θεοῦ Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου, κτλ.*, we reject this possibility and assume that what remains of line 2 belongs to the body of the edict. We prefer to interpret the sigma as the end of a word like *ὥς, εἰκός, ναός, ὑμεῖς* or an adverb. In line 3, furthermore, the phrase *παρ' ὑ]μ[ι]ν* or *ὑφ' ὑ]μ[ω]ν* suggests some connection with Severus.

271. CARACALLA TO THE [PERGAMENES]

Pergamum, from the German excavations. Fragments C, D, E, F, G, J, and K were seen on 15 September 1972 in East Berlin in the Pergamon Museum; it was said that Fragments A and B were there too but had not yet been unpacked.

C: H. 0.26 m., W. 0.08 m., Th. 0.11 m. LH 0.02 m.

D: H. 0.16 m., W. 0.06 m., Th. 0.115 m. LH 0.02 m.

E: H. 0.14 m., W. 0.11 m., Th. 0.115 m. LH 0.02 m. The back is preserved.

F: H. 0.13 m., W. 0.10 m., Th. 0.10 m. LH 0.02 m.

G: H. 0.20 m., W. 0.12 m., Th. 0.09 m. LH 0.02 m. The left edge is preserved.

J: H. 0.21 m., W. 0.10 m., Th. 0.115 m. LH 0.015 m. The bottom is preserved.

K: H. 0.22 m., W. 0.10 m., Th. 0.10 m. LH 0.015 and 0.02 m.

M. Fränkel, *IPerg.* 2 (Berlin, 1895) 217 f., No. 283; mentioned by Lafoscade as No. 77 but not reprinted. [Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 365.]

271

'Αγαθ[ῆ vacat Τύχη vacat]
 [Αὐτ]οκράτωρ Κ[αῖσαρ, θεῖου Σεπτιμίου]
 [Σε]ουήρου Εὐσ[εβοῦ]ς 'Αραβι[κοῦ 'Αδία]
 [βην]ικοῦ Πα[ρθικο]ῦ Μεγίστ[ου Βριτ]

- 5 [ταν]νικοῦ Μ[εγίστου] υἱός, θεί[ου Μάρ]
 [κου Ἀ]ντω[νίνου Εὐσεβ]οῦς Γε[ρμανι]
 [κοῦ Σ]αρμ[ατικοῦ υἱών]ός, θεί[ου Ἀν]
 [τωνίν]ου [Εὐσεβοῦς ἔκγ]ονος, [θείου]
 [Ἀδρια]νο[ῦ καὶ θείο]υ Τραιανο[ῦ Παρ]
 10 [θικοῦ καὶ θείου Νέρο]υα ἀπόγο[νος, Μ.]
 [Ἀρ. Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβή]ς Σεβ[αστός] Πα[ρθη]
 [κός -----]
 Lacuna of uncertain extent
 πεπ[-----]
 vacat [vacat]νν[vacat]
 15 vacat [διὰ πρ]εσβ[ευτῶν vacat]
 Προκλ[-----] Ἀτάλο[υ -----]
 Δο[-] vacat [vacat]
 [vacat] vacat [vacat]
 [] πρὸ τ̄ Κ(αλανδῶν) [---]

Commentary

The restorations are by Fränkel, but they have been somewhat differently distributed between lines.

The rendering of *divi* by θείου (or θειοῦ) is quite unusual.

Fränkel dated the inscription before A.D. 215 because some of the fragments came from the Traianeum, and this indicated, he thought, that Caracalla had not yet obtained a temple of his own.

272. CARACALLA TO A COMMONALTY OF UPPER MACEDONIA, A.D. 212–217

Anonymous ancient city of the Strymon Valley, on site formerly called Sveti Vrač, now Sandanski. Fragment from the right side of a marble plaque, not in the local museum, where I looked for it in vain on 5 April 1974.

V. Velkov, *BIAB* 24 (1961) 255–260 with photographs; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1962) 183; G. Mihailov, *IGBulg* IV (1966) 2264, with excellent photograph.

272

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρ Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖ]γο<ς>
 [Σεβαστός, θεοῦ Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου] Περτίνακος

5 [Εὐσεβοῦς υἱός, θεοῦ Μάρ Αῤρηλίου Ἀ]ντωνεῖνου
 [Γερμανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ υἱωνός], θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖ
 [νου ἔκγονος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ
 [Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγο]νος, τῷ κοινῷ τῶν
 [----- χαίρειν] ^{vv} Τὴν μὲν προθυ
 [μίαν -----]ν ἀπεδείξασθαι δαψιλῇ
 10 [-----]ων ἀγορὰν αὐτοῦς
 [-----]ν[...].σιν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 [-----]ξενῆ
 [-----]

1 Μάρ Oliver, Μ(άρκος) et cetera Velkov. 2. Σεβαστὸς Mihailov;
 θεοῦ Oliver, Λ(ουκίου) Velkov; cetera Velkov. 3 Σεβαστοῦ Mi-
 hailov; Μάρ Αῤρηλίου Oliver, υἱός et Μ(άρκου) Velkov. 4
 Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ υἱωνός Velkov, Γερμανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ
 Oliver. 5–6 Velkov. 7 [Μακεδόνων χαίρειν] Velkov. 8 [μίαν
 ὑμετέραν ἤ]ν ἀπεδείξασθαι (lege ἀπεδείξασθε) Mihailov.

Commentary

The text was recognized and restored by Velkov, and then by
 Mihailov, as an epistle of Caracalla. The death of Geta in A.D.
 212 constitutes the *terminus post quem*. The final sigma of line 1
 does not appear in the photograph. Velkov and Mihailov assume
 that it stood in the next line; rather it was engraved inside the
 omicron or omitted altogether by haplography.

Velkov thought the commonalty was that of the Macedonians,
 but Mihailov seems right in preferring an unknown regional
koinon and in interpreting ἀγορὰν in line 9 as *mercatus*. See Fanoula
 Papazoglou, "Sur les koina régionaux de la Haute Macédoine,"
Ziva Antika 9 (1959) 163–171.

On the word δαψιλῆς in line 8 see A. Wilhelm, *Glotta* 25 (1936)
 270–273 (cited by the Roberts and Mihailov).

273. MACRINUS AND DIADUMENIANUS TO THE [MILESIA NS?], A.D. 217

Miletus. Found 1903 in Justinian's Wall west of the south
 market. Inv. No. 621.

A. Rehm, *Milet* 1.7 (Berlin, 1924), 344–347, No. 274, with
 photograph of lines 21–31.

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος
 Ὁ[πέλλιος Σ]εουήρος Μᾶκριν[ος]
 [Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτ]υχῆς Σεβαστό[ς],
 [ἀρχιερεὺς μέγ]ιστος, δημαρχ[ι]
 5 [κῆς ἐξουσίας, ὕπατ]ος δ[π]οδ[εδειγ]
 [μένος, πατήρ πατρίδ]ος, [δ]νθ[ύπατος]

mere traces of lines 7-22

- 23 [— — —] δὲ κ(αὶ) προθυμίαν [φανε]
 [ρωμ]ένην τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς [ἀποδεχόμε]
 25 [θα· ὅ]θεν τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διδυμαί[ο]υ [Ἀπόλλω]
 [νος ἀγα]λμα προσεκυνήσαμε[ν — — — — —]
 [.....]ς δὲ ἰδόντες σὺν αὐτῷ [.....]
 [..... θ]εὸν ὑμεῖν ἀπεστ[είλαμεν]
 [.....]ΕΡΟΙΣ ἀνατιθέντες πρ[ὸ τοῦ τοῦ]
 30 [θεοῦ ἀγα]λματος τὸν παρὰ τῆς [πόλεως ὕ]
 [στεφάνο]ν ἐν τοῖς στεφάνοις [— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]

The text of lines 1–6 is that of Rehm, but lines 23–31 have been much altered. 23–25 τὴν πᾶσαν] δὲ κ(αὶ) προθυμίαν [προαι | ρουμέν]ην τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς [ἀποδείξασ | θαι Rehm. 26–27 τοὺς πεμ | φθέντα]ς δὲ ἰδόντες σὺν αὐτῷ [στεφάνους] Rehm. 28–30 ἀπεστ[είλαμεν ἐν στε | φάνοις ἐτ]έροις ἀνατιθέντες πρ[ὸς τῷ θε | ῷ τοῦ ἀγά]λματος Rehm. 31 Oliver.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Marcus O[pellius S]everus Macrinus [Pius] Felix Augustus, [pontifex] maximus, tribunician [power], consul designate, [proconsul, — — — — —]

— — — — —] but [we] do [accept with approval] the zeal [being manifested] toward us. Therefore we made obeisance to the statue of the Didymaeon [Apollo. — — —] and seeing [— — —] with it we dispatched to you [the Capitoline?] god. [— — — — —] setting (it) up in front of [the] statue [of the god we shall place?] the [crown] from [your city] among the crowns [— — —]

Commentary

Macrinus and his son have been greeted ceremonially by officials carrying a cult statue of the Didymaeon Apollo (compare

the reception of Herodes Atticus in *IG II² 3606*), for the Milesians, if it is to them that the letter is addressed, seem to have presented the gold crown owed to the emperor on his accession in a ceremony involving the statue. The emperors express appreciation for the zeal of the Milesians. The cult statue of line 26 and that of line 30 need not be identical. The god mentioned in line 28 might conceivably have been the Capitoline Jupiter, but even the reading $\theta]$ εόν is uncertain and Rehm, who left a lacuna, thought of restoring $\kappa\omicron\lambda]$ εόν. Restoration of lines 26–31 is conjectural, but for the new restorations in line 24 the reader may compare passages cited in the index, s. vv. *φανερὸς* and *ἀποδέχομαι*.

274. ELAGABALUS AND SEVERUS ALEXANDER TO THE DELPHIANS, A.D. 221

Delphi. Four fragments of an orthostate block (from the Temple), of which the two lower (Nos. 346 and 545), supposed to be in a storeroom of the Museum at Delphi, could not be found in 1971 or 1973. Two other fragments (Nos. 761 and 1048) could not be located even in the sixties or whenever the catalogue was first compiled.

A. Plassart, *FD 3.4* (1970) 140–142, No. 332 with photographs of the two lower fragments only.

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*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος [Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος]
 Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβ[στός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος],
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας [τὸ Δ, ὕπατος τὸ Γ, πατὴρ πατρίδος],
 ἀνθύπατος, καὶ Μάρκο[ς Αὐρήλιος Σεβήρος Ἀλέξανδρος]
 5 ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσαρ Ὡ Δελφῶ[ν Ὡ ἀρχουσι Ὡ καὶ τῇ Ὡ]
 πόλει vacat χαί[νvvv]ρειν [vacat]
 Ὡ[ῆς νῦ]ν ἡμετέρ[ας] εἰς τὴν βασιλεί[αν εὐτυχοῦς κοινῶ]
 [νίας] ἦν ἑορ[τὴν ποιεῖ]σθε πεπιστ[-----]
 καὶ φυλα[-----]
 10 παρόντος γὰρ ἡκολου[θ-----]
 προκαθηγεμόνι θ[εῶ -----]
 τὴν σπου[δ]ήν Ὡ Ἐπρέ[σβευε -----]
 Εὐτυχε[ῖτ]ε Ὡ Πρ[ὸ] Ὡ [-----]*

Though the text is based on that of Plassart, some restorations have been dropped, the element *Σεβήρος* has been added in line 4 and *καὶ τῇ* has been substituted for *βουλῇ* in line 5. In

lines 7–8 Τ[ῆς νῦ]ν ἡμετέρ[ας] εἰς τὴν βασιλεῖ[αν εὐτυχοῦς ἐλευ|σεως τ]ὴν ἑορ[τὴν βούλε]σθε πεπιστ[ευμένως ἄγειν] Plassart. 9 φυλά[ξετε ἥν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχ]ομ[εν εὖνοϊαν. Ἔως τοῦ] Plassart. 10 ἡκολου[θήσατε εὐσεβῶς τῷ ὑμετέρῳ] Plassart. 11 θ[εῶ Πυθίῳ ὃς ὑμῶν ἄει ἡμεΐψατο] Plassart.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Marcus [Aurelius Antoninus] Pius Felix Augustus, [pontifex maximus], tribunician power [for the fourth time, consul for the third time, pater patriae], proconsul, and Marcus [Aurelius Severus Alexander], most distinguished Caesar, to the [archons and the] Polis of the Delphians, greetings. Whatever festival you [establish] for yourselves in commemoration of our [present happy partnership] in respect to the imperial office [— — — — —] god who leads [— — — — —] your zeal. [— — — — —] was ambassador. Farewell.

Eighth day before the [— — — — —]

Commentary

The authors, as Plassart restored the heading, are Elagabalus and his *nobilissimus Caesar*, Severus Alexander. For ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσαρ without the article, see No. 286 *infra*. Caracalla's paternity of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander was of course a political fiction. The heading is notable for two reasons. First, there is no reference to the emperor as the *sacerdos amplissimus Dei Invicti Solis Elagabali* as there is in ILS 475 and in *Die röm. Inschriften von Tarraco*, No. 84, in both of which the outlandish title actually precedes that of *pontifex maximus*. Second, the title *nobilissimus Caesar*, equivalent to "Caesar born of an emperor" (cf. H. U. Instinsky, "Zur Entstehung des Titels *nobilissimus Caesar*," *Festschrift für Rudolf Egger* 1 [Klagenfurt, 1952] 98–103). The first to have this title was Geta, the second Severus Alexander, the third Valerian Caesar, the fourth Saloninus Caesar. For the two last see Nos. 286 and 287.

In lines 7–8 the reference is not to the accession (εἰς τὴν βασιλεῖ[αν εὐτυχοῦς ἐλευ|σεως Plassart) because Elagabalus has been emperor for some time. Rather it is a reference to the adoption of Severus Alexander as a κοινωνὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς in respect to the imperial power.

The phrase in line 11, *προκαθηγεμόνι θεῷ*, for which Plassart cites L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937) 27, refers to the Apollo of Delphi and, because of the suppression of the priesthood of the god Elagabalus in the emperor's titulature, achieves unusual significance.

**275. EDICT OF SEVERUS ALEXANDER ON THE AURUM
CORONARIUM, A.D. 222**

Egypt. A papyrus from the Fayum, now E2776 in Philadelphia in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, where it was examined with help from R. E. A. Palmer in 1972 and 1973. (Plate 17.)

B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Fayum Towns and their Papyri* (London, 1900) 116–120, No. 20 with photograph of col. II; O. Gradenwitz in Bruns⁷, 268–270, No. 96 as of Julian; J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Iuliani epistulae, leges, etc.* (Paris, 1922) 83–87, No. 72; A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (Loeb Classical Library, 1934) No. 216; W. Schubart, “Zum Edikt über das Aurum Coronarium (*P. Fayum* 20),” *ArchP* 14 (1941) 45–59; J. H. Oliver, “On the Edict of Severus Alexander (*P. Fayum* 20),” *AJP* 99 (1978) 474–85.

H. Dessau, “Sur un nouvel édit de l'empereur Julien,” *RevPhil* 25 (1901) 285–288; U. von Wilamowitz, *GGA* (1901) 36, n. 3; F. Buecheler, *RhMus* 56 (1901) 327 on lines 4 and 20; C. Barbagallo, *Aegyptus* 1 (1920) 348–350; U. Wilcken, “Zu den Edikten,” *ZSav* 42 (1921) 150–158; W. Ensslin, *Klio* 18 (1922/3) 128–132; M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, 611, n. 56, (= 2nd ed. [1957] 729 f., n. 59); C. Préaux, “Sur le déclin de l'empire au III^e siècle de notre ère: A propos du Fayum 20,” *Cd'E* 31 (1941) 123–131; W. Seston, “Notes critiques sur l'Histoire Auguste,” *REA* 44 (1942) 224–233 and 45 (1943) 40–52 after he had seen Schubart's article; *ARS*, 229, No. 284; J. Moreaux, “Krise und Verfall: Das dritte Jahrhundert nach Christ als historisches Problem,” *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 5 (1961) 128–142; A. K. Bowman, “The Crown Tax in Roman Egypt,” *BASP* 4 (1967) 59–74 (very important); F. Grosso, *RendLinc* 23 (1968) 219; A. Plassart, *FD* 3.4 (1970) 142, n. 2 (on lines 1–2 of col. II); G. Alföldi, “The Crisis of the Third Century as Seen by Contemporaries,” *GRBS* 15 (1974) 89–111.

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Col. I

- [*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς ἔκγονος, θεοῦ*
 [*Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Μεγίστου υἱός, Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρο*]_ς
 [*Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχ[ή]ς Σεβαστός, [ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δ]ῆμαρ*
 [*χικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὕ]πατος, [πα]τήρ πατρίδο[ς* λέ]γει ννν
 5 [-----]ν[-----] βασιλε[ῦ]σι
 [-----]αιε χ[-----]αρχι[.]
 [-----]ν[-----]απ[.]
 [-----]επ[-----]ανκα
 [-----]πολεσαν
 10 [-----]σεσιτασιν
 [ἐ]πίτροπον
 []ον ἐπι
 []γιοιατε
 []γμένα
 15 [-----]λιππαν
 [Τῇ π]άση οἴκου
 [] του χρ[.]
 []ον ἀπὸ τῆς
 []ου ἀπὸ τῶν
 20 [-----]παισμάτα
 [] προτέρας καὶ
 [] κεκακωμένα
 [] μεγαται ἐστιν
 [ἐ]πιφ[.]ρας πόλις
 25 [-----]φειλοτείμεισα
 [] τοσοῦτω καὶ
 [] θῆναι αὐτῶν
 [] vacat

Col. II

- ἔπ[ω]ς μὴ διὰ τὸ τῆς χαρᾶς τῆ[ς] ἐαυτῶν δῆλωσ<ιν> ποιήσασθαι ἐθ[έ]λιν,
 ἣν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ παρελθόντι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἔ[χο]υσιν, βιασθεῖεν μείζω ἢ δύνανται. ὅθεν μοι παρέστη τὸ βούλευμα τοῦτο
 οὐδὲ ἀποδέοντι παραδιγμάτων,
 ἐν οἷς Τραιανόν τε καὶ Μᾶρκον, τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ προγόνους αὐτοκράτορά<ς τ>ε
 μάλλιστα δὴ θαυμάσαι ἀξίους
 γεγεννημένους, < >ομειῖσθα<αι> ἔμελλον, ὧν καὶ πρὸς τ<ὰ> ἄλλα <τ>ῇν
 προαίρησιν <ζ>η<λ>οῦν ἐγὼ γνώμην ποιούμαι,
 5 ὥς εἴ γε μὴ τὸ τῆς π[α]ρὰ τῶν καιρῶν δημοσί<α>ς ἀπορείας ἐνποδῶν ἢ
 πολὺ ἂν φανερωτέραν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ

- μεγαλουψυχίαν επιδικ[ν]ύμενος οὐδ' ἂν ἐμέλλησα, καὶ εἴ τι ἐκ τοῦ παρελ
θόντ<ο>ς χρόνου ἐκ τῆς τοιουτοτρό
που{ς} συντελείας κατιὸν ὠφίλετο καὶ ὁπώσα πρὸς τὴν Καίσαρος προσηγορείαν
ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν στεφάνων ὄνομα
ἐψηφισμέ<ν>α πρότερον καὶ ἔτι <ποτ>ἐ ψηφισθόμενα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν
αἰτίαν ὑπὸ τῶν πόλεων εἴη, καὶ ταῦτα
ἀνεῖναι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ οἶομαι, δι' ἃ μεικρόν ἐνπροσθεν εἶπον, ταῦτα δὲ
μόνα ἐπαγαφῆρην ἰσὺς πόλεις,
10 ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὥρῳ, δυναμένα<ς> οὐ παρεῖδον. Διόπερ ἴστωσαν
ἅπαντ<ε>ς ἐν {μ} ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπάσαις
ταῖς τε κατ' Εἰταλείαν κα[ι] ταῖς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῆς
ἐμαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοκράτορος,
ἐφ' ἣν καὶ βουλομένων καὶ εὐχομένων ἀπάντων παρήλθον, ἀντ' ἐτ<έρ>ων
χρυσῶν στεφάνων χρή με τὰ ἀπα[ι]τῇ
θέντα ἀνεῖναι αὐταῖς, ἱερῶν δὲ ὅψι διὰ περιουσίαν πλούτου ποιοῦντα ἀλλὰ δι<ὰ>
τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν· δε[ί]ν
ἐμ[έ, ἡ ὧ]ρα καὶ <π>ῶ[ι]μαι, καίπερ κεκμηκ<ότ>α, τὸ κλῖνον ἀναλήψω
σθαι, οὐχ<ὶ> φ<όρων> ζητήσῃσιν ἀλλὰ σωφρο[σύνη]
15 μόνον, οὐ πρὸς τὸ [Ἰ]δίον γεινομένων ἀναλωμάτων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτό μοι
σπουδῶ<ν> οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ἔσ<τ>αι [ἐ]ν ἐξαιτή[σει] τῶν]
χρημάτων πλὴν μᾶλλον φιланθρωπία τε καὶ εὐεργεσίαις συναυξῆσαι τὴν ἀρχήν,
ἵνα μου <ἡ ἀγωγή>
καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν <τῶν ἐθνῶν τοῖς> ται κα<τ'> ἐπιτροπία<ς> παρ' ἐμοῦ
ἀπεσταλμένοις, οὓς ἐγὼ εἰς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον δοκιμ<ά>σας
καὶ προελόμενος [ἀ]πέσστιλα, κάκεῖνοις συμβουλευσάσα εἴη ὥ<ς> <μετριοτά
τους παρέχειν αὐτοῦς· μᾶλλον
γὰρ <δ>ἡ καὶ μᾶλλον [ο]ί τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμόνες <οἱ ἐξία>σι καταμάθοιεν ἂν
μεθ' ὅσης αὐτοῦς προθυμίας φεῖδεσθαι καὶ
20 [π]ρο[σ]ορᾶσθαι τῶν ἐθν<ῶν> οἷς ἐπεστήκασιν προσ<ή>κει, <δ> πότε
κ<αἱ> ἐξέσ<τ>αι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ὁρᾶν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς
μετὰ τῆς κοσμιότητος καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἐνκρατίας τὰ τῆς βασιλείας
διοικοῦντα. Τούτου τοῦ ἐμα[υτοῦ]
δόγματος ἀντήγραφα τοῖς κατ' ἐκάστην π<ό>λιν ἀρχουσιν γενέσθω ἐπιμελῆς
εἰς τὸ δημόσι<ο>ν <ἐκθεῖναι ὅπου> μάλιστα ἔστα[ι]
σύνοπτα τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσ<ιν> vacat
vacat (ἔτους) α, Παῦνι λ vacat

Col. I: 1 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Wilcken, cetera Oliver. 2 Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρο[ς] Wilcken, cetera Oliver. 3 Εὐσε[β]ῆς Εὐτυχ[ῆ]ς Σεβαστός G/H; cetera Wilcken. 4 χικῆς ἐξουσίας Wilcken; ὕπατος S. de Ricci (RA 38 [1901] 38), ἀνθύπατος B/C; [πα]τήρ πατριδο[ς] G/H; λέγει Wilcken. 5 βασιλε[ῦ]σι Oliver. 16–17 τῇ π[α]σῇ οἰκου[μένῃ] Oliver.

Col. II: The text is based on that of Grenfell and Hunt



Plate 17. No. 275, Col. I.

but with changes as indicated. 1 ἐθ[έ]λιν Oliver (ἐπ[ε]τινήν H/E, εσ[.]τιν ἦν Schubart, ἐο[ρ]τήν ἦν Plassart). 2 ἔχουσιν Schubart, ἄγουσιν Plassart. 3 αὐτοκράτοραδε pap., τ)ε Oliver. 4 τηνον (= τήν νῦν G/H, ζηλοῦν Buecheler), τηνν Schubart. 5 καιρούς Wilcken; δημοσιους pap. 6 εἴ τι Wilamowitz (ἔτι G/H); παρελθοντες pap. 7 τὸ . . . ὄνομα Schubart. 8 <ποτ>ὲ Oliver: see commentary. 9 ἐπαναφέρειν Wilamowitz. 10 δυναμενα pap.; απανταις pap. 12 αντετων pap., αντ' ἐτ(έρ)ων Oliver; χρή με τὰ ἀπα[ι]τη Schubart. 13 τρυττο Schubart; δι pap.; δε[.] Schubart δε[ι] or δι Turner in private letter. 14 ἐμ[έ, ἡ ὦ]ρα Oliver; πικαισαρ . . μι (= ἐπεὶ Καῖσάρ εἰμι) G/H, γαρ[.]μει Schubart; καὶ περ(ι)κέκμηκα G/H, καίπερ κέκμηκα Schubart, κέκμηκ(ότ)α Oliver; οὐχ ὄρων G/H, οὐ <φ>όρων Wilamowitz, οὐ χορῶν Wilcken, οὐχ(ι φ)όρων H/E. 15 σπουδεοται (= σπουδαιότε[ρο]ν) G/H,

σπουδῇ [ἐ]σται Schubart, σπουδῆο(ν οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ἔσ)ται Oliver;
 [ἐ]πί ἐξαπατή[σει Schubart. 16 συναυξῆσαι Schubart; μου [ῆ
 τύχη] Schubart, (ῆ ἀγωγή) Oliver. 17 ταικκεπιτροπιαί (= τοῖς
 κατ' ἐπιτροπίας G/H, τ(ε) κα(ι) ἐπ' (ἐπ)ιτροπία(ς) Schubart,
 (τῶν ἐθνῶν τοῖς) τ(ε) κα(τ') ἐπιτροπία(ς) Oliver). 18 συνβουλευ-
 σασα Schubart. 19 τη pap.; ἡγεμόνες {σι} G/H, {οἱ ἐξία}σι Oliver.
 20 εθνουσι pap.; προσεκειαποτακται (= προσήκει εἰ ἀποτέ-
 τακται) G/H, (ὁ)πότε κ{τ}αῖ Buecheler; κ{αῖ ἐξέσ)ται Oliver;
 πᾶσειν (= πᾶσιν G/H, πα(ρ)εῖ(η) Buecheler). 21 ἐμα[υτοῦ]
 Schubart. 22 παλιν pap.; δημοσιαν pap.; ἐκθεῖναι ὅπου added
 by Schubart; ἔστα[ι] Schubart.

Translation

[Imperator Caesar M. Aurelius Severus Alexander] Pius Felix Augustus, [son of deified Magnus Antoninus Pius, grandson of deified Septimius Severus Pius, pontifex maximus], tribunician [power], consul, pater patriae, [proclaims:

-----]
 in order that through their desire to express the joy they have in my accession to the office they not be forced into contributions greater than they can afford. Hence this plan has been designed, and I did not lack models, among whom I would be imitating both Trajan and Marcus who were ancestors of mine and had been emperors particularly worthy of admiration, whose fixed policy also in other respects I plan to imitate. If the inopportune public lack of means did not interfere, I should be making a much clearer show of my magnanimity and should not have hesitated to cancel whatever contribution of this type was still coming in, owed from the past, and to cancel also whatever expenditures for crowns had previously been voted in connection with the appointment as Caesar or were yet about to be voted by the cities for the same reason. But because of what I mentioned just now I do not think that all this is possible. On the other hand, it has not escaped me that the aforesaid are all that the cities can afford, as I see from present circumstances. Therefore, let all men in all the cities both throughout Italy and in the other regions be my witnesses: for other gold crowns, even though occasioned by my accession as emperor, an office to which I arrived with the wish and prayer of all, I must cancel the claims made upon (the cities), doing this not because of an excess of

wealth but because of my fixed resolve. It is necessary that I, at this time that I have come to office, though weak, repair the declining state of things, not by searches for revenue but by economy alone, without expenditure being made toward my private satisfaction. For neither this ⟨will be⟩ of concern to me ⟨nor anything else⟩ in asking for money than better to advance the empire with universal kindness and benefactions, in order that my own ⟨conduct⟩ may be of a sort to predispose the governors ⟨of the provinces⟩ and ⟨those⟩ sent out by me as procurators, whom I sent out after a most meticulous investigation and selection, to behave with the greatest moderation. For more and more ⟨those who will go out as⟩ the governors of provinces should learn with how much zeal it behooves them to spare and watch out for the provincials over whom they have been appointed, ⟨when it will be possible⟩ for them all to see the emperor administering the duties of the kingship with so much orderliness and moderation and restraint.

Copies of this decision of mine let the magistrates in each city take care ⟨to expose⟩ publicly ⟨where⟩ they will be most easily visible to the readers.

Year 1, Payni 30 (= 24 June).

Commentary

The descent of this version from the text of the original edict must have been complicated indeed. There are errors like the confusion of alpha and omicron which arose in a careless copying of cursive letters, and other errors which are best explained as poor copying of monumental letters. Still other errors are those of hearing. Haplography, dittography, and short omissions occur, as does confusion between delta and tau, omicron and omega, epsilon and eta, epsilon and the diphthong *αι*, and of course between iota and the diphthong *ει*. Grenfell and Hunt dated the handwriting to the period 270–350; Wilcken thought that 362 or even 350 was too late for this hand, but Schubart, who was neutral, apparently did not.

The edict proclaims that money due as *aurum coronarium* in the past both for the preceding emperor and for the new emperor's adoption as Caesar will still be claimed but that no new levy for his succession as emperor will be demanded. The emperor, originally recognized as Severus Alexander by Grenfell and Hunt,

was identified as Julian by Dessau largely on the basis of line 14. Though Wilcken proved from his restoration of the prescript in column I that the edict was attributed to Severus Alexander, Seston, who accepted Wilcken's version of the prescript, thought that lines 14 and 17 could be understood only with the conditions of Julian's period in mind. Schubart's new version of line 14 undercut his argument but did not convince Seston. Still the theory of a forgery of Julianic date rests on dubious texts of Schubart's predecessors and in my opinion can no longer be maintained because the arguments based on lines 14 and 17 collapse in my version. The attribution to Severus Alexander, who became Caesar in June or July 221 and sole emperor on 13 March 222, seems no longer in doubt, and the appreciation given by Claire Préaux has not lost its value.

Of the three groups, namely the Senate, the army, and the cities, to which a new emperor needed to address himself, this edict, in which the emperor actually apologizes, as Claire Préaux says, addresses itself to the cities and admits the decline of the empire. The two women (his mother and grandmother) and their advisers (e.g., Ulpian), the influence and brains behind the boy Severus Alexander, were painfully aware of fiscal oppression, the lack of moral support among *curiales*, and the general weakness of their own position. Behind the edict, as Alföldi observes, lay the concept that the decline was largely due to the depravity of rulers and that *renovatio* was possible. Moreaux saw in the edict "nur ein rhetorisches Meisterwerk," but the cancellation of the *aurum coronarium* was no small benefaction, as Bowman explains. A thoroughly prepared program could at this moment hardly be expected. The situation called for caution, and one thinks of what a contemporary, Cassius Dio (74.10.3), said of the death of Pertinax: οὐδὲ ἔγνω, καίπερ ἐμπειρότατος πραγμάτων ὢν, ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἀθρόα τινὰ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπανορθοῦσθαι. Yet rhetorical the edict certainly was, and we here find important evidence of a change in the chancery style.

Col. I, line 4: The implication of the title ὑπατος without a numeral is that the emperor had so far been consul only once. Wilcken, who had not seen the papyrus, restored the word λέγει right after [πα]τήρ πατρίδο[ς] and supposed that the line went on to end with the iota read by Grenfell and Hunt. Actually line 4 is shorter than the other lines. It has three vacant spaces after the final iota, and traces of the two letters before the iota support

a reading λέγει. Thus the heading ends in line 4 and the body of the edict begins in line 5. This is as it should be. On the other hand, the reading of this verb at the end of the line leaves a lacuna, either a vacant space or, more likely, a lost phrase, which could well be πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις as in the Athenian decree after the elevation of Geta, *IG II*² 1077 (= Traill and Meritt, No. 460), lines 17–25, Ἐπειδὴ . . . ὑπὸ τῶν μεγάλων βασιλέων (Septimius Severus and Caracalla) κοινῶ κη]ρ[ύγμ]ατι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δεδῆλωται, κτλ.

Col. II, lines 1–2: In line 1 the word after ποιήσασθαι may, I think, be read as ἐθ[έ]λιν (= ἐθέλειν). Plassart's readings ἐο[ρ]τήν in 1 and ἄγουσιν in 2 are not possible, because Schubart's ἔχουσιν is certainly correct, though not all perhaps visible.

Lines 3–4: The reference to Trajan and Marcus Aurelius as ancestors constituted for Grenfell and Hunt an indication that Severus Alexander was the author, because no one later than he could claim Trajan and Marcus as ancestors. Editors faced with the infinitive ὁμειμείσθε have understandably chosen the simple verb μιμείσθαι over ἀπομιμείσθαι, because the latter would indicate an exact or faithful reproduction and Severus Alexander cannot have been allowed to seem so presumptuous. But the omicron must be explained. The vestige may have been part of the infinitive (e.g., <ὑπ>ομιμείσθαι: cf. the manuscript reading of Diodorus 13.95.5, ὑπομιμούμενον) or of a preceding word. For the precedent established by Marcus, see the epistle to the Delphians.

Line 4: If the reading is τηνον, the tau is an easy error from a zeta of a monumental type. Buecheler's emendation <ξ>η(λ)οῦν, which Schubart does not accept, restores the flow of the Greek. Buecheler's interpretation of προαιρησειν as προαίρ(ε)σιν finds support in the analogy of ζητησησειν, which in line 14 stands for ζητήσ(ε)σιν.

Line 6: On megalopsychia see R. A. Gauthier, *Magnanimité: l'idéal de la grandeur dans la philosophie païenne et dans la théologie chrétienne* (Paris, 1951) 17–176, especially 170–176. Cassius Dio (79.15.4) criticized Macrinus for not displaying megalopsychia.

Line 8: One may compare the document of the Dionysiac Artists from Smyrna published by G. Petzl, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 77–87, lines 24–26: τοῖς δὲ Π]αναθηναίοις καὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐψηφισμέναις δημοτελέσιν [ἐορταῖς καὶ ταῖς] αὐθὶς ποτε ψηφισθησομέναις ἐκ τῶν δημοσίω[ν καὶ] κοινῶν προσό[δων,

which supports also our emendation καὶ ἔτι <ποτ>ἐ rather than καὶ ἔτι <δ>ἐ. The epsilon has to be explained.

Line 9: The word ἀνεῖναι at the beginning needs no dots.

Line 10: The particle τε which Schubart read as certain is harder to find than the mu read by the first editors.

Line 11, ταῖς τε κατ' Εἰταλείαν καὶ ταῖς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν. The word ἔθνη means *provinciae*, and *provincia* often means merely "region." An inscription of the second century, *ILS* 1362a, mentions "*cives Romani [e]x Italia et aliis provinciis in Raetia consistentes.*" Gaius, (*Inst.* 3, 121a) wrote, "*Sed cum lex Furia tantum in Italia locum habeat, evenit ut in ceteris provinciis,*" etc. Paul, *libro primo ad legem Aeliam Sentiam*, cited in *Digest* 40.2.15.5, said "*Hi qui in Italia vel alia provincia domicilium habent.*" A sepulchral inscription of the third century published by S. Dušanić, "A Roman Inscription from Taurunum," *Ziva Antika* 11 (1961–62) 127–131, was erected for Aur. Bitelliana ex provin(cia) Ital(ia). See also J. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Studi in onore di Giuseppe Grosso* 5 (Turin, 1972) 196 f.

Lines 11–13: The second καὶ of line 11 is concessive and should not be canceled. In line 12 the reading ἀντετων retains in the epsilon part of the word ἐτ(έρ)ων. Bowman has shown by his collection of evidence that whereas "the arrears and regular contributions ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν στεφάνων ὄνομα, comparatively small amounts," were not remitted and continued to be paid, large amounts as in other reigns were not paid. The levies which Severus Alexander remitted must be distinguished from those contributions ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν στεφάνων ὄνομα made for his appointment as Caesar (lines 6–8). It is not enough to read ἀντ(ι) for ἀντε. Iota and epsilon are not confused. We must, I think, read ἀντ' (or ἀντ(ι)) ἐτ(έρ)ων χρυσῶν στεφάνων. Severus Alexander remitted the larger amount he might have expected for his accession as emperor, and this was a real concession.

Lines 13–14: The restoration δε[ό] | μ[ενον], proposed in 1978, is now repudiated because both this reading and the assumed construction now seem forced. The reading at the beginning of line 14 is probably εμ. The interpretation owes much to Eric Turner, who in a private letter proposed a sentence beginning δε[ι] | μ[ε γὰρ . . . A rho can be read with ἐμ[ε γὰρ] but the continuation then becomes more difficult. However, if we start with δε[ι] as suggested by Turner, we can read δε[ι] | ἐμ[έ, ἡ ὥρᾱ] (= *quo tempore*) καὶ <π>αρ[ι]μει (sc. *eis tēn ἀρχήν*), καίπερ

κεκμηκ(ότ)α τὸ κλῖνον ἀναλήμψασθαι. Asyndeton is not impossible, but if the reader prefers, he may assume the loss of γάρ immediately after δεῖ because short omissions (as in κεκμηκα) do occur. Both Grenfell and Hunt's reading καισαρ.]μι and Schubart's reading γάρ[.]μει can be interpreted as καὶ (π)άρ[ι]μει (= πάρειμι), so as to produce exactly the sense required.

Line 15: At the beginning there should be punctuation after μόνον. At the end the word that Schubart reads ἐξαιπαιτή[σει instead of ἐξ ἀπάντων would, if correct, be new, but the sense is good and the formation regular. The emperor claims to be κοινωνητικὸς περὶ τὰ χρήματα, as Diotogenes (p. 40 Delatte) says a true king would be. Where Grenfell and Hunt read σπουδεσται, the choice for the first word would lie between σπουδ(ή) and σπουδ(αῖ)ο(ν). Schubart persuaded himself that he could read σπουδῇ [ἐ]σται, but the omicron looks certain, hence rather σπούδῃο(ν) — — — ἔσ)ται. More, however, is lost than three letters, because the word πλήν in the next line requires a phrase like οὐδ' ἄλλο here. *Nec hoc mihi studio nec aliud erit . . . quam*, etc.

Line 16, φιλανθρωπία τε καὶ εὐεργεσία: The conjunction of the two nouns is reflected in *Nov. Val.* 33.[6] ("humanitatis nostrae beneficio") and *Nov. Val.* 13.[5] ("humanitatis nostrae beneficiorum"). *Philanthropia* or *humanitas* became the royal or imperial quality, an active concern, with a claim upon the loyalty of the governed. It was a theme capable of developing into the emperor's reception of the grace of God; "for when benefits gush forth from us and the lot of mankind is thus improved, there is assured to us, we believe, the benevolence of God, whence all that is hoped for in return is expected" (*Nov. Theod.* 22.1, cited by R. M. Honig, *Humanitas und Rhetorik in spätromischen Kaisergesetzen* [Göttingen, 1960] 26). The older works on *humanitas* are cited by Honig, p. 27; studies of *philanthropia* are cited by H. Martin, Jr., *AJP* 82 (1961) 164–175 and H. Hunger, *AnzWien* 100 (1963) 1–20, notably J. Kabiersch, *Untersuchungen zu dem Begriff der Philanthropia bei dem Kaiser Julian* (Kl.-phil. Studien, Heft 21, 1960).

Line 16: With the phrase συναυξῆσαι τὴν ἀρχήν may be compared the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. CXV (Henzen), 45 f., "aeternitate(m) imperii quod (the emperor) [susci]piendo ampliavit," and *Nov. Maioriani* I, "ut imperium . . . augeatur." This is the old theme, τὸ κοινὸν αὔξειν, of Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.4.13 and Demosthenes 3.26. See M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* 1 (Paris, 1938) 448, n.2 and Heberdey and Keil, *Forschun-*

gen in Ephesos 3: No. 48. At the end of the line a vacant area of about six or seven letters remains where the scribe may have had difficulty in reading his text. The feminine participle read by Schubart in line 18, *συνβουλευσασα*, shows that a phrase lost or omitted at the end of line 16 was a feminine noun and its article. Schubart restored *ἡ τύχη*, which seems neither to match the sense nor to fill the space available. For *ἡ ἀγωγή* one may consult, in addition to *LSJ* s.v. II 4, *GRBS* 12 (1971) 223, *β[ίου ἀγωγῇ* in a decree of A.D. 38, line 91 (and 94), also P. Herrmann, "Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien," *Denkschriften Wien* 80 (1962) No. 3, *τὴν παρ' ὄλον τὸν βίον ἀγωγὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην*.

Line 17: The word *ἐπιτροπία* or the phrase *κα(τ') ἐπιτροπία(ς)*, following soon after the phrase *τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν*, should never have been taken as applying to governors who were senators. Furthermore, the word *ἡγεμόσιν* was not immediately clear without identification, especially as it is being used for the first time. The meaning of the whole combined phrase appears by comparison with *Digest* 49.1.25, where Severus Alexander in writing to the Commonalty of the Hellenes of Bithynia uses the phrase *τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν ἐθνῶν*, and with the climax of Dio-Xiphilinus 80.18.2: *οὐ στρατιώτης, οὐκ ἐπίτροπος, οὐχ οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγούμενοι*. So here the emperor refers to "the provincial authorities and my procurators," *τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν (τῶν ἐθνῶν τοῖς) ται κα(τ') ἐπιτροπία(ς) παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀπεσταλμένοις*. The letters *ται* which follow the word *ἡγεμόσιν* are, as Schubart said, the enclitic *τε*, but the indispensable qualification *τῶν ἐθνῶν* and a second *τοῖς* on which the enclitic depended have fallen out. The Latin phrase *rectores provinciarum* similarly requires the word *provinciarum* for precision. So the loss of *τῶν ἐθνῶν* must be assumed. The emendation *δοκιμ(ά)σας*, made by Grenfell and Hunt, is better than the reading of the papyrus, *δοκιμείσας*, which Schubart retains. Compare *Nov. Theod.* 24.1: "Eos (sc. duces) . . . quos nostra aestimatio . . . promovendos esse censuerit." Cassius Dio (79.15.1) reports criticism of appointments made by Macrinus, *μήτ' ἄλλην τινὰ ἀρετὴν ἔχοντας μήτ' ἐν πολλαῖς πράξεσιν ἐξητασμένους*.

Lines 17–18, *οὓς . . . [ἀ]πέσστιλα*. This refers only to the procurators, *(τοῖς) τε κα(τ') ἐπιτροπία(ς) παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀπεσταλμένοις*, *οὓς ἐγὼ . . . [ἀ]πέστειλα*, because of the repetition of the word *ἀποστέλλω*. For Seston, who had a text wherein *ἀπεσταλμένοις* modified *ἡγεμόσιν*, this was a proof of Julianic

date, for, he argued, in the time of Severus Alexander the proconsuls were sent out by the Senate.

Line 19: It will not do merely to delete with Grenfell and Hunt the letters *σι* which appear after *ἡγεμόνες*. They have to be explained. The two letters are a remnant of a clause that has fallen out, *οὐ ἐξίασι*, which balances the clause *οἷς ἐπεσστήκασιν* below.

Line 20: The corrections *προ{σ}ορᾶσθαι* and *ἐθν(ῶν)* and *προσ(ή)κει* made by Grenfell and Hunt have been accepted by all. The following section provokes disagreement, particularly whether to read with Buecheler *ὁπότε κ{τ}αί* or to revert with Schubart to *ἐὶ ἀποτέ(τα)κται*, where the papyrus has *αποτεκται*. Is the first error haplography of the diphthong after *προσέκει* or is it alpha for omicron as twice clearly in line 22? The argument against *κ{τ}αί* is that the word is not one likely to be misspelled and that *ται* represents the end of a verb. Buecheler's further reading *παρείη* for *πᾶσειν* is palaeographically weak, and is in fact impossible. It is necessary to leave *πᾶσειν* (= *πᾶσιν*) unchanged and look for the verb elsewhere, as Schubart did. Still Buecheler's *ὁπότε καί* is stylistically just right, while Schubart's version *ἐὶ ἀποτέ(τα)κται* does not produce a likely verb. A causal clause introduced by *ὁπότε καί* at the end of a long sentence occurs in Juncus (Stobaeus, *Anth.* 1108 Hense) and provides a splendid parallel. In a similar situation Cassius Dio (see Boissvain's index) would have used *ὁπότε γε καί* as 'siquidem.' Keeping Buecheler's conjunction but supplying a verb in the future indicative, we interpret *αποτεκται* as *ὁπότε κ(αὶ ἐξέσ)ται*.

Line 21: The separate virtues of orderliness, *sophrosyne*, and restraint, which merge into one another, though orderliness and restraint are sometimes subvirtues of *sophrosyne* (see Helen North, *Sophrosune: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature* [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 25, 1966] and especially her sections on Xenophon and Isocrates for the king teaching *sophrosyne* by example). For an emperor himself referring to kingship, see the epistle of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander to the Delphians, No. 274.

Line 22: In *P. Beatty Panop.* 2 a later procurator writes *γενέσθω . . . ἐπιμελές*. In the clause introduced by *ὅπου* (Schubart's convincingly formulaic addition) the formula is like that known from the *SC de Bacchanalibus*, *ILLRP* 511, line 27, "ubi facilumed gnos-

cier potisit,” and the *Tabula Hebana*, *AJP* 75 (1954) 229, lines 20–21, “que loco commo[dissime legi] possint.”

276A–B. SEVERUS ALEXANDER TO THE COMMONALTY OF THE HELLENES IN BITHYNIA, A.D. 222

Egypt. Papyri from Oxyrhynchus now in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Society. Copy I is stored in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Copy I was published by A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 17 (1927) 2104. See further P. M. Meyer, “Die Epistula Severi Alexandri Dig. XLIX.1, 25 = P. Oxy. XVII 2104,” *Studi in onore di Pietro Bonfante* 2 (Milan, 1930) 341–344; U. Wilcken, *ArchP* 9 (1930) 89–91.

Copy II published by J. R. Rea, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 43 (1975) 3106, with corrections of Copy I.

276 A

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, [θ]εοῦ Σεουήρου Εὐ[σεβοῦς υἱωνός],

θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσ[εβο]ῦς Μεγίστου υἱὸς[ς]

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀλέξανδρος ἀρχιερ[εὺς],

δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὑπατος, πατὴρ π[ατρίδος],

5 τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐν Βειθυνίᾳ Ἑλλήνων [χαίρειν].

Ἐκκαλεῖσθαι μὲν π[ὺς δ]ν τις κωλύ[ο]ιτο ὑπὸ τ[ῶν δικαζόντων]

οὐχ ὁρῶ, ὅτε ἐξε[στι]ν ἐτ[έ]ρ[αν ὁδὸν] γ[ὰρ] τραπ[όμενον ταῦτό]

ποιεῖν καὶ θάτ[τόν] ποτε πρὸς [ἐμὲ] ἀφικνεῖσθαι. Ὑβρει δὲ καὶ]

βία χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκκαλο[υμένο]υς καὶ φ[ρουρὰν στρατικὴν]

10 τικὴν περιιστάμεν καὶ ἀπλῶς [εἰπεῖν ἀποφράττειν αὐτοῖς]

τὴν δεῦρο [ἀνοδο]ν ἀπαγορεύ[ω καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς]

ἡγουμένοις τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ πει[σθήσονται ταύτῃ μου τῇ]

προρρήσει, εἰδότες ὅτι [το]σοῦτόν μοι μέλει τῆς τῶν ἀρχο]

μένων ἐλευθερί[ας, ὅσον καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ πειθοῦς].

15 Τοὺς μέντοι ἐκ κεφαλικῆς δίκ[ης] κολασθέντας εἶτα ἐφέν]

τας, εἰ μὴ προσδεχθεῖν αὐτῶν [-----]

[. . .] εἰσα διάσφα[λ]ίσασθ[αι] μὴ δυνηθεῖ[ν] [-----]

[.]ικῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ δεῖν ἀποσταλῆν[αι]]

Ἀνελήμφθη ὑπομνήμα[σι] [-----]

20 διασημότατα ἡγεμονε[ύοντος] [-----]

Μεσορῇ ιη´

276 B

--- απαγορεῖν κα[ὶ τοῖς]
 [ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς] ἡγουμ[ένοις]
 [τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ πει]σθήσ[ονται]
 5 [ταύ]τῃ μου τῇ προρ<ρ>ήσει, []
 [ε]ἰδότες ὅτι τοσοῦτόν μοι μέ
 λει τῆς τῶν ἀρχομ[έ]νων ἐλευ
 θερίας ὅσον καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας
 αὐτῶν καὶ πειθοῦς. Τοὺς μέν
 10 τοι ἔκ κεφαλικῆς δίκης κολασθέν
 [τα]ς εἴτα ἐφέντα[ς, εἰ] μὴ προσδε
 [χθείη] ---

Translation

Imperator Caesar, [grandson] of deified Severus Pius, son of deified Antoninus Pius Maximus, M. Aurelius Severus Alexander, pontifex maximus, tribunician power, consul, pater patriae, to the Commonalty of the Hellenes in Bithynia, greetings.

How anyone could be prevented by [the judges] from making an appeal I do not see, when it is possible to pursue the other course and achieve the same thing and reach me even sooner. I forbid the procurators and the provincial governors to use insult and violence toward those who appeal or to place a military guard about them or, in a word, to block the road hither for them. They will obey this command of mine in the knowledge that the freedom of the governed is of just as much concern to me as their good will and obedience. As for those, however, who have been punished after a capital trial and then released, if [the judge] does not accept their [---] and is unable to verify [---, ---] must be sent to me.

Included in records of [Egypt's] very distinguished governor [---], Mesore 18 (= 11 August) [---].

Commentary

From the emperor's titles the epistle may be dated in A.D. 222. New readings of lines 19 and 21 in Copy I and all readings and restorations of Copy II were made by Rea. Otherwise the restorations are due to Meyer, who even in *ZSav* 48 (1928) 586, recognized that with slight variations all but the last paragraph of the epistle was preserved in *Digest* 49.1, 25 (= App. 12 infra).

**277A–D. SEVERUS ALEXANDER TO THE DIONYSIAC
ARTISTS**

Egypt. Four papyri from Oxyrhynchus: A = *P. Oxy.* 2476; B = *BGU* 1074; C = *P. Oxy. Hels.* 25; D = *P. Oxy.* 2610.

For editions, further publications, and a list of contents of the more complete series compare the introduction to Nos. **24** and **212**. All four papyri contain among other pertinent documents parts of an epistle of *divus* Alexander.

277 A (from *P. Oxy.* 2476, lines 11–12):

Θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ὅσα θεῶ Ἀντωνείνω]ι
πατρὶ ἐμῶ καὶ [θ]εῶ Σεμήρῳ πά<π>πῳ μ[ου καὶ τοῖς ἄνωθεν προγόν]οις
ἐκρίθη περὶ ὑ[μῶ(ν)]
12 [καὶ τῶν ----- πολλὰκις d]π[ε]φηνάμην κύρια
εἶναι. Οἱ καθ' ἐκ[ά]στην [πανήγυριν ἀγωνοθέτα]! πειθαρχ[χ]ήσουσιν.

277 B (from *BGU* 1074, lines 8–9):

8 Θεοῦ [Ἀλε]ξάνδρου. Ὅσα θεῶ
Ἀντωνείνω πατρὶ ἐμῶ καὶ θεῶ <Σε>ουήρῳ πάππῳ μου καὶ τοῖς ἄνωθεν
προγόνοις ἐκρίθη περὶ ὑ
9 [μῶν καὶ τῶν ----- πολλὰκις ἀπεφηνάμην] ὅτι
[κύρι]α εἶναι. Οἱ καθ' ἐ[κάστην πα]νήγυριν ἀγωνοθέται πειθαρχήσουσιν vacat

277 C (from *P. Oxy. Hels.* 25, lines 8–9):

8 [θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ὅσα θεῶ Ἀντωνείνω] πατρὶ ἐμῶ καὶ θεῶ Σεουήρ[ω
πάππῳ
μου καὶ τοῖς ἄνωθεν προγόνοις ἐκρίθη] περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν [ca. 30 πολλὰκις
ἀπεφηνάμην ὅτι β[έβαια]
9 [καὶ κύρια εἶναι. Οἱ καθ' ἐκάστην] πανήγυριν ἀγωνοθέται πειθαρχοῦσ[ιν
vacat]

277 D (from *P. Oxy* 2610, lines 7–8):

7 [Ὅ]σα θεῶ Ἀντωνίνῳ πατρ[ὶ] ἐμῶ [
8 πολλὰκις ἀπεφηνάμην κύρια [ε]! [ναι

A 11 πανπῳ papyrus. B 8 ουηρου papyrus. B 9 ὅτι [. . .]α Viereck. C supplevit M. Kaimio.

Translation

From *divus* Alexander: Whatever was decided by *divus* Antoninus, my father, and by *divus* Severus, my grandfather, and by my more remote ancestors concerning you [-----]

I have often ruled that [these privileges] are valid. The agonotheae at each festival shall comply.

278. SEVERUS ALEXANDER TO THE APHRODISIANS, A.D. 224

Aphrodisias, from the Archive Wall. [Oliver's translation is based on a provisional text] kindly provided by Joyce Reynolds. For other documents from the Archive Wall see Nos. 1, 48, 69, 211, 218, 219, 279, 281, 282, and 284.

[The following is the text edited by Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982) 129–131, No. 19, with photographs. K.C.]

278

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς ἔκγονος, [θε]οῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου
Εὐσεβοῦς μεγί[στου υἱό]ς, Μάρκος Αὐρή[λιος Σεου]ήρως [Ἀλέξανδ]ρος
Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἑξουσίας τὸ γ',
ὑπα[τος, πατὴρ πα]τριδ[ος, Ἀφροδεισιέων ?τοῖς ἀρχουσι]
καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν ὧ. τὸ μὲν παρελῆσθαι τι τῶν ὑπαρξάντων τῇ πόλει δικαίων
ἀλλ[ότριον ?ἔστι ?τῆς ἐν τῇ] ἀρχῇ [τῇ ἐμῇ ?περὶ πάντας]
κηδεμονίας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτά(?) γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ τῆς παρούσης ἀξιώσεως
[... ca. 21 ..]ΕΕΕ[. . ca. 14 ..λό]
5 γον ἔχει τὸν προσήκοντα ἀκροάσεται δὴ ὑμῶν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἑαυτὸν καθ
[ιστάς? ?κρι]τήν. [Ἐπρέσβευεν .. ca. 13 ..εὐτυχ
εἶτε]

1 “The letters ΠΟΣ are cut in an erased area” (Reynolds). 4
“Only the upper horizontals survive for the letters printed ΕΕΕ;
each might also be Γ, Ζ, Ξ, Ι, Σ, or Τ” (Reynolds).

Translation

Imperator Caesar M. Aurelius Severus [Alexander] Pius Felix Augustus, grandson of divine Severus Pius, [son] of Antoninus Pius Maximus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the third time, consul, to [the archons, Council] and Demos of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

The deprivation of any of the rights which the city had [— — — — —] care. That the [— — —] concerning the present request happen in the same way [— — — — —] has the proper

[attention]. He will certainly listen to you, offering himself as a fair and impartial judge [— — —]

Commentary

The epistle is dated by the emperor's third tenure of the tribunician power to the year that ran from 10 December 223 through 9 December 224.

279. GORDIAN III TO THE APHRODISIANS, A.D. 239

Aphrodisias, from the Archive Wall. The following text of this unpublished inscription was kindly provided by Joyce Reynolds. For other documents from the Archive Wall see Nos. 1, 48, 69, 211, 218, 219, 278, 281, 282, and 284.

[Edited by Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982) 131–133, No. 20, with photograph. K.C.]

Summarized by J. M. Reynolds, *Vestigia* 17 (1973) 120.

279

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Ἀγνώνιος Γορδιανὸς Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς Σεβαστός,
ἀρχιερεὺς
μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β', ὕπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, Ἀφροδισιέων
τοῖς ἀρχουσι

καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν vacat
Καὶ τῇ ἀρχαιότητι ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους προσῆκον
ἦν. ὧ

- 5 Ἀφροδισιεῖς, οὕτως διατεθῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ ὡς ἐδηλοῦτε διὰ τοῦ
πρὸς
με ψηφίσματος, ἀνθ' ὧν δὴ καὶ ἀμειβόμενος ὑμῶν τὴν εὐσεβῆ διάθεσιν
φυλάττω
βεβαίαν τὴν ἀπόλασιν πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῖν δικαῶν φυλασσομένων τε
μέχρι τῶν καιρῶν τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἐμῆς. Ἐπρέσβευεν Κλ. Ἡγεμονεύς.
Εὐτυχεῖτε.

Translation

Imperator Caesar M. Antonius Gordian Pius Felix Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the second time, consul, pater patriae, to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

It was becoming, oh Aphrodisians, to your antiquity and to

your loyalty and friendship toward the Romans to be at once so disposed upon my accession as you made clear through your decree in my regard. In reward of your pious disposition I in return guarantee the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges which were available to you and were protected down to the days of my reign. Ambassador was Claudius Hegemoneus. Farewell.

Commentary

The epistle is dated by reference to the emperor's second tenure of the tribunician power to the year which ran from 10 December 238 through 9 December 239, and by the consulship which Gordian III held for the first time in 239. The epistle was composed, accordingly, in 239 between 1 January and 9 December, and since it replied to an embassy of congratulations on his accession, it may be placed early in 239.

The accession of Gordian III, part of a reaction after the reign of Maximinus Thrax, could be expected to appeal to conservative old cities. On the attitude toward antiquity, see B. A. van Groningen, *In the Grip of the Past: Essay on an Aspect of Greek Thought* (Leyden, 1953).

280. GORDIAN III TO NERO PUDENS ON REGISTRATION OF CHILDREN, A.D. 239

Egypt. Papyrus from Tebtunis, No. 285, now UC 1413 in The Bancroft Library at Berkeley (Plate 18, courtesy of the Director, The Bancroft Library).

B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri*, I (London, 1907) 44, No. 285; [Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*, 379]; Riccobono, *FIRA*², 350–452, No. 90 from Grenfell and Hunt but with important commentary; [A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 33 (1953) 360].

280

5

Θεὸς Γορδιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Νέρωνι
Πούδεντι. Παραλιφθεῖσαι τέκνων
ἀπογραφὰι οὔτε τούτους τοὺς ἀληθεῖς
[[νομίμους]] ὄντας παρανόμους ποιοῦσιν
οὔτε τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους εἰ καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς τὴν
οἰκετεῖαν εἰσάγουσιν. Πρὸς ἡ' Εἰδῶν
'Ιουλίῳ Γορδιανῶ καὶ 'Αουσιόλῳ ὑπάτοις.

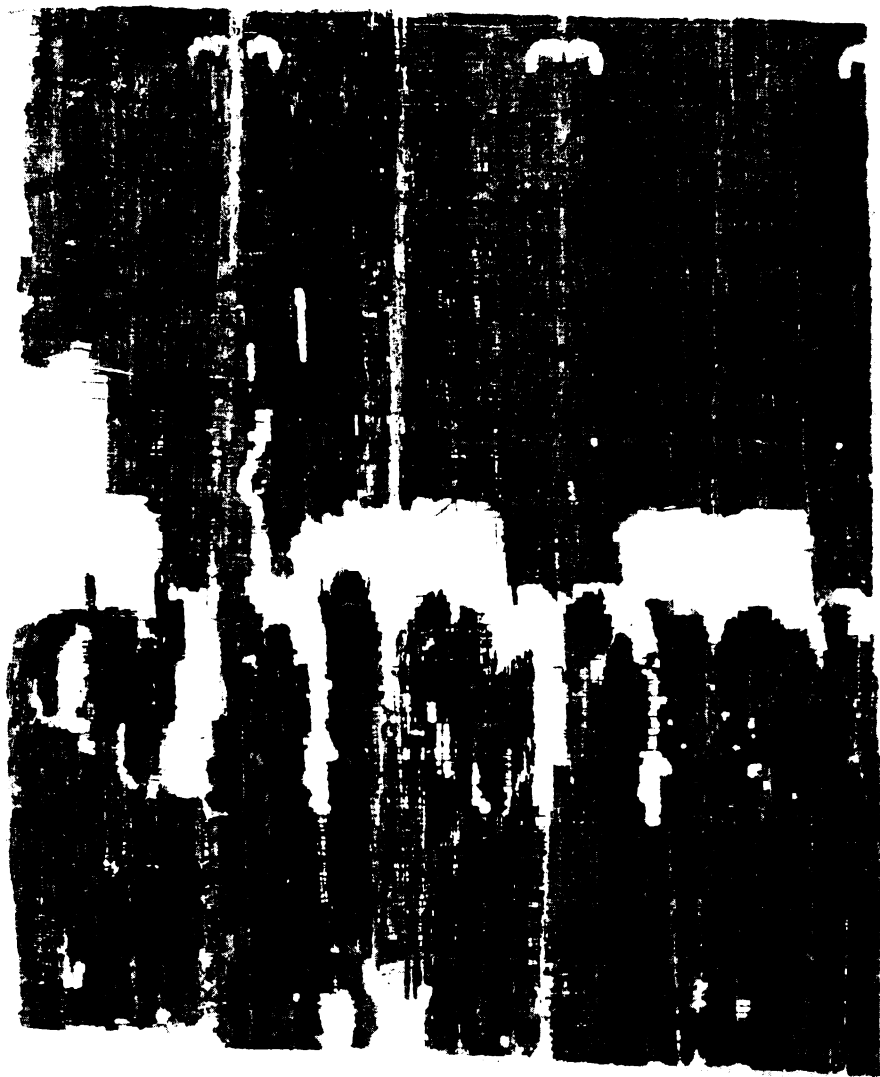


Plate 18. No. 280.

Translation

Deified Gordian Augustus to Nero Pudens: Failure to register children does not make these who are truly legitimate illegitimate, nor do entries in the registers, if they actually were made, introduce outsiders into the family.

July 8, in the consulship of Gordian and Aviola.

Commentary

Grenfell and Hunt, who alone saw the papyrus, happened to omit the article in line 3; hence so did Mitteis, Riccobono, and Calderini.

The *omissa professio* is mentioned in *Codex Iust.* 7.16.5 (cited by Mitteis). The word *νομίμους* was canceled on the papyrus, not necessarily with good reason. The error may have been ἀληθεῖς for ἀληθῶς, as Riccobono on Zuretti's suggestion actually emends it, and in that case the cancellation of *νομίμους* was a false correction. Riccobono, however, points out that phrases like *verus tutor*, *verus heres*, *verus dominus*, etc. occur among the jurists to distinguish the genuine from imposters.

On illegitimacy, see the fine article of H. C. Youtie, in *Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels, 1975) 723–740, Ἀπάτορες.

281. GORDIAN III TO THE APHRODISIANS ON HELP FOR LAODICEA, A.D. 243

Aphrodisias, from the Archive Wall. A text of this unpublished inscription was kindly provided by Joyce Reynolds. For other documents from the Archive Wall see Nos. 1, 48, 69, 211, 218, 219, 278, 279, 282, and 284.

[Edited by Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982) 133–135, No. 21, with photograph. K.C.]

281

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανὸς Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυ[χὴς Σεβ]
 αστός, ἀ[ρχιε]ρεὺς μέγιστος, δη[μ]αρχι]
 κῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ς', ὑπατος τὸ β', πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, Ἀφροδ
 [εισιέω]γ τῶ[ις] ἄρ[χο]υσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 χαίρειν Ὡς τῆς Ἀσίας βούλευμα τὸ καὶ ὑμᾶς καταστήσαν εἰς κο[ινωνί]αν τῆς
 πρὸς τοῖς ἀτυχήσαντας
 ἐπικουρίας οὐκ ἐπιτάγμα ἦν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἐπιτάγματι χρῆσθαι π[ρὸς το]ὺς
 ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλὰ πολεῖτευμα
 5 χρηστὸν ἐν μετουσίᾳ καθιστᾶν ὑμᾶς φιλανθρώπου πράξεως καὶ ο[ἷ]ης καὶ καθ'
 ὑμᾶς πράττετε ἐν [κα]τα
 σκευῇ τινος οἰκοδομήματος συνεπιλαμβανόμενοι τῆς ἀναστάσε[ω]ς τοῖς δεο
 μένοις· ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μέλ
 λοντος ἥκιστα χρὴ δεδιέναι, τοῖς γὰρ ἐλευθέροις, οὗ πλείστον με[τέ]χετε, μόνος
 ἐστὶν πρὸς τὰ το[ι]αῦτα

vacat νόμος τὸ ἐκούσιον. Ἐπρέσβευον Αὐρήλιος Κτησίας καὶ Α[Ι]λιος
 Καλλικράτης. Εὐτυχέ[ιτε.]
 vacat Θεῖα ἀντιγραφὴ κατὰ Λαοδικεῖς ἢ προστεταγμένη vacat

Translation

Imperator Caesar M. Aurelius Gordian Pius Felix Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the sixth time, twice consul, pater patriae, proconsul, to the archons, Council and Demos of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

The resolution of the Commonalty of Asia which brings you too into a joint effort to render aid to those who have met with misfortune was not a command—one cannot use commands in addressing the citizens of a free state—but a good policy which enables you to share in a humanitarian action such as you perform among yourselves in the construction of some building, when you join those who need help in raising the upper structure. There is absolutely no need to fear about the future, because for those who have freedom, which you have in a very high degree, there is only one rule in respect to such matters, the voluntary compliance. Ambassadors were Aurelius Ctesias and Aelius Callicrates. Farewell.

This attachment (is) a divine reply in reference to the Laodiceans.

Commentary

The epistle is dated by the sixth tenure of the tribunician power to the year which ran from 10 December 242 through 9 December 243.

Some misfortune like an earthquake had befallen Laodicea ad Lycum in Phrygia, not far from Aphrodisias, and the help which the Commonalty of Asia hoped to provide would need the cooperation of the Aphrodisians. For an earthquake J. M. Reynolds, *Vestigia* 17 (1973) 120, cites *Vita Gordiani* 3.26.

282. GORDIAN III TO EPAPHRAS AT APHRODISIAS

Aphrodisias. Two contiguous fragments of a marble block found in the excavation of the theatre. For other documents

from the Archive Wall see Nos. 1, 48, 69, 211, 218, 219, 278, 279, 281, and 284.

K. T. Erism and Joyce Reynolds, "A Letter of Gordian III from Aphrodisias in Caria," *JRS* 69 (1969) 56–58 with photograph; J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 11 (1970) 137–138; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* (1970) No. 536 and (1971) No. 612; T. Spagnuolo Vigorita, *Secta temporum meorum* (Palermo, 1978) 103 f. [Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982) 136–139, No. 22, with photograph. K.C.]

282

[Αὐτ]ρ[κράτωρ] *Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Ἀ[ντωνίος]
Γορδιανὸς Ε[υ]σεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σε[βαστὸς]
Αὐρηλίῳ Ἐπαφρᾷ χαίρει[ιν]*
Εἴ τι περὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος σου νόμ[ων]
5 τῇ τε ἱερωτάτῃ συνκλήτῳ βουλῇ ἔδ[οξε]
καὶ τοῖς ἐν θεοῖς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, τοῦ[το]
κάμοι πρόποι ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φυλάττειν
ὄρων τῇ πατρίδι τῇ σῇ · Εἰ τοίνυν προσκῶν
ΤΙΣ τῷ φίλῳ μου καὶ ἐπάρχῳ τῆς πατρίδος τῆς
10 ἐμῆς Φλαβίῳ Λατρωνιανῷ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐνέγρα
ψας διδάσκοις τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔθος, ἀναπέμψαι
προνοήσεται τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πολυδώρου
κρίσιν τῷ οἰκείῳ δικαστηρίῳ Ὡ Ἑρρωσο.

Translation

[Imperator] Caesar M. Antonius Gordian Pius Felix Augustus to Aurelius Epaphras, greetings.

If the most revered Senate and the deified emperors made any decision concerning your laws, it would be incumbent upon me to maintain it on the same terms for your ancestral city. If then you—anyone—approach my friend Flavius Latronianus, the prefect of my ancestral city, and instruct him in the ancient custom on the indictments you reported, he will be careful to assign the case concerning Polydorus to your own court. Farewell.

Commentary

This epistle, though engraved on a reused block found in the theatre, seems to have belonged to the series (on the city wall)

showing repeated recognition by Roman emperors of the freedom of Aphrodisias, and this justifies the interpretation which the first editors gave of line 13 as a reference to a court of Aphrodisias.

The restorations are by Erim and Reynolds except for line 3 by the Roberts.

Aurelius Epaphras is addressed as an Aphrodisian who has invoked the emperor's aid in support of the competence of the city's court to try the case of Polydorus (otherwise unknown), but the rank or office held by Epaphras is not indicated, except that he was important enough to rate an epistle rather than a *subscriptio*.

Flavius Iulius Latronianus (*PIR*² F 297) became prefect of the city (at Rome) in 243 or sooner.

283. GORDIAN III TO THE CITIZENS OF ANTINOOPOLIS

Antinoopolis. Papyrus fragment discovered in excavation and now stored in England.

J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoopolis Papyri* 3 (Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs No. 47, 1967) 166 f., No. 191.

283

- 12 [Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερ(εὺς)
μέγισ(τος), δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ---]
[----- Ἀντινοέων Νέων Ἑλλήνων τοῖς ἀρχοῦσι καὶ
τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν
14]σπ.ν..[.]ηρ[.]το ἐρ[....]παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀδ[ριανοῦ]
]υδ[.]..[.]ε.κη[.....]ν βέβαια οὐδ[
16]ασ[.....]θεο[.....]σει δὲ πε[
traces of two more lines

The restorations are by Barnes and Zilliacus. In line 9 there was something about μέρη τῆς θεοῦ Γορδιανοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστολῆς. From this and from the reference αὐτοὺς τότε νεωτερίζειν in line 5 they reasonably assumed that an epistle of Gordian III, guaranteeing certain privileges accorded by Hadrian to the Antinoites, occupied lines 12–15 or more.

**284. DECIUS AND HERENNIUS ETRUSCUS TO THE
APHRODISIANS, A.D. 250**

Aphrodisias. "Geyre, in the city wall," a marble block. For other documents from the Archive Wall see Nos. 1, 48, 69, 211, 218, 219, 278, 279, 281, and 282.

A. Boeckh, *CIG* II (1843) 2743; Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* 3:1624; [Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, 80]; Th. Reinach, *REG* 19 (1906) 82 (some corrections); Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 145; J. M. R. Cormack, *MAMA* 8 (1962) 424 with photograph. Additional comments by Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950) 704, and W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (Oxford, 1965) 406.

See also J. M. Reynolds, *Vestigia* 17 (1973) 117.

[For a slightly better text, see now Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982) 140–143, No. 25, with photograph. K.C.]

284

- [Αὐ]τοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ [[Γάιος Μέσσιος Κυῖντος Τραϊανός]]
 [[Δέκιος]] Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός, δημαρχικῆς
 ἐξουσίας τὸ γ', ὑπατος τὸ β', ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τρίτ[ο] [ν],
 πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, καὶ [[Ἑρέννιος Τραϊανός]]
- 5 [[Δέκιος Καῖσαρ]], ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
 τὸ πρῶτον, ὑπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος, Ἀφροδεισιένων τοῖς
 (scroll) ἀρχουσιν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν (scroll)
 Εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς πόλεως θεὸν κα[ὶ]
 διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οἰκειότητά τε καὶ πίστιν ἡσθῆναι
- 10 μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἡμετέρας
 θυσίας δὲ καὶ εὐχὰς ἀποδοῦναι δικαίας καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ
 τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν ὑμῶν φυλάττομεν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ σύνπαντα δίκαια ὁπόσων παρὰ τῶν πρὸ [ῆ]
 μῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τετυχήκατε συναυξεῖν ἐτοιμῶς
- 15 ἔχοντες ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας (scroll)
 Ἐπρέσβευον Αὐρήλιοι Θεόδωρος καὶ Ὀνήσιμος
 Εὐτυχεῖτε

Translation

Imperator Caesar [[C. Messius Quintus Trajan Decius]] Pius
 Felix Augustus, (pontifex maximus), tribunician power for the
 third time, consul for the second time and designated for the

third time, pater patriae, proconsul, and [[Herennius Trajan Decius Caesar]], {pontifex maximus}, tribunician power for the first time, consul designate, to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

It was in keeping with both the eponymous goddess of the city and your ties and loyalty to the Romans that you rejoiced at the establishment of our reign and offered the right kind of sacrifices and prayers. We for our part preserve the freedom which was yours and all the other rights which you have obtained from the emperors who preceded us. For we are ready to join in fostering your rights and we share the hopes for your future. The ambassadors were Aurelii Theodore and Onesimus. Farewell.

Commentary

Waddington recognized that the names erased in lines 1–2 and 4–5 were those of Decius and Herennius Etruscus and that the year was A.D. 250.

From the promise to preserve the city's freedom and all other existing rights Magie infers that "however nominal the position of a free city may have been, it still had some semblance of rights." It is interesting also that the emperors, as Frend observes, attach importance to the just sacrifices and prayers of the Aphrodisians and their solidarity with Rome.

The title *pontifex maximus* erroneously accompanies the name of the Caesar in line 5 instead of the emperor in line 2.

285. VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS TO THE PHILADELPHIANS IN LYDIA, A.D. 255

Philadelphia. Now No. 268 in the courtyard of the Museum at Manisa, where it was examined on 12 October 1973 (Plate 19).

Fritz Gschnitzer and Josef Keil, "Neue Inschriften aus Lydien," *AnzWien* 93 (1956) 226–229, No. 8 with photograph; J. and L. Robert, *REG* 71 (1958) 311, No. 438; [A. G. Woodhead, *SEG* XVII (1960) 528]; see also Th. Pekáry, "Bemerkungen zur Chronologie des Jahrzents 250–260 n. Chr.," *Historia* 11 (1962) 123–128; L. Robert, *RevPhil* 41 (1967) 50, n. 2 (concerning lines 10–11); C. P. Jones, "A Note on the Letter of Valerian and Gallienus to Philadelphia," *ZPE* 14 (1974) 294 (concerning lines 12–13).

285

- [-----]οι εἰαλ ὑμῖν ὁ
 [-----]πρε]σβευτῆς ὁ λαμπρότα
 [τος ----- φίλο]ς ἡμῶν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς πά
 [λιν (?) -----] ἐπὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἤτει τε
 5 [-----] ἡμᾶς ἀφείναι τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς
 [ἀρχιερ]ωσύνας καὶ τὰς τῶν πανηγύρεων ἀρχὰς
 [πρ]ὸς τὰς μητροπόλεις συντελείας ὡς ὑπάρξαν
 αὐτῇ πρότερον τὸ καὶ ταῖς μητροπόλεσιν αὐταῖς
 συναριθμεῖσθαι. δέχεσθε δὴ κοσμίως τὴν χάριν
 10 ὥσανεὶ συμψηφισαμένων ὑμεῖν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
 μητροπόλεων οὐχ ὡς ἀφελόμενοι τι αὐτάς - πρέπειε
 γὰρ οὕτω, καὶ τοὺς διὰ τι χρηστὸν τυχόντας δωρεᾶς
 ἐπικεστᾶτην χρῆ τὴν παράλημψιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀξίαν
 τῶν διδομένων ποιεῖσθαι- βλάβης μὲν μηδεμιᾶς
 15 μήτε ἐκ ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς μήτε ἐξ ἄλλης ἥστι
 νοσοῦν ἐτέρᾳ πόλει συμβαίνειν ὀφειλούσης,
 αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπολογισμένων τῶν
 μητροπόλεων ἑαυτῶν ζημίαν, εἰ τῆς περὶ
 τὰ ῥηθέντα λειτουργίας ἀξίοις οὖσιν ὑμεῖν
 20 ἄφεςιν ἔδομεν vacat Ἐπρέσβευεν
 Πόπλιος Αἴλιος Πίγρης ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν.
 Εὐτυχεῖτε, Φιλαδελφεῖς ἡμέτεροι.
 Ἐδόθη
 πρὸ ἱε' καλανδῶν Φεβρουαρίων τοῖς
 25 κυρίοις ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανῷ τὸ γ' καὶ Γαλλινῷ τὸ β'
 Σεβαστοῖς ὑπάτοις vv ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας.

Translation

— — — as ambassador, the clarissimus [Aelius Pigres], our [friend], and when he had spoken [— — —] of the decree, he asked [and — — —] us to release the city from the contribution to the mother-cities for the support of Asiarchs and panegyriarchs, on the grounds that she herself formerly had the right to be counted among the mother-cities. Receive then gracefully this favor just as if the mother-cities too had joined in voting it for you and not as if you were depriving them of anything. For it would be proper thus, and those who obtain a gift through some kindness must make the acceptance of it very suitable and worthy of what is being given. No harm ought to befall another city as a result of this or any other gift; hence the mother-cities will not find in this an injury to themselves that we released you, who

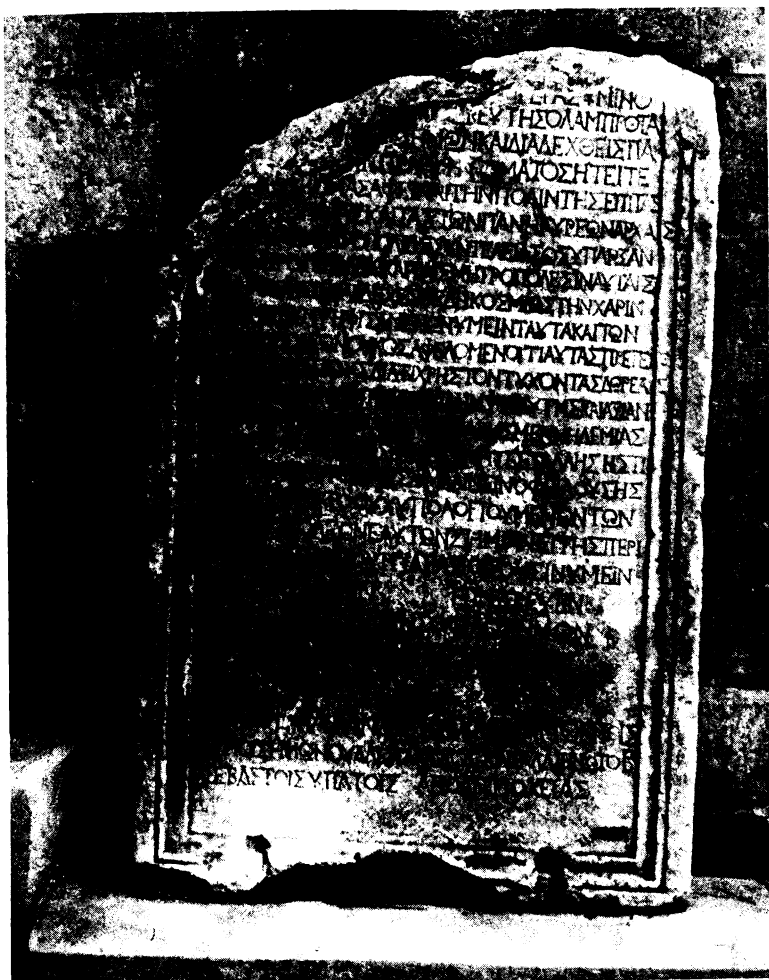


Plate 19. No. 285.

are worthy, from the financial obligation toward the aforesaid. P. Aelius Pigres, our friend, was the ambassador. Farewell, our dear Philadelphians.

Dispatched 18 January in the consulship of our lords, the Augusti, Valerian for the third time and Gallienus for the second, from Antioch.

Commentary

The emperors release Philadelphia (in Lydia) from the obligation of the lesser cities to make contributions toward the

expenses incurred at festivals by the chief officials (Asiarchs and panegyriarchs), who were drawn from the mother-cities. The request was based on an earlier status of Philadelphia as one entitled to be ranked among the mother-cities herself. For this status, granted by Elagabalus and lost with his *damnatio memoriae*, the editors cite numismatic evidence (*BMC*, Phrygia, 315 f., nos. 225–227). Worried by the well-known mutual jealousy of Greek cities, the emperors warn Philadelphia against exulting and provoking the resentment of the mother-cities, as she had presumably done in the reign of Elagabalus. On mother-cities see T. R. S. Broughton, in T. Frank, *Ec. Survey*, 4:742–744.

The festivals were those of the League and the decree of line 4 was a decree of the Commonalty of Asia. It had become harder to finance these festivals.

The text of lines 11–20 offers a problem in punctuation and syntax. The first editors punctuated with a colon after *δωρεᾶς* and a comma after *ποιεῖσθαι*. The Roberts suggested removing the punctuation after *δωρεᾶς* and suppressing *χρή*. Could we not remove the colon after *δωρεᾶς* but retain *χρή* and treat the whole section from *πρέπειε* through *ποιεῖσθαι* as a kind of parenthesis? The same thought has occurred to C. P. Jones.

The restorations accepted in the text are due to the first editors, who suggested additionally *τὸ γέρας* in line 1 and *ὁ λαμπρότα* | [*τος ὑπατος καὶ φίλο*]*ς ἡμῶν* in line 3, without, however, putting these restorations in the text. As the editors note, the predicate *λαμπρότα* | [*τος* in line 2 indicates a man of consular rank. P. Aelius Pigres has the same name as an Asiarch from Laodicea in Phrygia under Caracalla, and they think that he could have been a son.

At the end we have an exact location for Valerian, namely Antioch, the Antioch in Syria, and an exact date, 18 January 255, for his presence there. Since the chronology of events was vague, this indication has great importance, as Pekáry shows in a likely reconstruction.

286. VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS TO THE ARYCANDEANS, A.D. 257/8

Arycanda. Reused in late grave. Copied in 1892 by Kalinka who also made a squeeze. Copied in 1912 by Pace with less accuracy.

The important edition is that of E. Kalinka, *TAM* II (1944) 784 with a photograph of the squeeze. [*IGRR* III (1906) 643 from Kalinka's copy; B. Pace, *Annuario, Scuola di Atene* 6–7 (1923–1924) 434–435; Cagnat and Besnier, *Année ép.* (1929) 29; *SEG* VI (1932) 959].

286

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλιος Λικίνιος]
 Οὐα[λεριανός] Εὐσε[βῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός],
 ἀρχι[ερεὺς μ]έγιστος, Γ[ερμανικὸς μέγιστος],
 δ<η>μαρχ[ικῆ]ς ἐξουσίας τὸ [ς', ὕπατος τὸ δ', πα]
 τῆρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπ[ατος], καὶ [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖ]
 5 σαρ Πούβ[λιος] Λικ[ίνιος] Γ<α>λλιηνὸς Εὐ[σεβ(ῆς) Εὐτυχ(ῆς) Σεβασ
 (τός)],
 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγ[ιστος], Γερμανικὸς [μέγ[ιστος], δημαρχ[ικῆς] ἐξου]
 σίας τὸ ς', ὕπατος τὸ γ', π[ατὴρ] π[ατρίδος], φν[θύπ[ατος], καὶ Πούβ[λιος]
 Λικ[ίνιος]]
 Οὐα<λ>εριανὸς ἐπιφανέστα[τος Καῖσαρ vacat]
 Ἀρυκανδέων <τ>οῖς ἀρχ[ουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ]
 10 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ vacat [χαίρειν]
 Ὑμεῖς [-----]
 [-----]

Translation

[Imperator Caesar P. Licinnius] Va[lerian] Pius [Felix Augustus], pontifex maximus, G[ermanicus Maximus], tribunician power for the [sixth time, four times consul], pater patriae, proconsul, and [Imperator Cae]sar P. Lic. Gallienus Pius [Felix Augustus], pontifex maximus, Germanicus [Maximus, tribunician] power for the sixth time, thrice consul, pater patriae, proconsul, [and P. Lic]. Valerian most distinguished [Caesar], to the archons, [Council], and Demos of the Arycandean, [greetings].

You [— — —

Commentary

Reference to the sixth tenure of the tribunician power in line 8 dates the epistle to A.D. 257/8.

It is in our collection the second document in which the office of *pontifex maximus* is duplicated, but in No. 171 the duplication

seems to have been an error. Not so here. Both Augusti bear the title, as they do also in *ILS* 538 and 539, *CIL* VIII 2380/1. The title in the emperor's nomenclature has been advanced to a position before the victory epithet Germanicus Maximus, just as in No. 288 and in *ILS* 538 and 539, *CIL* 2380/1.

Nos. 274, 286, and 287 attest the Greek form ἐπιφανέστατος (not εὐγενέστατος) Καῖσαρ for the Latin title *nobilissimus Caesar*, which means "Caesar born of an emperor" (H. U. Instinsky, "Zur Entstehung des Titels nobilissimus Caesar," *Festschrift für Rudolf Egger* 1 [Klagenfurt, 1952] 98–103).

287. VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS TO JULIUS APELLA,
TRANSLATION, A.D. 258–259

Smyrna. The inscription, preserving the end of the Latin text above the Greek translation, was copied by an Englishman (Traheron) in the house of an English physician in Smyrna. This copy, recorded by Thomas Smith, is the only one known. The inscription could not be found in September 1973 in either museum in Izmir and appears to be lost.

Th. Smith, *Septem Asiae ecclesiarum notitia* (new ed., Utrecht, 1694) 60.

A. Boeckh, *CIG* II (1843) 3182; Th. Mommsen, *CIL* III 1 (1873) 412; Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, mentioned as No. 81 but not transcribed; G. Lafaye, *IGRR* IV (1927) 1404.

See also W. Eck, *Chiron* 7 (1977) 365–383, especially nn. 53 and 58.

287

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλιος Αἰκίν

νιος Οὐαλεριανὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς

Σεβαστὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πού

10 βλιος Αἰκίννιος Γαλλι[ηνὸς] Εὐτυχῆς Σε

βαστὸς [καὶ] Αἰκίννιος Κ[ορνήλιος] ἐπι

φανέστατος [Σαλωνεῖνος] Καῖσαρ Ἰουλίω

Ἀπελλᾷ ἰδίῳ χαίρειν

<Οὐκ> ἀμφίβολόν ἐστιν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ

15 ὀρι[σθ]έντα τηρεῖσ[θαι δεῖν] γνώμη[ς ἥ]

καὶ ὤνητάς [κωλύει] συγκλητικὰ <ς> οἰκίας

20 ξενίαις ἐνοχλεῖ[σθ]αι· <αἱ δὲ> ἀρχ<αἱ> τοῦ
 των τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς [ὑπαγορεύεις σε]αυτὸν
 κεκτῇ[σθαι ἐφεξ]ῆς φροντίσουσιν ἵνα [τὰ]
 ἀριστα ἀρεσ[τὰ ἐν ταῦ]τῷ παραφυλάσση
 ται [] Ἑρρωσο, Ἀπελλᾶ

The restorations and emendations are those of *CIG* 3182 except for 12 Σαλωνεῖνος, 15 δεῖν] γνώμη[ς ἧ], 16 [κωλύει], 17 ξενίαις (Eck) and ἐνοχλεῖ[σθ]αι, 18 [ὑπαγορεύεις σε]αυτὸν ([λέγεις σε]αντὸν Mommsen), 19 ἐφεξ]ῆς (Mommsen) and τὰ ([ἃ ἄν Boeckh), 20 ἀρεσ[τὰ ἐν ταῦ]τῷ (ἀρέσ[κη ταῦ]τ(α) Boeckh).

Translation

Imperator Caesar Publius Licinnius Valerian Pius Felix Augustus and Imperator Caesar Publius Licinnius Gallienus Felix Augustus [and] Licinnius C[ornelius] most distinguished [Saloninus] Caesar, to their Julius Apella, greetings. There is [no] doubt in this case that the prescriptions [should] be maintained [of a senatus] consultum [which prevents] senatorial houses, even when bought, from being disturbed by requisitions of accommodations. The magistrates of these cities in which you indicate you have property will exercise perpetual care so that the excellent arrangements remain unchanged. Farewell, Apella.

Commentary

The inscription contains the end of a Latin epistle and the more or less complete text of a Greek translation of the same epistle from the emperors Valerian and Gallienus, with whom their Caesar Saloninus is associated. The article ὁ, omitted in No. 286, line 9, may or may not have been present here in line 11. The epistle was doubtless composed in the East by Valerian alone (or his secretaries) without Gallienus.

The epistle is addressed to Julius Apella (*PIR*² J 155), scion of a noble Pergamene family. The subject was uncovered by Eck, who made the crucial restoration ξενίαις in line 17. Apella had estates in the territories of various cities and had applied to the emperors, that is to Valerian, for an additional guarantee of the immunity from requisitions which a senator's estates enjoyed even outside his native city, even if newly acquired by purchase. Why it was necessary to have an additional guarantee is not indicated,

but wartime conditions or recent elevation to senatorial rank or possibly even Apella's own lack of senatorial experience may have made it desirable. Whether or not Valerian depended somewhat on the cooperation of Apella in supplying the army, he sided with this local magnate against the cities.

Boeckh's assumption that the word οὐκ was lost at the beginning of line 14 was probably based on the fact that line 14 as copied by Traheron is too short and on the likelihood that the Latin original had been the common phrase *non dubium est*. It is supported by the direction of a group of lacunae rising toward the left from line 18. The γνώμη is probably, as Eck suggested, a *senatus consultum* (cf. the rescript of Severus and Caracalla, No. 256). In line 18 the restoration ὑπαγορεύεις renders more accurately than Mommsen's λέγεις the verb *suggeris* of the Latin text.

288. GALLIENUS TO THE ATHENIANS, DECEMBER, A.D. 265

Eleusis. Eight fragments of white "Pentelic" marble which join as five are now (1972) in the epigraphical storeroom of the Museum at Eleusis. Two of the four fragments known to Graindor and one unknown (in lines 5–8) were photographed by Oliver in 1940.

P. Graindor, *Marbres et textes antiques d'époque impériale* (Ghent, 1922) 75–80 from fragments reported by A. N. Skias in *ArchEph* (1895) cols. 103 f., No. 17; K. Clinton, *ArchEph* (1971) 121–124, No. 17 with photographs, the old and four new fragments including two (F and G) reported (but not recognized) by Skias, *ArchEph* (1899) cols. 206 f., No. 32.

M. Rosenbach, *Galliena Augusta* (Ἀπαρχαί 3, 1958) chap. 3, "Gallienus und Eleusis"; Follet, *Athènes*, 142 f.; [D. Armstrong, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 246–251. K.C.]

288

[Αὐτ]οκρ[άτωρ Καῖσαρ Π]ρύπ[λιος Αἰκίνιος Γαλλιηνὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυ]χῆ[ς
 Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς]
 μέγισ[τ]ος, [Γερμανικ]ός Μ[έγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐ]ξουσίας τὸ δ᾽, ὑπατ[ρος τὸ
 τ̄, ἀποδεδειγμένος]
 τὸ ζ̄, πατή[ρ πατρίδος] τῇ [ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βου]λῇ καὶ τ<ῇ> βουλῇ τῶν
 [καὶ τῷ δήμῳ]

- 4 τῷ Ἀθηνα[ίῳ]ν [vacat χ]αίρειν vacat
 Ἀπόχρη τοῖς [ἐφ'] ὑμᾶ[ς] ἀφ[ικνουμένοις] --- ἐν] ἄστει τὴν ἀγορὰν λαμ
 [βάνειν] ---
 [-----] ΑΥΤΗΝΟ[-----]νος ἀπαντας ΑΠΕΥ[-----]
 [-----] μὴ τὸ τῶ[ν] --- τ]εταγμένω[ν] ---
 8 [-----]ος γα[-----] ὑπομνημ]ατισμὸν [τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου]
 [βουλῆς] --- τ]οῖν θεοῖν κ[-----]
 [-----] τα δατυπ[ολ] ---
 [-----] ΗΣΩΓ[-----] ΙΜΕΙ[...]
 12 [-----] τ]ὸν δ' αὐτ[ὸν] --- ἀγ]ορὰν π[αρασχεῖ]ν στρατ[...]
 [-----] λαμβανο[-----] ΙΑ κω[λύσαι] ἐπιχε[ιρ]ο[υ]
 [-----] ἀπασιν ἀνθ[ρώποις] --- ἀν]ὰ τὴν Ἐλ[λάδα] ἵ]ν' εἴη δυν
 [ατόν]
 [-----] ἀπε[μ]φθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν [-----] ναίσι[ς] ἵ]να ὑφέξει δίκη[ν].
 16 [Ἐπρέσβευεν Ἰού]γιοις Μινουκιανός vv [Εὐτυχεῖτε] vacat

This text, of which the restorations in lines 1–4 and 16 are almost certain, is based on that of Clinton but incorporates changes. In line 3 the restoration might be either ϕ , made by Skias, or $\Psi\bar{N}$, made by Graindor (see Commentary). Follet proposed τοῖς [ἐς] ὑμᾶ[ς] ἀφ[ικνουμένοις] for line 5, ἵνα ?] μὴ τῶ[ν] σιτίων τίμημα ὑπὲρ τῶν ? τ]εταγμένω[ν] for line 7, τ]ὸν δ' αὐτ[ὸν] τρόπον? ἀγ]ορὰν π[αρασχεῖ]?ν στρατ[ιωτικῶν ὠνίων or στρατ[ιώταις] for line 12, κω[λύσαι] ἐπιχε[ιρ]ο[υ] for line 13, ἀνθ[ρώποις] and κατ]ὰ τὴν Ἐλ[λάδα] ἐ]νεῖη δύν[αμις or ἵ]ν' εἴη δύν[αμις] (but my photograph taken in 1940 suggests rather δυν[ατόν]) for line 14, [ἀποδόσθω δὲ? ὁ μετ?]απεμφθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν εἰ[παρχον τοῖς Ἀθη]ναίσι[ς] ἵ]να for line 15 (?Παναθη]ναίσι[ς] Oliver), Ἐπρέσβευεν for line 16.

Translation

Imperator [Caesar] Publius [Licinius Gallienus Pius] Felix [Augustus Germanicus Maximus, tribunician] power for the fourteenth time, [six times] consul, [designated for] the seventh, pater [patriae], to the Council [of the Areopagus] and the Council of the [--- and the demos] of the Athenians, greetings.

It is enough for those who come to you [---] the market [in] town [---] decree [of the Areopagus] --- the two goddesses [--- provide a] market [---] try to prevent [---] all men [--- throughout H]el[las in order that] it might be possible [---] sent to [---], where

(or when) he will stand trial. Junius Minucianus [was ambassador. Farewell].

Commentary

The date, as Graindor, who first identified the emperor, pointed out, falls between 10 December and 31 December of A.D. 265, because Gallienus already had the tribunician power for the fourteenth time and was still *consul designatus VII*. The title *pontifex maximus* is rightly restored before the victory epithet, as one sees by comparing No. 286 and the other parallels cited by Clinton. Valerian and Gallienus gave a new emphasis to the office.

The date at which the Council of the Seven Hundred and Fifty (so Graindor in line 3) replaced the Council of the Five Hundred is unrecorded. J. H. Oliver ("The Solonian Constitution and a Consul of A.D. 149," *GRBS* 13 [1972] 99–107) connected it with the capture of Athens by the Herulians in A.D. 267, in which case it would not yet have come into existence (A.D. 265). On the other hand, D. J. Geagan (*The Athenian Constitution after Sulla* [*Hesperia* Suppl. 12, 1967] 74 f.) and Meritt and Traill (*Agora* 15 [1974] 22) adhere to an earlier date (235–238) when the prytany lists cease. Graindor suspected that the change occurred under Gallienus but before the epistle.

Clinton's new fragment with the word χαίρειν proves that the document was an epistle, not a rescript of the type envisaged by Graindor, who, however, was right in calling attention to Hadrian's epistle at the Piraeus, No. 70 above, and to the suggestive words ἐν] ἄστει τὴν ἀγοράν. For the phrase ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις in line 14 see Meritt and Traill, No. 460, line 22 and our No. 217, lines 27–28 with commentary.

Junius Minucianus, as Clinton points out, was the incumbent of the sophistic chair at Athens (*PIR*² J 778).

289. GALLIENUS TO AURELIUS PLUTIO ABOUT AN ORPHAN

Hermopolis, Egypt. One document on the verso of a papyrus now G 12.558 (Plate 20) in the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library, Josefsplatz 1, Vienna.

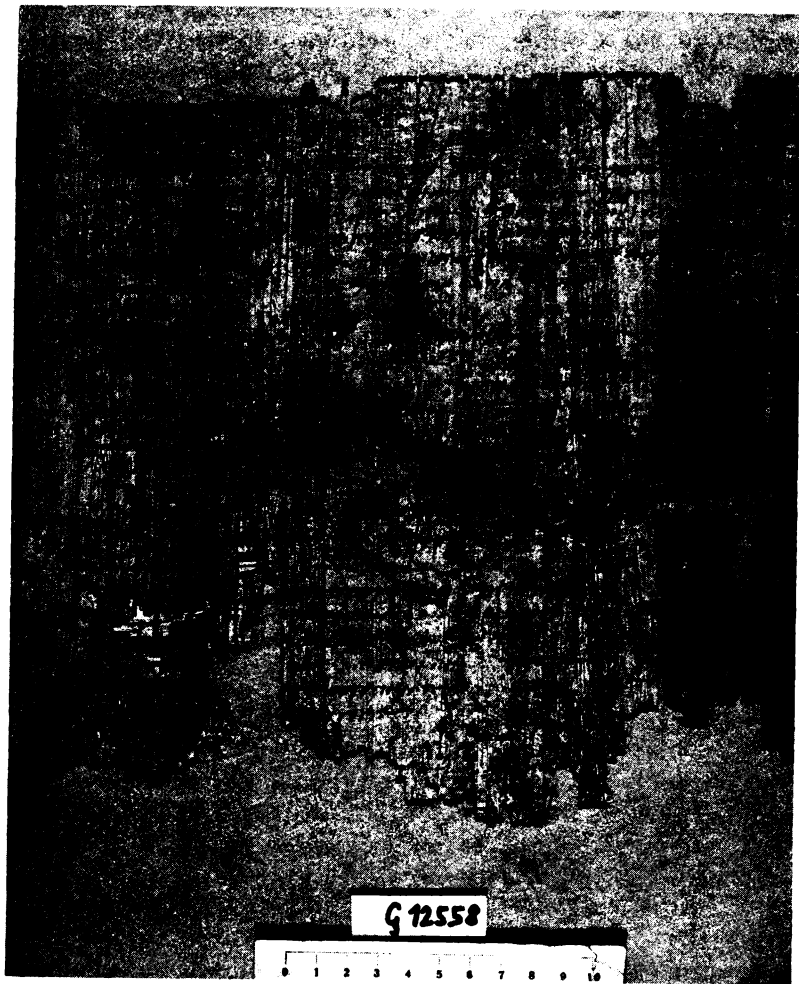


Plate 20. No. 289.

C. P. Wessely, *CPHerm* (Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde 5, Leipzig, 1905) No. 119 verso 3; U. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*, No. 158; A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (Loeb Classical Library, 1934) No. 217. See also P. Viereck, *Deutsche Rundschau* 137 (1908) 112; Fr. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* (Leipzig, 1917) 5–7 (on line 15); W. Schubart, *Aegyptus* 31 (1951) 155 (on lines 13–14).

The verso of the papyrus contains a series of documents of which only the epistolary rescript of Gallienus to Aurelius Plutio

is here reproduced. This was preceded by a letter perhaps of the president of the Council to the orphan and was followed by a letter of the prefect Juvenis Genialis to the Council of the Hermopolitans with appreciation of "the benefaction and favor of our lord the invincible Gallienus" to the orphan.

289

*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλιος [Λ]ικίν[ν]ιος Γαλληνὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχ[ή]ς
Σεβαστὸς
Αὐρηλίῳ Πλουτίωνι vacat χαίρειν vacat Καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως
10 αὐτὸ ἐποίησας πρὸς τ[ήν] ὀρφανίαν ἐπιμεληθεὶς τοῦ πα[ιδὸς] καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐ
τοῦ ἐπιστε[ίλ]ας μοι. Κα[λεῖ] δὲ καὶ ἡ το[ῦ δι]καίου τάξις ὥς καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς
παρὰ σοῦ δεήσεως
ἐτοίμως [δ]ιδ[ό]ναι τ[ῇ]ν χάριν. Γεγενημένος γάρ ἐκ γονέων μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδου
πατρὸς [δ]ὲ Νείλου δ[ν]δρῶν εὐδοκίμων κατὰ τὴν ἀθλησ[ιν] γενομένων, πῶς
[ο]ὐ κ[όσ]μος ἦν καὶ πα[ντὸς ε]ύχερῶς τυχεῖν; Ἀφείσθω τοίνυν Αἴλιος
Ἀσκληπιάδης
15 [δ] καὶ [Νεῖ]λος χρεῖων [κα]ὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ [λε]ιτουργιῶν ἀπασῶ[ν, ἴν]α διὰ
τὴν [τῶν προγόνων]
ἀρετὴν ἀπολαύσῃ τῆς ἐμῆς φιλανθρωπίας vacat*

8–12 Wessely. 13 πατρό[ς] Schubart (παιδό[ς τ]ε Wessely), cetera Wessely. 14 πα[ντὸς] aut π[ά]ντων Schubart (πα[ῖ]δα Wessely), cetera Wessely. 15 χρεῖων Oertel (πορειῶν Wessely), cetera Wessely.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Publius Licinnius Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus to Aurelius Plutio, greetings.

You acted nobly and in a manner fitting to his orphanhood when you took care of the boy and wrote to me concerning him. Both the order of justice and the arguments from your petition call for a ready grant of the favor. For with ancestors on the one hand like Asclepiades and with a father like Nilus he is descended from men who became famous in athletics. How was it not proper for him easily to obtain [everything]? Accordingly, let Aelius Asclepiades called also Nilus be released from all services, offices, and public duties or contributions, [in order that] on account of the excellence [of his ancestors] he may enjoy my benevolence.

Commentary

The procurator Aurelius Plutio (*PIR*² A 1576), himself from Hermopolis, had written to the emperor on behalf of the orphan Aelius Asclepiades of Hermopolis. He appears to have had considerable influence with Gallienus, whom, however, also the boy's descent from famous athletes clearly impressed as an indication of traditional ἀρετή. In lines 12–13 some omission or corruption has occurred. Wessely read γεγενημένος γὰρ ἐκ γονέων μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδου παιδός [ς τ]ε Νείλου. Wilcken suggested γεγενημένον ἐκγόνου Ἀ. παιδός [ς δ]ὲ Ν., and Schubart proposed πατρό[ς] for παιδός[ς]. Other solutions could be considered, e.g., γεγενημέν(ω) and the assumption that a second name after that of Asclepiades has fallen out.

In line 14 παντός (or πάντων) τυχεῖν means “obtain all the immunities of successful athletes.” In line 15 Wessely's reading πορειῶν is rejected in favor of χρεῖων by Hunt and Oertel, who discuss terminology.

290–293. FOUR FRAGMENTARY CONSTITUTIONS OF THIRD CENTURY EMPERORS

Egypt. Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, now in the British Museum (BM 2449), where it was examined in October 1972.

B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 12 (1916) 1407.

W. Williams, “The Libellus Procedure and the Severan Papyri,” *JRS* 64 (1974) 94–95.

290

Σεβασ[?]τος
]α[.].[.].]ια
]αι πρὸς τὸ
].ασης

5

]σ[.].[.]. δικάσ[αν]τος
]γτο ταῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς σοὶ ἐπικουροῦ
[μεν] Νουμμίω Τούσκω καὶ Μουμμίω
[Βάσσω ὑπάτοις ἀπὸ Νέ]ας πόλεως ζ (ἔτους) Φαῶφι ιζ.

291

Ε]ύσεβης Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς

]ς ἐν μετουσίᾳ καθεστὼς καὶ
]σης παρὰ τοῦτο τε ἡγουμένου τῆς
] πρυτανίαν ὥστε μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς
]! τῶν ναυκλήρων ρύ σὺν μετα
]καιον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν μετα
 15 νο]μιζόμενα δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐφέσεσιν
] ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης.

292

ο]ς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς
 τὸ] τρίτον ὑπατος πατὴρ πατρίδος
 20 τῇ βο]υλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν.
]το ἀνήκοός εἰμι οὐθ' ὅτι παῖδες
].

293

*A[ὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Δομίτιος Αὐ]ρηλιανὸς [Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σε
 βαστὸς?*

[	32 letters	]	αι ἐντ[
.[	31 letters	]	ω ἀργι[
25 αι[	26 ε[	27 τ[	28 αποτ[	29-32 lost 33 'Οξ[υρυγχιτῶν

Commentary

The four documents of the recto are probably connected in subject, but this cannot be verified, because so little remains of very long lines. The first and second documents appear to be imperial rescripts; the third is an epistle; not enough remains of the fourth to warrant an identification. Grenfell and Hunt assigned the first document convincingly to the consulate of Nummius Tuscus and Mummius Bassus, A.D. 258, but the date of publication in Egypt seems to have been in 259, the seventh regnal year of Valerian and Gallienus. The second and third documents may have emanated from Claudius II in 270, as Grenfell and Hunt surmise. The fourth came from Aurelian.

The Neapolis from which the first document was sent would be Naples rather than Cavalla or Neapolis near Alexandria, if Valerian was back in Rome by June 258 (see Th. Pekáry, "Bemerkungen zur Chronologie des Jahrzehnts 250–260 n. Chr.," *Historia* 11 [1962] 123–128). Phaophi 17 equals 14 October.

SPEECHES

294. EULOGY OF AGRIPPA BY AUGUSTUS, 12 B.C.

Egypt. Papyrus from the Fayum, now in Cologne, *P. Colon.* inv. no. 4701.

L. Koenen, "Die 'Laudatio Funebris' des Augustus für Agrippa auf einem neuen Papyrus," *ZPE* 5 (1969) 217–283 and 7 (1971) 186 (correction on provenience); E. W. Gray, "The Imperium of M. Agrippa," *ZPE* 6 (1970) 227–238; E. Malcovati, "Il nuovo frammento augusteo della Laudatio Agrippae," *Athenaeum* 50 (1972) 142–151.

See also L. Koenen, "Summum fastigium," *ZPE* 6 (1970) 239–243; J. Modrzejewski, *RHD* 49 (1971) 166–167; M. Reinhold, "Marcus Agrippa's Son-in-law P. Quinctilius Varus," *ClPhil* 67 (1972) 119–121; F. De Martino, *Storia della costituzione romana* 4.1 (2nd ed., Naples, 1974) 435–436, n. 6.

294

Col. I

[-----]

ἡ [γ]άρ τοι δημαρχική σοι ἐξουσία εἰς πέν
τε ἔτη κατὰ δόγμα συνκλήτου

Λέντ<λ>ων ὑπατευόντων ἐδόθη· καὶ

πάλιν αὐτὴ εἰς ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα

5 [ὑ]πατευόντων Τιβερίου Νέρωνος

καὶ Κυν<τι>λίου Οὐάρου γαμβρῶν τῶν

σῶν προσεπεδόθη· καὶ εἰς{ς} ἃς δῆπο

τέ σε ὑπαρχείας τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ῥω

μαίων ἐφέλκοιτο, μηθενὸς ἐν ἐ

10 κείναις ἐξουσίαν <εἶναι> μείζω τῆς σῆς ἐν

νόμῳ ἐκυρώθη. δξ[ιωθ]εῖς πλείστ[του]

ὕψους καὶ ἡμετέραι [ἀρχῇ συνάρχων]

ταῖς ἰδίαις <ἀρετ>αῖς κα[ὶ εὐεργεσίαις]

πάντων ἀνθρώπων [κατεκράτεις ...]

Col. II

.[

ου[

.[

10 εἶναι addidit Koenen. 13 ιδιαισιδιαις papyrus, ἰδίαις (ἀρεταῖς) Gray.

The restorations of lines 1–10 are due to Koenen, those of lines 11–14 to Gray.

Translation

— — — for the tribunician power was granted to you for five years by senatus consultum in the consulship of the two Lentuli, and again it was extended for another lustrum in the consulship of your sons-in-law Tiberius Nero and Quinctilius Varus. In fact it was enacted that in whatever provinces the affairs of Rome drew you, none had an *imperium* greater than yours. Deemed worthy of the highest elevation and [sharing in] our [rule, you won the hearts] of all men by your personal [merits] and [virtues].

Commentary

Koenen identified the fragment as from a publicized translation of the funeral oration which Augustus delivered over Agrippa in 12 B.C. (Cassius Dio 54.28.3). The papyrus has great interest because of its mention of the *tribunicia potestas* granted to Agrippa in 18 B.C. and renewed in 13 B.C., even more because of the *imperium* indicated by lines 7–11, whether an *imperium maius* (so Koenen) or in 23 an *imperium aequum* (so Gray), renewed in 18 and coupled with the *tribunicia potestas*, and in 13 made *imperium maius* for another five years, or an *imperium* first granted in 18 (Malcovati).

The translation has some curious features like the word Ὀλυμπιάς for *lustrum*. The word ὑπαρχείας instead of ἐπαρχείας in line 8 exercised the first editor. Polybius (7.9.5) might call Libyans ὑπαρχοι of the Carthaginians. The word ἐπαρχία had not yet become the fixed translation of *provincia* as it was in the Greek version of the *Res Gestae* and henceforth. The phrase πλείσ[του] ὕψους enabled Koenen to attribute to Augustus the invention of the Neronian and Tacitean expression *summum fastigium*.

Gray's restoration of line 12 finds support in the word *collegium* at Brescia, where the original list of names, possibly selected by Vespasian himself for the Capitolium which he was erecting, recorded the legitimate emperors and those *qui in collegium rece[pti sunt]* (i.e., Marcus Agrippa and Drusus Minor) who received the

tribunician power (N. Degrassi, *RendPontAcc* 42 [1969–70] 135–192).

295. SPEECH OF GERMANICUS TO THE ALEXANDRIANS

Oxyrhynchus. Recto of a papyrus of the first half of the first century after Christ, now in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Society, very difficult to read, seen at London on 20 October 1972 through the kind assistance of Eric Turner.

Eric Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 25 (1959) 102–112, No. 2435 with photographs; D. G. Weingärtner, *Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus* (Pap. Texte u. Abh. 11, 1969) 73–90 (text, photograph, translation, and commentary, with textual notes also by A. Henrichs and R. Merkelbach).

See also E. Volterra, *Iura* 2 (1960) 262–264; D. Hennig, “Zur Ägyptenreise des Germanicus,” *Chiron* 2 (1972) 349–365.

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- ['Ο] ἐξηγητής: «'Επέδωκα {υ} τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἀμφό[τερα]
τὰ ψηφίσματα {ι}» ∨ 'Ο αὐτοκράτωρ: «'Εγὼ{ι} πεμφθ[ε]ις
[ὕπο τοῦ] π[α]τρός, ἄνδρες 'Αλεξανδρεῖς.»
[Οἱ] δὲ οὐκ ἐφώνησαν, «Οὐδὰ κύρι' ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι,
5 [δ]έξῃ τῶν ἀγαθῶν» ∨ 'Ο αὐτοκράτωρ: «Περὶ πολλοῦ
[μὲν οὖν] ποιησάμενοι, ∨ ἄνδρες 'Αλεξάν[δ]ρεις],
[δ]ιαλεχθῆναί με ὑμῖν ἀνάσχεσθε, ἵν' ὅταν ἐπιτελέ
[σ]ω τὰ πρὸς ἕκαστα{ι} τῶν ἐπισζητουμένων, τότε ἐπι
[σ]ημάνῃσθαι. ἐγὼ πεμφθεὶς, ὡς ἔφη<v>, ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
10 [ἐ]πὶ τὸ καταστήσασθαι τὰ{ι}ς πέραν θαλάσσης ἐπαρχίας,
[ἐ]χων χαλεπότατον πρόσταγμα πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸν
πλοῦν καὶ ∨ διὰ τὸ ἀπεισπᾶσθαι πατρὸς καὶ μάμμης
[κ]αὶ μητρὸς καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ οἰκίῳ[]
προκίμεν[..... πρό]σταγμα τὸν[...]ον[.]η[.....]
15 [.]κονητον[...]σπασάμην τὸ οἰκίον πολυμ[.....]
[κ]αὶνὴν δὲ θάλασσαν {ε}ῖνα{ι} πρῶτον μὲν εἰδὼ τὴν ἡ[με]
[τ]έραν πόλιν» ∨ Οἱ [δ]ὲ οὐκ ἐφώνησαν «'Επ' ἀγαθῶι!»
[Αὐ]τοκράτωρ: «ἤδη δὲ ἡγησάμενος αὐτὴν εἰν[αι]
[λ]αμπρότατον θέαμα{ι}, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τ[ὸν]
20 [ῥ]ωα καὶ κτ[ίσ]την πρὸς τὸν κυνῆ τι ἐστὶν ὁ[φ]εῖ[λημα]
[το]ῖς τῶν αἰ[σ]χρῶν ἀντεχωμένοις, ἔπειτα διὰ τὰς εὐ[ρ]
[γε]σίας τὰς ἐμοῦ πάππου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ πατρὸς· ἐστίν

- [.]τῆσεισως οἰμιν πρὸς ἐμὲ δίκαιον.» Καὶ σιοπωμένῳ
 [οἱ ὅχλ]οι ἐφώνησα <ν>, «'Ιό, ζῶῃς ἐπὶ πλῖον!» 'Ο αὐτοκράτωρ:
 25 «[Ἄ] ρ[ῖ]δ' ἔκ[α]σ[τ]ος. ἐμεμνήμην δὲ καὶ ὡς ταῦτα πολλὰ
 [πλ]ασείονα τεθησαυρισμένα{ι} ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις
 [εὐ]χαῖς εὖρον· ἐγράφη μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσματα{ι}
 [ἔν]τιμα{ι} συνηλεγμένων καὶ ὀλίγων δυνδρῶν []

Col. II

Traces opposite I 23 and 27

Most restorations are by Turner. Readings: 1 ἐπέδωκ' αὐτῷ αὐτοκράτορι Turner, ἐπέδωκα {ν} τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Henrichs. 8–9 ἐπι[σ]ημάνεσθ(ε). 9 εφη. 11 πρ(ῶ)τον. 13 οἰκ(ε)ίων. 15 [ἀ]π[ε]σπασάμην τῶ(ν) οἰκείων πολὺ μ[ἐν γῆς] Merkelbach. 16 {ε}ῖνα{ι} Turner aut {ε}ῖν' ἄν Oliver; πρ(ῶ)τον. 19 πρ(ῶ)τον. 20 κ(οι)νῇ. 21 ἀντεχ(ο)μένοις, ἔπ(ε)ιτα. 23 (ὑ)μῖν Weingärtner, (ῶ)ιμ(η)ν Turner; σι(ω)πωμένῳ, Bartoletti. 24 εφωνησα. 25]Ταῦτ' aut [Αὐτὰ] Oliver, [Ἄ] Turner. 25–26 πολλὰ | [πλ]ασ(ε)ίονα. 27 [ψυ]χαῖς Henrichs, [εὐ]χαῖς Turner.

Translation

The *exegetes*: "I gave the imperator both decrees."

The imperator: "I am sent, oh men of Alexandria, by my father."

The crowd shouted: "Hurrah. All to the good, oh lord; you will receive the blessings you deserve."

The imperator: "Since, oh men of Alexandria, you are eager to have me speak to you, be patient and hold your applause until I finish dealing with each of the requests. I am sent, as I said, by my father to restore order in the provinces across the sea, and I have here a very stern task, first because of the sea voyage and because I have been torn from my father, grandmother, mother, brothers and sisters, children, and friends — — — — —
 — — — — — new sea, in order first that I might see our city" — —

The crowd shouted: "All to the good."

Imperator: "I already knew that it was a magnificent sight, first because of the founder here, to whom a debt is owed by all in common who cling to the same ideals. Then, because of the benefactions of my grandfather Augustus and my father, that you have [affection?] for me is just."

And when he was silent, the crowd shouted: "Hurrah, long life to you."

The imperator: "Everyone knows that, but I recalled it, because I found these things multiplied in the treasury of your [hearts]. For there have been honorary decrees composed when only a few men were gathered together — — —

Commentary

Eric Turner in his excellent first edition identified the documents on the recto and verso as analogous to the *Acta Alexandrinorum* (H. A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* [Oxford, 1954]: "If they do not belong to the *Acta* literature as such they might still have formed a model for them"). I quite agree with the latter view and am inclined to consider them copies of official records (*ὑπομνηματισμοί*) of what was said and done on certain important occasions. Turner himself has shown how they differ from the *Acta*; they are neither anti-imperial nor trial scenes. Above all, the papyri were written soon after the visit of Germanicus in 18/19, and they do not have the tone of propaganda or literary pretension.

The recto reports a ceremony where the *exegetes* presented two honorary decrees to Germanicus (*PIR*² J 221), who made in response an emotional speech, constantly interrupted by acclamations. One parallel for the acclamations will be found in the Iobacchi inscription (*IG* II² 1368 = *SIG*³ 1109 = Sokolowski, *LSG* 51), lines 13–31. See also Th. Klauser, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 1 (1950) cols. 216–233, s.v. *Akklamation*, and L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (Vienna, 1953) 379, n. 95. It was not a prepared but an improvised speech, Turner thinks. The fact that Germanicus is here called *αὐτοκράτωρ* shows how natural it was to treat him like an emperor (see No. 17 the edict of Germanicus). He defines his mission: *πεμφθεὶς . . . [ἐ]πὶ τὸ καταστήσασθαι τὰ[ι]ς πέραν θαλάσσης ἐπαρχίας* (= *missus ad constituendas transmarinas provincias*, Turner, who refers the reader to Tac. *Ann.* 2. 43). Germanicus considered Egypt a province, Tiberius did not.

Line 21, [το]ῖς τῶν αὐτ[ῶν] ἀντεχωμένοις: Turner dotted every letter of the word αὐτ[ῶν], so that one may well ask if the reading is not rather ἀ[ρ]ε[τ]ῶν. Surely the phrase τῆς ἀρετῆς (or τῶν ἀρετῶν) ἀντέχεσθαι was in the mind of Germanicus, as he

mentioned Alexander. Whether the success of Alexander was due more to fortune or to virtue remained one of the most common themes of rhetorical exercise. Plutarch (*De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute* 326 E) describes him as εὐβουλία καὶ καρτερία καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη παραπεμπόμενος, and in 322 C he says that Alexander's πᾶν ἔργον ἐκ πασῶν ἔοικε τῶν ἀρετῶν μεμεῖχθαι. Even if the right reading is indeed τῶν ἀντ[ῶν], it must be explained as meaning "the same ideals of excellence." The local Hellenes venerated Alexander as a hero now, but once the ideal man and ruler from whom the city derived its character. Since the thought of Germanicus moved in the old groove of ἀρεταὶ καὶ εὐεργεσίαι, the latter word follows immediately in reference to Augustus and Tiberius.

At the beginning of line 23 the restoration [δ' ἔ]τησεις (read αἵτησις) would not give the right sense. One might conjecture ἔστιν | [ἔσ]τησεις (for αἰσθησις), ὡς οἶμαι, ὃ μὲν πρὸς ἐμέ, but the word δίκαιον (not δικαία) remains. Perhaps the meaning is: "You have a warm feeling toward me, I suspect; it is right."

At the end of line 23 the reading σιοπωμένῳ was suggested orally in 1964 by the late Vittorio Bartoletti. Compare Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 5. 45: τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ σιωπήσαντος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεξεν.

The verso, which we have not reproduced, concerns an Alexandrian embassy before Augustus and his *consilium* in A.D. 13.

296. NERO'S INVITATION TO THE ISTHMIAN GAMES OF A.D. 67 AND SPEECH

Acraephia. A stele of local limestone reused in the building of the Church of St. George at Akraiphnion and now in the Museum at Thebes. H. 1.21 m.; W. 0.34 m.; Th. 0.34 m. Height of letters 0.011 m.

M. Holleaux, *BCH* 12 (1888) 510–528, and *Discours prononcé par Néron à Corinthe en rendant aux grecs la liberté* (Lyons, 1889); W. Dittenberger, *IG VII* (1892) 2713 and *SIG*² (1898) 376; U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechisches Lesebuch* (Berlin, 1902) Text 395–396 (lines 1–26 only), *Erläuterungen* 259–299; [Lafossade, *De epistulis*, 8 (lines 1–26 only)]; H. Dessau, *ILS* (1906) 8794; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ (1917) 814; [Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 359–360, No. 56 (lines 1–26 only); M. P. Charlesworth, *Documents . . . Claudius and Nero*, Nero

2; G. Pfohl, *Griechische Inschriften* (Munich, 1966) 136–137, No. 119 (lines 1–26 only); E. M. Smallwood, *Documents . . . Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, 64]. See also A. Wilhelm's review of SIG² in *GGA* (1903) 797–798. After Holleaux the most important discussion is that of M. P. Charlesworth, "Nero: Some Aspects," *JRS* 40 (1950) 72–76. On the date, see A. Garzetti, *L'impero da Tiberio agli Antonini* (Bologna, 1960) 630.

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- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ ὡς λέγει: Τῆς εἰς με εὐνοί
 ας τε καὶ εὐσεβείας ἀμείψασθαι θέλων τὴν εὐγε
 νεστάτην Ἑλλάδα κελεύω πλείστους καθ' ὅ[σ]ο[ν]
 ἐνδέχεται ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἐπαρχείας παρίνα
 5 ἰς Κόρινθον τῇ πρὸ τεσσάρων Καλανδῶν Δε
 κεμβρῶν vacat
 Συνελθόντων τῶν ὁχλῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προσεφώ
 νησεν τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα vacat
 Ἀπροσδόκητον ὑμεῖν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, δωρεάν,
 10 εἰ καὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης
 ἀνέλπιστον, χαρίζομαι τοσαύτην ὅσιν οὐκ ἐχωρή
 σατε αἰτεῖσθαι. πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἀχαΐαν καὶ τὴν ἑως
 νῦν Πελοπόννησον κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνες ὡς
 λάβετε ἐλευθερίαν, ἀνισφορίαν, ἣν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 15 χεστάτοις ὑμῶν πάντες χρόνοις ἔσχετε ὡς
 ἢ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίοις ἢ ἀλλήλοις ἐδουλεύσατε ὡς
 Εἶθε μὲν οὖν ἀκμαζούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρειχό
 μην ταύτην τὴν δωρεάν, ἵνα μου πλείονες ἀπολ
 αῶσι τῆς χάριτος· διὸ καὶ μέμφομαι τὸν αἰῶνα
 20 προδαπανήσαντά μου τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χάριτος·
 καὶ νῦν δὲ οὐ δι' ἑλεον ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ δι' εὐνοίαν εὐερ
 γεῶ, ἀμείβομαι δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῶν, ὧν καὶ διὰ
 γῆς καὶ διὰ θαλάττης αἰεὶ μου προνοομένων πε
 πείραμαι, ὅτι μοι τηλικαῦτα εὐεργετεῖν παρέσχον·
 25 πόλεις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ἡλευθέρωσαν ἡγεμόνες,
 [[Νέρων δὲ μόνος]] ἐπαρχείαν vacat

There follows an Acraephian decree in honor of Zeus Eleuth-
erios Nero

Translation

Proclamation of Emperor Caesar: Wishing to requite for its
goodwill and loyalty to me the most noble Hellas, I invite very

many from this province to put in an appearance, if possible, at Corinth on the twenty-eighth of November.

When the crowds gathered at a meeting, he delivered the following words:

I make, oh men of Hellas, a gift that you would never have expected, though nothing is beyond hope from my great desire to help; I am making a gift so great that you never entertained the thought of asking for it. All ye who dwell in *Achaea* and especially in the land hitherto called the island of Pelops, receive freedom, immunity, which not even in your happiest hours you all had, for you were enslaved either to foreigners or to each other. Would that I were offering this gift when Hellas was at its peak, so that more might enjoy the favor! For this I blame Time, who anticipated me in expending the greatness of the favor. But even now I make the benefaction, not through pity of you but through goodwill, and I requite your gods, whose care of me I have ever experienced on land and on sea, because they afforded me the opportunity to make such benefactions. For other princes too have liberated cities, [Nero alone] has freed a province.

Commentary

Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ λέγει: "The coins indicate that Nero adopted the praenomen 'Imperator' on his coins during A.D. 66, and we may safely apply in this context the information offered us by Suetonius (*Nero* 13.14) that Nero, after the reception of Tiridates in Rome, was *consalutatus imperator*" (so H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* 1 [1928] clxvi, followed by M. Hammond, *MAAR* 25 [1957] 22–23, A. S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet Glasgow* 1 [1962] lxxix–xcii, and P. Kneisel, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser* [*Hypomnemata* 23, 1969] 37). The coins, however, have *Imp.Nero.Caesar.Aug.*

Speech at the Isthmus: Elizabeth R. Gebhard, *The Theatre at Isthmia* (Chicago and London, 1973), reports the results of excavations and in Fig. 44, 2 on p. 83, publishes a well-preserved local bronze coin of Nero, found on the site. The coin has the head of Nero on the obverse. "On the reverse the emperor, togate, is standing on a *suggestum* facing left, his right hand outstretched. On either side of the figure are the words ADLO(cutio) AVG(usti)."

Through the zeal of Nero's high priest at Acraephia, Epami-

nondas (for whom the reader may consult *GRBS* 12 [1971] 221–237 with decrees in his honor), the oration delivered on 28 November of 67 (so already in *GRBS* 12 [1971] 237, but it has now been proved all over again by P. A. Gallivan, “Nero’s Liberation of Greece,” *Hermes* 101 [1973] 230–234) was engraved on marble. The freedom, which lasted less than three years, was canceled by Vespasian (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 8; Pausanias 7.17.3–4), ἀπομεμαθηκέναι φήσας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

This oration, says Wilamowitz, belongs to those which show in every part a distinct rhythmic cadence. It must be recited with a pathetic modulation. It is an egregious example of bad taste and *corrupta eloquentia*, with special attention to *clausulae*. In line 15 it is the rhythm alone which keeps πάντες from following χρόνοις. In line 26 ἐπαρχίαν had a long penult (false); with a short penult (ἐπαρχίαν) the rhythm would have been wrong.

The only textual problem comes in line 26 where between 11½ and 12½ letters are missing to judge from lines 25 and 27, if one counts iota as half a letter. Holleaux restored Νέρων δὲ ὅλην in his first edition, Νέρων δὲ μόνος in his second; Th. Mommsen, he said, wanted Νέρων δὲ Κλαύδιος. Dittenberger (*SIG*² 376) pointed out that a vertical hasta incompatible with sigma appeared in the facsimile before ἐπαρχίαν. Wilhelm then reversed the phrase to read [μόνος δὲ Νέρω]ν. Hiller von Gaertringen, followed by Abbott and Johnson, Charlesworth, Pfohl, and Smallwood, read [Νέρων δὲ μόνος κα]ὶ ἐπαρχίαν, which, I think, exceeds the space of the erasure. The truth appears in a letter from Eugene Vanderpool, who reexamined the erasure at my request. He writes: “There is no separate stroke before the E of ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΑΝ. The rasura begins close to the E along a vertical line which may or may not be the hasta of a letter. The majuscule text in the *Corpus* is wrong in showing a separate vertical stroke before the E. The minuscule text ignores this stroke, rightly.”

297. VESPASIAN’S SPEECH TO THE ALEXANDRIANS,

A.D. 69/70

Egypt. Papyrus from the Fayum, now in Vienna, *P. Graec. Vindob.* 25 787. The script is said to date from the end of the first or beginning of the second century after Christ.

Hans Gerstinger, *AnzWien* 95 (1958) 195–202; [*SBWien* VI 9528].

See also C. P. Jones, *Historia* 22 (1973) 309.

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[.....]. .εἰ[... ἡδομαι ἀκούων ὑ]
 [μᾶς] ἀκολούθως ἱοῖς [τῆς ἰ]ερῶ[τάτης]
 συγκλήτου δόγμασι καὶ τῇ τῶν π[ισ]
 τοτάτων στρατευμάτων πρὸς ἐμὲ [δ]
 5 μονοίᾳ χαίρειν ἐπὶ τῷ παρειληφέν
 ναι με τὴν [τῶν κοιν]ῶν πρόνοιαν· καὶ
 αὐτὸς δὲ [ἐ]ξ ἀρχῇ[ς] ἐξαίρετον σώζων,
 ἄνδρες Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, τὴν πρὸς τὴν πό
 λιν ὑμῶν διάθεσιν προστίθημι τῇ
 10 προτέρᾳ μου γνώμῃ καὶ τὸν νῦν λό
 γον, ἐξ οὗ πάντα ἐλπ[ί]ζειν ὀφείλ[ετε]
 τὰ κάλλιστα vacat Ἀρχόμενος δὲ [λέ]
 γ[ω]ν ὅσα μὲν ἀπὸ παντ[ι] [-----]
 [---]

Translation

— — — I am delighted to hear that] in accord with the decrees of the most sacred Senate and with the unanimity of the most loyal troops in respect to me [you] rejoice that I have assumed the care of [public affairs]. And I myself, oh men of Alexandria, maintaining from away back my exceptionally favorable disposition toward your city, add to my former opinion the rationale of today's occasion, from which you ought to entertain the finest expectations. As I begin my speech — — —

Commentary

The restorations are by the first editor except for line 6 (C. P. Jones, [*περὶ ὑμῶν* Gerstinger]).

The first editor, supported by C. P. Jones, identified the speaker as the emperor Vespasian. The reference to the decrees of the Senate disturbed Henrichs (*ZPE* 3 [1968] 51–80), but it is unnecessary to assume that these *senatus consulta* had already been passed. Vespasian, counting on them, may well have claimed them beforehand on the advice of Tib. Julius Alexander, who had publicized Galba's plans for Egypt at a suspiciously early date.

APPENDICES OF DOCUMENTS FROM JOSEPHUS AND THE CORPUS IURIS

To the large collection of imperial constitutions from inscriptions and papyri a small collection of well-known constitutions from Josephus and the *Digest* are appended for the reader's convenience. The editor has not examined the manuscripts for himself. There is no doubt today that the documents here reproduced from Josephus are genuine documents. The epistle of Gaius to the procurator Petronius (*Ant. Iud.* 18.301 and 304) does not have the same degree of authenticity and is here omitted as both atypical and suspect (based on rumor rather than publicly available documentation). Similarly the texts accepted from the *Corpus iuris* are clearly authentic, although interpolations are perhaps conceivable. Other citations where the words, though Greek, could be a summary or paraphrase of an imperial constitution are not included because only the emperor's own words have a place here.

APP. 1. AGRIPPA TO THE CYRENEANS ON THE JEWS, 14 B.C.

Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 16.169–170.

App. 1

Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας Κυρηναίων ἀρχουσι βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν.

Οἱ ἐν Κυρήνῃ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤδη ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπεμψε πρὸς τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατηγὸν ὄντα Φλάβιον (v.l. Φάβιον) καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπιμελουμένους, ἵνα ἀνεπικωλύτως ἀναπέμπηται τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὥς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς πάτριον, ἐνέτυχόν μοι νῦν ὥς ὑπὸ τινων συκοφαντῶν ἐπηρεάζονται καὶ ὥς ἐν προφάσει τελῶν μὴ ὀφειλομένων κωλύονται οἷς ἀποκαθιστάνειν κατὰ μηδέν᾽ αὐτῶν ἐνοχλούμενοι, καὶ εἴ τινων ἱερὰ χρήματα ἀφῆρηται τῶν πόλεων, τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποκεκριμένους καὶ ταῦτα διορθώσασθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίοις κελεύω.

Translation

Marcus Agrippa to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Cyreneans, greetings.

In regard to the orders which Augustus sent Flavius who was the governor in Libya and to the others in charge of the province

that sacred moneys were to be forwarded without hindrance to Jerusalem as was their ancestral custom, the Jews at Cyrene have now petitioned me, saying that they are being harassed by certain informers and being hindered on the pretext of taxes that are not at all owed.

I order restitution to the Jews who are in no way to be molested, and that if any of the cities have taken away for themselves sacred moneys, the persons who have been chosen for these matters rectify this for the local Jews.

Commentary

Violations of Jewish rights have occurred because, encouraged by informers, cities of the Cyrenaica, whom Agrippa does not accuse by name and could not before a long investigation, have been levying taxes and perhaps even confiscating for attempts to evade alleged taxes the money which the Jews traditionally sent to Jerusalem and which was not taxable according to the clear orders of Augustus. Cyrene was the mother city of the Cyrenaica and the main seat of the governor's court, but Agrippa addressed his epistle to Cyrene probably because he heard from the Jews that the Cyreneans themselves were offenders. The epistle contains a warning for all the cities.

In order not to have *ἱερὰ χρήματα* as subject of a plural verb, it suffices to emend *τινων* to *τινες* and read *εἰ τιν(ες) ἱερὰ χρήματα ἀφῆρηνται τῶν πόλεων*. On the sacred money—every Jew from the age of twenty on had to contribute half a shekel annually—see J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain* 1 (Paris, 1914) 377–385.

For the date 14 rather than 13 B.C. see M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa* (Geneva, N.Y., 1933) 121–122.

The province, usually called Crete and Cyrene, but sometimes Crete, Cyrene, Libya (*Année ép.* [1972] No. 575), was normally ruled by a senatorial proconsul but perhaps not during Agrippa's tenure of an extraordinary command.

APP. 2. AGRIPPA TO THE EPHESIANS ON THE JEWS, 14 B.C.

Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 16.167–168.

App. 2

Ἀγρίππας Ἐφεσίων ἀρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν.

Τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναφερομένων ἱερῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν βούλομαι τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ἰουδαίους ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. τοὺς τε κλέπτοντας ἱερὰ χρήματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καταφεύγοντάς τε εἰς τὰς ἀσυλίας βούλομαι ἀποσπᾶσθαι καὶ παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ὧς δικαίῳ ἀποσπῶνται οἱ ἱερόσυλοι. Ἐγραψα δὲ καὶ Σιλανῷ (v.l. Σιλουανῷ) τῷ στρατηγῷ ἵνα σάββασιν μηδεὶς ἀναγκάζῃ Ἰουδαῖον ἐγγυᾶς ὁμολογεῖν.

Translation

Agrippa to the archons, Council, and Demos of the Ephesians, greetings.

Of the sacred moneys which are regularly taken to the sanctuary at Jerusalem I want the Jews of (the province of) Asia to carry out the care and protection according to their ancestral customs, and I want those who steal sacred moneys of the Jews and then take refuge in the sanctuaries with right of asylum to be dragged away and handed over to the Jews by the right by which those guilty of sacrilege are dragged away. I wrote also to Silanus the praetor so that no one would force a Jew to put up security on sabbaths.

Commentary

Compare the epistle of Agrippa to Cyrene, App. 1.

Sacrilegium was theft from an officially recognized deity. Agrippa extends the law against *sacrilegium* to cover the god of the Jews and to remove a hindrance to self-help and prosecution.

Under the regency of Agrippa Asia appears to have had a praetor instead of a proconsul. The praetor Silanus may have been C. Iunius Silanus (*PIR*² J 823), but this is uncertain.

APP. 3. EDICT OF AUGUSTUS ON PRIVILEGES OF THE JEWS,
12 B.C.

Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 16.162–165.

App. 3

Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας <τὸ $\overline{\alpha}$ >, λέγει:

Ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εὐχάριστον εὐρέθη οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι καιρῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ προγεγεννημένῳ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ τε ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτῶν Ὑρκανός, ἔδοξέ μοι καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συμβουλίῳ μετὰ ὀρκωμοσίας, γνώμη δῆμου Ῥωμαίων τοὺς Ἰουδαίους χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἔθισμοις (v.l. *θεσμοῖς*) κατὰ τὸν πάτριον αὐτῶν νόμον, καθὼς ἐχρῶντο ἐπὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχιερέως *θεοῦ* ὑψίστου, τὰ τε ἱερὰ εἶναι ἐν ἀσυλίᾳ καὶ ἀναπέμπεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς ἀποδοχεῦσιν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐγγύας τε μὴ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν σάββασιν ἢ τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐνάτης. ἂν δέ τις φωραθῇ κλέπτων τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους αὐτῶν ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ἐκ τε σαββατείου ἐκ τε *d<a>ρῶνος* (*ἀνδρῶνος* codd.), εἶναι αὐτὸν ἱερόσυλον καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἐνεχθῆναι εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. Τό τε ψήφισμα τὸ δοθέν μοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐσεβείας ἧς ἔχω πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὑπὲρ Γαίου Μαρκίου Κηνσωρίνου, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ διάταγμα κελεύω ἀνατεθῆναι ἐν ἐπισημοτάτῳ τόπῳ τῷ γεννηθέντι μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἑναργ<εῖ γ>ρ<αφ>ῃ (ἐν Ἀργυρῇ codd.). Ἐὰν δέ τις παραβῇ τι τῶν προειρημένων, δώσει δίκην οὐ μετρίαν.

Ἐστηλογραφῆθη ἐν τῷ Καίσαρος ναῶ.

Translation

Caesar Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the eleventh time, says with authority:

Since the nation of the Jews has shown itself grateful to the Roman People not only at present but also in the past, especially in the time of my father, Imperator Caesar (sic), I and my council under oath, with the consent of the Roman People, have ruled that the Jews use their own customs according to their ancestral law, just as they used to do in the time of Hyrcanus, high priest of *theos hypsistos*, and that the sacred (moneys) are inviolable and are forwarded to Jerusalem and paid to the receivers of Jerusalem, and that the Jews themselves do not put up security on sabbath days or on the preparation therefor from the ninth hour on. If anyone is caught stealing their sacred books or their sacred moneys from synagogue or ark, he is guilty of sacrilege and his estate is condemned for confiscation to the public treasury of the Romans. I order that the decree that was given to me, the decree in recognition of my piety to all men and in appreciation of C. Marcus Censorinus, along with this edict, be very prominently

erected in the place dedicated to me by the Commonwealth of Asia with plainly visible ⟨lettering⟩. If anyone violates any of the aforesaid, he shall pay no mean forfeit.

Engraved on a stele in Caesar's temple.

Commentary

The edict, dated in the Latin version *trib. pot.* with XI in the margin to 13/12 B.C., i.e., 12 B.C. because Augustus is already *pontifex maximus*, renews privileges granted to the Jews (cf. *Ant.* 14.10.2–10) by Julius Caesar, the reference to whom in §162 has been changed from θεοῦ Ἰουλίου (impossible for a Jew) to Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος. As in edicts II–V at Cyrene (Nos. 9–12), only ἀρχιερεὺς and the tribunician power are mentioned as imperial titles; but the numeral which should have accompanied the reference to the emperor's tribunician power has been omitted.

On *theos hypsistos* in §163, see A. D. Nock, "The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos," *Harvard Theological Review* 29 (1936) 39–88, especially 55–72. The god of the Jews was often called *theos hypsistos* but the term was not limited to Jehovah.

In §164 A. Reland's conjecture (1726) that ἀνδρῶν was a mistake for a Hebrew word has been revived by R. Marcus who in the Loeb translates "from a synagogue or an ark (of the Law)." *Sacrilegium* is theft from an officially recognized deity.

On C. Marcius Censorinus (§165), see G. W. Bowersock, *HSCP* 68 (1964) 207–210, whom we follow in dating the edict to 12 B.C. (rather than 3/2 B.C. when Censorinus was proconsul of Asia).

The location ἐν Ἀργυρῇ is unfamiliar and must be corrupt, but Scaliger's emendation Ἀγκύρῃ was rightly rejected by Mommsen as historically impossible. A palaeographically easier emendation ἐναργ(εῖ γ)ρ(αφ)ῇ is supported by analogy with formulas calling for good visibility, e.g., σύνοπτα τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσ(ιν) in No. 275 Col II, line 23.

APP. 4–5. TWO EDICTS OF CLAUDIUS ON THE JEWS

App. 4. Edict of Claudius for Egypt and Syria on the Jews of Alexandria, A.D. 41

Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 19.280–285.

App. 4

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, λέγει·
 'Επιγνοὺς ἀνέκαθεν τοὺς ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ 'Ιουδαίους 'Αλεξανδρεῖς λεγομένους
 συγκατοικισθέντας τοῖς πρώτοις εὐθὺ καιροῖς 'Αλεξανδρεῦσι καὶ ἴσης πολιτείας παρὰ
 τῶν βασιλέων τετευχότας, καθὼς φανερόν ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς
 καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων, καὶ μετὰ τὸ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡγεμονίᾳ 'Αλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβασ-
 τοῦ ὑποταθῆναι πεφυλάχθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια ὑπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων ἐπάρχων κατὰ
 διαφόρους χρόνους μηδεμίαν τε ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ τούτων γενομένην τῶν δικαίων
 αὐτοῖς, ἅμα καὶ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν 'Ακύλας ἦν ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῶν
 'Ιουδαίων ἐθνάρχου τὸν Σεβαστὸν μὴ κεκωλυκέναι ἐθνάρχας γήνεσθαι βουλόμενον
 ὑποτετάχθαι ἐκάστους ἐμμένοντας τοῖς ἰδίους ἔθεσιν καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἀναγκαζόμε-
 νους τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν, 'Αλεξανδρεῖς δὲ ἐπαρθῆναι κατὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς 'Ιου-
 δαίων ἐπὶ τῶν Γαίου Καίσαρος χρόνων τοῦ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ παραφροσύ-
 νην, ὅτι μὴ παραβῆναι ἠθέλησεν τὸ 'Ιουδαίων ἔθνος τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν καὶ θεὸν
 προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν, ταπεινώσαντος αὐτούς· βούλομαι μὴδὲν διὰ τὴν Γαίου παραφρο-
 σύνην τῶν δικαίων τῷ 'Ιουδαίων ἔθνει παραπεπτωκέναι, φυλάσσεσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ
 τὰ πρότερον δικαιώματα ἐμμένονσι τοῖς ἰδίους (v.l. 'Ιουδαίων) ἔθεσιν, ἀμφοτέροις τε
 διακελεύομαι τοῖς μέρεσι πλείστην ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν, ὅπως μηδεμία ταραχὴ γένηται
 μετὰ τὸ προτεθῆναι μου τὸ δίκταγμα.

Translation

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, tribunician power, says with authority:

Having long ago learned that the Jews in Alexandria called Alexandrians had been joint settlers with the Alexandrians in the earliest times and had received from the kings equal rights, as emerged clearly from the letters and edicts in their possession, and that after Alexandria was placed under our hegemony by Augustus their rights had been safeguarded for them by the prefects sent at various times and that no dispute concerning these rights arose for them, and that when the ethnarch of the Jews died at the time that Aquila was in Alexandria, Augustus had not put an end to ethnarchs, for he wanted each group which had been placed under Roman guidance to abide by its own customs and not to be compelled to violate its ancestral religion, and having learned that the Alexandrians occasionally rose against the Jews who lived with them in the time of Gaius Caesar, who through his great folly and madness humiliated them because the nation of the Jews refused to violate their ancestral religion and address him as a god,

I want nothing of their rights to have fallen away for the nation of the Jews on account of the madness of Gaius but even their former privileges to be safeguarded for them as they abide by their own customs, and I urge both parties to take very great care that no disturbance arise after the publication of my edict.

Commentary

The edict is dated to the year A.D. 41 by the fact that the companion edict which followed this one in time is dated to A.D. 41, during the new emperor's first tenure of the tribunician power. That is why no numeral follows the reference to his tribunician power in either edict (*pace* Johnson, Coleman-Norton, and Bourne, *ARS*, Nos. 165 and 166).

The Jews were separate but equal. They had their own *politeuma* under an ethnarch and, according to Philo (*In Flac.* 74), a council of elders. Of course they were not *ἄστοι* (first-class members of the Greek community), but they truly belonged to the polis in the broad sense.

Ἀκύλας was C. Julius Aquila (*PIR*² J 165), prefect of Egypt in 10/11.

Claudius repudiates the policy of Caligula and returns to that of Augustus, whom he doubtless called θεός Σεβαστός.

App. 5. Edict of Claudius on Jews for the Rest of the Empire,
A.D. 41

Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 19.287–291.

App. 5

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὑπατος χειροτονηθεὶς τὸ δεύτερον, λέγει:

Αἰτησαμένων με βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν φιλτάτων μοι, ὅπως συγχωρήσαιμι τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἰουδαίοις φυλάσσεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἡδιστα συνεχώρησα οὐ μόνον τοῦτο τοῖς αἰτησαμένοις με χαριζόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν παρεκλήθην ἀξίους κρίνας διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν καὶ φιλίαν, μάλιστα δὲ δίκαιον κρίνων μηδεμίαν <βάρβαρον> μηδὲ Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν τῶν δικαίων τούτων ἀποτυγχάνειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ αὐταῖς ἦν τετηρημένα καλῶς οὖν <εἶχειν> καὶ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν παντὶ τῷ ὕφ' ἡμᾶς κόσμῳ τὰ πατρία ἔθνη ἀνεπικωλύτως φυλάσσειν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς ἡδὴ νῦν παραγγέλλω μου ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἐπικεικότερον χρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰς ἄλλων ἐθνῶν δεισιδαιμονίας ἐξουθενίζειν, τοὺς ἰδίους δὲ νόμους φυλάσσειν. Τοῦτό μου τὸ

διάταγμα τοὺς ἀρχοντας τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν κολωνιῶν καὶ μουνικιπίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐκτός, βασιλεῖς τε καὶ δυνάστας διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρεσβευτῶν ἐγγράψασθαι βούλομαι ἐκκείμενόν τε ἔχειν οὐκ ἑλαττον ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ὅθεν ἐξ ἐπιπέδου καλῶς ἀναγνωσθῆναι δύναται.

Translation

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, pontifex maximus, tribunician power, consul elect for the second time, says with authority:

When King Agrippa and Herod, my very dear friends, asked me to grant that the same rights as for those in Alexandria be safeguarded for the Jews in all the Roman Empire, I so granted with the greatest pleasure not only because I wished to please the petitioners in this case but because I judged that the people themselves on whose behalf I was asked were worthy on account of their loyalty and friendship to Rome, and especially because I judge it right that no city either barbarian or Greek should fail to obtain these rights, since they had been preserved for them also in the time of the divine Augustus. It is accordingly good that also the Jews throughout all our world preserve their ancestral customs without hindrance, and to them themselves I now appeal to use rather judiciously this benefaction of mine and not to set at naught the religious beliefs, objects, and practices of the other nations, but to preserve their own.

I want the magistrates of the *polis* communities and of the colonies and *municipia* in and outside of Italy, likewise both kings and dynasts through their own representatives, to have this edict of mine inscribed and to have it on exhibition no less than thirty days where it can easily be read from ground level.

Commentary

The two petitioners were King Agrippa I (*PIR*² J 131) and Herod, future king of Chalcis (*PIR*² H 156). See also A. H. M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (Oxford, 1938).

In §289 Claudius bases the grant first on the pro-Roman attitude of the Jews and second on the policy of Augustus toward the cities or *civitates* which made up the Roman Empire, a policy of tolerance and protection. The word *βάρβαρον* is here inserted because the Greek *μηδέ* reflects a lost contrast to the adjective *Ἑλληνίδα* and that contrast may be seen in the epistle of Hadrian

on the *paeanistae*, No. 105. If Claudius referred to Augustus as θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, then θεῖον seemed a less offensive paraphrase to a Jew. But Claudius himself may have spared their sensitivity.

In §290, where Niese inserted the word ἔχειν after καλῶς, the emperor grants freedom of worship and of communication but warns the Jews against intolerance toward others.

In §291 the emperor calls for publication of his edict, though not on permanent material. The section is particularly interesting for the typically Roman or Graeco-Roman division of communities into *res publicae* and something more like *res privatae*. The republics are *poleis*, colonies, and *municipia*, which have magistrates who represent the people (i.e., either all or the first-class citizens). The other communities belong to kings and dynasts. However schematic, U. Coli's "Regnum," *SDHI* 17 (1951) deserves to be mentioned.

For the last clause, compare *SC de Bacchanalibus*, line 27, *ubi facillime gnosci potis sit*; *Tabula Hebana* (Oliver and Palmer, *AJP* 75 [1954] 229), lines 20–21, *que loco commo[dissime legi] possint*; and *Digest* 14.3.11.3, *unde de plano recte legi possit* (the same phrase abbreviated in the *Lex Malacitana* LI, A. d'Ors, *Epigrafiá jurídica*, p. 313).

APP. 6. CLAUDIUS TO THE CITIZENS OF JERUSALEM AND THE JEWS ON THE HOLY VESTMENTS, A.D. 45

Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 20.11–14.

App. 6

Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Γερμανικός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον, ὑπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τέταρτον, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δέκατον, πατὴρ πατρίδος, Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀρχουσι βουλῇ δῆμῳ Ἰουδαίων παντὶ ἔθνει χαίρειν.

Ἀγρίππα τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ὃν ἐγὼ ἔθρεψα καὶ ἔχω σὺν ἐμαυτῷ εὐσεβέστατον ὄντα, προσαγαγόντος μοι τοὺς ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις εὐχαριστοῦντας ἐφ' ἣ πεποιήμαι τοῦ ἔθνους ὑμῶν κηδεμονία, καὶ αἰτησαμένων σπουδαίως καὶ φιλοτίμως τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸν στέφανον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑμῶν εἶναι, συγχωρῶ καθὼς ὁ κράτιστος καὶ μοι τιμωτάτος Οὐδέλλιος ἐποίησεν. συγκατεθέμην δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ πρῶτον διὰ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θρησκεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, ὧν τὴν πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς γινώσκω σπουδῇ, πάνυ χαρισθῆναι ταῦτα ποιήσας, πρὸς οὓς ἔστι μοι πλεῖστα δίκαια φιλίας, κρατίστους ὄντας κάμοι τιμίους. Ἐγγραψα δὲ περὶ τούτων καὶ

Κουσπίω Φάδω τῷ ἐμῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ. Οἱ τὰ γράμματα κομίζοντες Κορνήλιος Κέρωνος (v.l. καὶ Λέων), Τρύφων Θευδίωνος, Δωρόθεος Ναθαναήλου, Ἰωάννης Ἰωάννου. Ἐγράφη πρὸ τεσσάρων καλανδῶν < Ἰουλίῳ > ἐπὶ ὑπάτων < Ἀντωνίου > Ροῦ-
 φου καὶ Πομπηίου Σιλουανοῦ.

Translation

Claudius Caesar Germanicus, tribunician power for the fifth time, consul designate for the fourth time, imperator for the tenth time, pater patriae, to the magistrates, Council, Demos of Jerusalem, to the whole nation of Jews, greetings.

My dear Agrippa, whom I myself raised and keep with me because he is very devoted, introduced your ambassadors. They expressed thanks for the concern which I have shown for your nation, and they asked earnestly and zealously that the holy vestment and the crown be under your control. I gladly grant this just as the excellent and most esteemed Vitellius did. I agreed to this plan first because of my own piety and my desire that each group practice religion according to its ancestral ways, and next because by so doing I shall quite please King Herod himself and Aristobulus the Younger, whose devotion to me and zeal for you I know. Being excellent men high in my estimation, they have many claims of friendship upon me.

I wrote concerning these matters also to Cuspius Fadus my procurator.

Those bringing your letter were Cornelius — —, Tryphon son of Theudion, Dorotheus son of Nathaniel, John son of John.

Composed on 28 June in the consulship of Antonius Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus.

Commentary

The Agrippa here mentioned (*PIR*² J 132) later became king of Judaea like his father, Agrippa I.

For the importance of control over the sacred vestments and crown see the inscription from Dmeir: *Mélanges Daux*, 289–294.

Vitellius is L. Vitellius, cos. III in A.D. 47, who distinguished himself as legate of Syria in the time of Tiberius and remained one of the foremost figures of the period.

Claudius as usual supports the prestige of friends who support him. Herod (*PIR*² H 156) was king of Chalcis. Aristobulus (*PIR*² A 1052) was Herod's son.

Cuspius Fadus (*PIR*² C 1636) had recently been sent to Judaea as procurator.

The list of ambassadors begins with a corruption which may lie in the form *Κέρωνος* or in the *nomen* *Κορνήλιος*, after which, if correct, one would expect a nominative.

The epistle is dated at the end to 28 June 45. The month, lost in the Greek codices, is preserved in some of the Latin. This pair of suffect consuls (the full name of the first was A. Antonius Rufus) were still in office on 3 October according to a wax tablet reported by G. Barbieri, *Epigraphica* 29 (1967) 7–8.

APP. 7. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE COMMONALTY OF THE THRACIANS ON APPEALS

Digest 49.1.1 from Ulpian *liber primus de appellationibus*.

The question is whether one can appeal from a rescript of the emperor, when someone else (e.g., the governor) has consulted the emperor and received a rescript. Does any right of appeal subsist? *Quid enim, si in consulendo mentitus est? de qua re extat rescriptum divi Pii* πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Θρακῶν, quo ostenditur provocari oportere. *verba rescripti ita se habent:*

App. 7

Ἐὰν ἐπιστείλῃ τις ἡμῖν ἄττα (Taurellii, ἃ διὰ codd.) καὶ ἀντιγράφωμεν ἡμεῖς ὁτιοῦν, ὑπάρξει τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπικαλεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπόφασιν. εἰ γὰρ διδάξαιεν ἢ ψευδῶς ἢ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχειν τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, οὐδὲν ὕφ' ἡμῶν εἶναι δόξει (Mommsen, δόξη codd.) προδιεγνωσμένον, {τῶν} ὡς ἑτέρως ἔχουσιν τοῖς γραφεῖσιν ἀντεπεσταλκότων.

Translation

If anyone sends us questions in writing and we write anything in reply, it shall be possible for those who so wish to appeal the decision. For if they should be able to show that the questions submitted in writing were falsely or inaccurately presented, it will appear that no ruling by us with binding effect has been made because we had given the replies for questions differently formulated.

Commentary

The rescript was doubtless given in epistolary form. In the last clause the word τῶν was rightly deleted by Mommsen.

On a conflict between the authority of rescripts and the general rule of the admissibility of appeal against decisions, see W. Litewski, "Die römische Appellation in Zivilsachen," *RIDA* 13 (1966) 292–296.

APP. 8. ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE COMMONALTY OF ASIA ON IMMUNITY FOR PHYSICIANS AND TEACHERS

Modestinus *libro secundo excusationum* (Digest 27.1.6.2 and 7).

App. 8

"Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ῥητόρων ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει τῶν τὴν ἀλειτουρησίαν ἐχόντων, καὶ αἰρέσεις τινὲς προσκείμεναι τῷ νόμῳ, ὅπερ δηλοῦται ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς γραφείσης μὲν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας, παντὶ δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ διαφερούσης, ἥς ἐστὶν τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο ὑποτεταγμένον:

Αἱ μὲν ἐλάττους πόλεις δύνανται πέντε ἰατροὺς ἀτελεῖς ἔχειν καὶ τρεῖς σοφιστὰς καὶ γραμματικοὺς τοὺς ἴσους· αἱ δὲ μείζους πόλεις ἐπὶ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας, τέσσαρας τοὺς παιδεύοντας ἑκατέραν παιδείαν· αἱ δὲ μέγισται πόλεις δέκα ἰατροὺς καὶ ῥήτορας πέντε καὶ γραμματικοὺς τοὺς ἴσους. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐδὲ ἡ μεγίστη πόλις τὴν ἀτέλειαν παρέχει.

εἰκὸς δὲ τῷ μὲν μεγίστῳ ἀριθμῷ χρῆσασθαι τὰς μητροπόλεις τῶν ἐθνῶν, τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ τὰς ἐχούσας ἀγορὰς δικῶν, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ τὰς λοιπὰς.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἡ αὐτὴ διάταξις τοῦ Πίου οὕτω λέγει:

Φιλοσόφων δὲ οὐκ ἐτάχθη ἀριθμὸς διὰ τὸ σπανίους εἶναι τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας· οἶμαι δὲ ὅτι οἱ πλουτῶν ὑπερβάλλοντες ἐθελονταὶ παρέξουσιν τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ὠφελείας ταῖς πατρίσιν· εἰ δὲ ἀκριβολογοῖντο περὶ τὰς οὐσίας, αὐτόθεν ἤδη φανεροὶ γενήσονται μὴ φιλοσοφοῦντες.

Translation of Sections from Imperial Letter

Immune (physicians and teachers): the lesser cities may have five physicians and three sophists and a like number of critics of literature; the more important cities may have seven healers and four teachers for each of the two disciplines; the most important cities may have ten physicians and five teachers of eloquence and

the same number for literature. Even the largest city does not allow immunity in excess of this number.

Of philosophers a number has not been specified because the philosophers are rare. But I think that those who are outstandingly rich will voluntarily offer the advantages of their wealth to their ancestral cities; were they to be niggardly with their property, they will from this very fact be already exposed as no philosophers.

Commentary

Modestinus cites the epistle as from Antoninus Pius on immunities. It limits, not the number of physicians and teachers, but the number of those with immunity.

On physicians and teachers see K.-H. Below, *Der Arzt im römischen Recht* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 37, 1953); L. Cohn-Haft, *The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece* (Smith College Studies in History 42, 1956); H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1948); G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969); N. Lewis, "Exemption of Physicians from Liturgy," *BASP* 2 (1965) 87–92; V. Nutton, "Two Notes on Immunities," *JRS* 61 (1971) 52–63.

Students of imperial interest in education are referred to R. Herzog, "Urkunden zur Hochschulpolitik der römischen Kaiser," *SBBerlin* (1935); to Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, chap. 4; and to J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 13, 1970) 80–82, where earlier literature is cited. The reform represented by this constitution led Below to divide his chapter 2 on the privileged position of physicians into the period down to Antoninus Pius and that after. The *De excusationibus* of Herennius Modestinus (*PIR*² H 112), a pupil of Ulpian, was written in Greek (see F. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science* [Oxford, 1946] 250–252). On what Modestinus was trying to do here the reader may consult E. Volterra, "L'opera di Erennio Modestino de excusationibus," *Studi in onore di Gioacchino Scaduto* (Padova, 1970) 3:581–604 and also L. Pellicieri, *Labeo* 24 (1978) 37–42.

APP. 9. ANTONINUS PIUS TO UNKNOWN ON IMMUNITY OF PHILOSOPHERS, TEACHERS, AND PHYSICIANS

Modestinus *libro secundo excusationum* (*Digest* 27.1.6.8).

App. 9

Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως Κομμόδου διατάξεσιν ἐγγεγραμμένον κεφάλαιον ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς, ἐν ᾗ δηλοῦται καὶ φιλοσόφους ἀλειτουργήσαν ἔχειν ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῶν. Ἔστιν δὲ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα:

Ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτοις ἅπασιν ὁ θεϊότατος πατὴρ μου παρελθὼν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διατάγματι τὰς ὑπαρχούσας τιμὰς καὶ ἀτελείας ἐβεβαίωσεν, γράψας φιλοσόφους, ῥήτορας, γραμματικούς, ἰατροὺς ἀτελεῖς εἶναι γυμnasiarchῶν, ἀγορανομῶν, ἱεροσυνῶν, ἐπισταθμιῶν, σιτωνίας, ἐλαιωνίας καὶ μήτε κρίνειν μήτε πρεσβεύειν μήτε εἰς στρατείαν καταλέγεσθαι ἄκοντας μήτε εἰς ἄλλην αὐτοὺς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐθνικὴν ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἀναγκάζεσθαι.

Translation of Section from Imperial Letter

Likewise for all these my most divine father (Hadrian), right after coming to the office, guaranteed by edict their existing honors and immunities, writing that philosophers, rhetors, teachers of literature, physicians were immune from undertaking gymnasiarchies, aedileships, priesthoods, provision of lodgings, duties as grain or oil buyers and were not to be jurors or go on embassies or be enrolled for military duty against their will or be forced into provincial or any other service.

Commentary

See the commentary on the preceding, in which Antoninus Pius limited the number of physicians and teachers who could claim immunity. Hadrian had granted immunity to all.

The reference to compulsory service as jurors is best understood by comparison with No. 8 (Edict I at Cyrene) and with Pliny to Trajan 10.58.1 as explained in Sherwin-White's commentary.

For the liturgies of gymnasiarchs, grain and oil buyers one may consult L. Robert, *ArchEph* (1969) 24–30, who on p. 27, n. 14, cites texts referring to priesthoods, embassies, and expensive aedileships as well.

On the billeting of soldiers see M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW* 1561.

APP. 10. RESCRIPT OF ANTONINUS PIUS TO
BIRDCATCHERS

Digest 8.3.16 from Callistratus, *liber tertius de cognitionibus*.
Divus Pius aucupibus ita rescripsit:

App. 10

Οὐκ ἔστιν εὐλογον ἀκόντων τῶν δεσποτῶν ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις χωρίοις ἰξεύειν.

Translation

It is unreasonable that you hunt birds on other people's property when the owners are unwilling.

Commentary

The reply appears to be a brief subscript, probably complete.

**APP. 11. RESCRIPT OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS EXCEPTING
CUNNING WOMEN FROM AID**

Digest 16.1.2.3 from Ulpian, *liber vicensimus nonus ad edictum*.

After citing a *senatus consultum* to protect women, Ulpian continues: "Sed ita demum eis subvenit, si non callide versatae: hoc enim Pius et Severus rescripserunt, nam deceptis non decipientibus opitulatur (scilicet senatus consultum) et est et Graecum Severi tale rescriptum:

App. 11

Ταῖς ἀπατώσαις γυναιξίν τὸ δόγμα τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς οἱ βοηθεῖ.
infirmetas enim feminarum non calliditas auxilium demeruit.

Translation of Rescript

The *senatus consultum* does not aid the women who deceive.

Commentary

Since Ulpian refers to this rescript as if it were complete, the reply was doubtless given in subscript form.

**APP. 12. SEVERUS ALEXANDER TO THE COMMONALTY OF
THE HELLENES IN BITHYNIA, A.D. 222**

Digest 49.1.25 from Paul, *liber vicensimus responsarum*:

App. 12

Αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ Ἑλλήνων.

Ἐκκαλεῖσθαι μὲν πῶς ἂν τις κωλύοιτο ὑπὸ τῶν δικάζοντων οὐχ ὀρώ, ὁπότε ἔξεστιν τὴν ἑτέραν ὁδὸν τρεπόμενον ταῦτ' ποιεῖν καὶ θάττον πρὸς με ἀφικνεῖσθαι. ὕβρει δὲ καὶ βία χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκκαλουμένους καὶ φρουρὰν στρατιωτικὴν περιστᾶν καὶ ἅπλως εἰπεῖν ἀποφράττειν αὐτοῖς τὴν δεῦρο ἄνοδον ἀπαγορεύομεν τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν ἐθνῶν. καὶ πεισθήσονται ταύτῃ μου τῇ προρρήσει, εἰδότες ὅτι τοσοῦτον μοι μέλει τῆς τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐλευθερίας, ὅσον καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ πειθοῦς.

Translation

Imperator Alexander to the commonalty of the Hellenes in Bithynia

How anyone could be prevented by the judges from making an appeal I do not see, when it is possible to pursue the other course and achieve the same thing and reach me even sooner. We forbid the procurators and provincial governors to use insult and violence against the appellants or to place a military guard around them, or in a word, to block the road hither for them. They will obey this command in the knowledge that the freedom of the governed is of just as much concern to me as is their goodwill and obedience.

Commentary

This rescript would have been recognized as an epistle even if it had not turned up on a papyrus (No. 276 *supra*). The imperial titles and the greeting which marks it as an epistle have been omitted in the *Digest*, along with the whole lower part of the constitution and the formula of farewell.

The papyrus has also ὅτε (ὁπότε D.), τραπ[όμενον] (τρεπόμενον D.), and θᾶτ[τόν] ποτε (θάττον alone D.). The discrepancies are slight indeed and the agreement impressive. The text reached Egypt in the time of the prefect Annianus, whom Reinmuth (*BASP* 4 [1967] 115) dates between 238 and 240.

The text in the *Digest* has not been altered by interpolation. Its meaning is as follows. If the judge *a quo* hinders the unsuccessful litigant from appealing, the latter can resort to a different procedure (*publice proponere*) and reach the emperor more quickly because he then does not have to wait through the stages or cooling-off periods of the regular *appellatio*. See W. Litewski, "Die römische Appellation in Zivilsachen," *RIDA* 15 (1968) 144–166.

APP. 13. TRANSLATION OF RESCRIPT OF GALLIENUS TO EGYPTIAN BISHOPS, ca. A.D. 262

Eusebius, *HE* 7.13: "Shortly afterward when Valerian was reduced to slavery among the barbarians, his son, becoming emperor, exercised the rule with more wisdom and immediately relaxed through edicts the persecution current against us and authorized those who presided over the word to carry out their customary duties in freedom by means of a rescript which reads as follows":

App. 13

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Γαλληνὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς Διονύσιω καὶ Πίννῃ καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπισκόποις.

Τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῆς ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς διὰ παντός τοῦ κόσμου ἐκβιβασθῆναι προσέταξα, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων τῶν θρησκευσίμων ἀποχωρήσωσιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑμεῖς τῆς ἀντιγραφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς τῷ τύπῳ χρῆσθαι δύνασθε, ὥστε μηδένα ὑμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο, ὅπερ κατὰ τὸ ἐξὸν δύνανται ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀναπληροῦσθαι, ἤδη πρὸ πολλοῦ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συγκεχώρηται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Αὐρήλιος Κυρίνιος, ὁ τοῦ μεγίστου πράγματος προστατεύων, τὸν τύπον τὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δοθέντα διαφυλάξει.

Translation

Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus to Dionysius and Pinnas and Demetrius and the other bishops.

I ordered that the benefaction of my grant to the effect that they shall vacate the places of worship be carried out in all the world, and you may use for this purpose the writ of my rescript, so that no one gives you trouble. And this, which can be claimed in full by you wherever applicable, has been granted by me a long time ago, and therefore Aurelius Quirinius, who takes care of the *summa res*, will respect the writ given by me.

Commentary

Eusebius explicitly describes the document as a translation. The petition which called it forth has not been preserved. A. Alföldi, *Klio* 34 (1938) 343, cites the most important discussions of the rescript and dates it to about 262 after the defeat of Macrianus and Aemilian. Aurelius Quirinius is identified by H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres* (Paris, 1960) 1019, as the *magister summae rei* at Rome. This may be right, but the wording of the rescript suggests that Aurelius Quirinius was on the scene in Egypt, not in Rome, perhaps even subordinate to the

magister in Rome. Dionysius, the source of Eusebius, was the bishop of Alexandria. On the significance of the edict to which the rescript refers and which followed the capture of Valerian in 260, the reader may consult Alföldi, *Klio* 34, and W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (Oxford, 1965) 428 f. See also F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (Ithaca, 1977) 571 f.

APP. 14. TRANSLATION OF HEADING OF ALLEGED EPISTLE
OF COMMODUS TO SENATE, A.D. 192

Dio-Xiphilinus 73.15.5, καὶ τῇ βουλῇ οὕτως ἐπέστελλεν.

App. 14

*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αἴλιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Αὔγουστος
Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς Σαρματικός Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Βρεταννικός,
εἰρηνοποιὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἀνίκητος, Ῥωμαῖος Ἡρακλῆς, ἀρχιερεὺς,
δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὀκτωκαιδέκατον, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ὄγδοον, ὑπάτος
τὸ ἑβδομον, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ὑπάτοις, στρατηγοῖς, δημάρχοις, γερονσιν
Κομμοδιανῇ Εὐτυχεῖ, χαίρειν.*

Translation

Imperator Caesar Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus Augustus Pius Felix Sarmaticus, Germanicus Maximus, Brittanicus, pacifier of the civilized world, Invictus, Roman Heracles, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the eighteenth time, emperor for the eighth time, seven times consul, pater patriae, to the consuls, praetors, tribunes, fortunate Commodian Senate, greetings.

Commentary

The heading dated by seventh consulship and eighteenth tenure of the tribunician power purports to be that of an epistle of Commodus written in the last three weeks of his life. The form of the imperial name and the victory epithets are correct, and the official titles are listed in the right order, but the ancestors are missing and replaced with ridiculous compliments which Commodus may actually have received from the Senate itself. At least the two adjectives "fortunate Commodian" are supported by the evidence of the *Vita Commodi* 8.9: "et eo quidem tempore

quo ad senatum rettulit de Commodiana facienda Roma (cf. Dio-Xiph. 73.15.2, "colony of the civilized world") non solum senatus hoc libenter accepit per inrisionem, quantum intellegitur, sed etiam se Commodianum vocavit, Commodum Herculem et deum appellans." Commodus had wished to make Rome a representative capital of the civilized world (cf. Aelius Aristides, *Roman Oration* 61); the name of a colony indicated the author of its status and the emperor's enemies concentrated on this.

APP. 15. VESPASIAN TO APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

Philostratus, *Vita Ap.* 8.7.3.

E. Meyer, "Apollonios von Tyana und die Biographie des Philostratos," *Hermes* 52 (1917) 371–424; F. Grosso, "La vita di Apollonio di Tiana come fonte storica," *Acme* 7 (1954) 331–532; F. Lo Cascio, *Sulla autenticità delle epistole di Apollonio Tianeio* (Palermo, 1978) 46.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Οὐέσπασσιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Εἰ πάντες, Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ ταῦτά σοι φιλοσοφεῖν ἤθελον, σφόδρα ἂν εὐδαιμόνως ἔπραττε φιλοσοφία τε καὶ πενία· φιλοσοφία μὲν ἀδεκάστως ἔχουσα, πενία δὲ αὐθαιρέτως. Ἔρρωσο.

Translation

Imperator Vespasian to Apollonius philosopher, greetings. If all men, Apollonius, were disposed to be philosophers in the same spirit as yourself, then the combination of philosophy and poverty would be an exceedingly happy one with philosophy uncorrupted and poverty voluntary. Farewell.

Commentary

E. Meyer (p. 405) declared this epistle an obvious forgery by Philostratus. Grosso rejected the presuppositions on which Meyer's opinion was based but refrained from claiming this epistle as genuine. Lo Cascio seems to think that in view of Grosso's chapters 3 and 4 it could well be genuine but does not say so boldly.

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Γερμανικός

41.1

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υἱός [[Δομιτιανός]] Σεβαστό[ς Γ]ερμανικός

42.1

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεο]ῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
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passim

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Νέρβας Τραιανός Σεβα[σ]τὸς Γερμανικός

44.1, 45.1 (cf. 46.1–
2)

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσ]αρ, θεοῦ Νέ[ρ]ουα υἱ]ός
Νέρουας Τραιανός Σεβαστ[ὸς] Γερμανικός

47.1–3

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Νέρουνα νί]ος Νέρουνας Τραιανὸς ᾿Αριστος [Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Δακικὸς Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Νέρουνας [Τραιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερ]μανικὸς Δακικὸς Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραιανὸς	49.23–24 (cf. 50.1– 2, 57.5–6) 53.4–5 (cf. 51.11– 12) 48.1
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ β'	44.1–2
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ' ὑπατ[ρ]ος τὸ β, πατήρ πατ[ρ]ίδος	45.1–2
ἀρχ[ι]ερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσί[α]ς τὸ β' ὑπατος	46.2–3
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξου[σ]ίας τὸ τρίτο[ν, ὑπατος τὸ δεύτερον, πατήρ πατρίδος	47.2–4
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς [ἐξουσίας τὸ ι.', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ . .', ὑπατ]ρος τὸ σ', πατήρ πατρίδος	49.24–25

post mortem

θεὸς Τραιανὸς Παρθικὸς

Hadrian

[I]mp. Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Aug. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ νίος, θεοῦ Νέρουνα νιωνός, Τραιανὸς ᾿Αδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς	73.13
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιαι[οῦ] Παρθικοῦ νίος, Τραιανὸς ᾿Αδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς	101.42–43, 102, 48– 49, 104, 59

νιωνός, Τραιανὸς ᾿Αδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς
δημ[αρχικῆς ἐξουσίας] 58A, line 12. 58B,
line 6.

[– – – –] δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας [– – – –]
57–60, fragment O, line 7.

ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημ[αρχικῆς ἐ]ξουσίας,
ὑπατος τὸ β' 64, lines 3–4, 65, lines 3–4.

[ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς] ἐξουσία[ς
τὸ – – –] 61, lines 2–3.

ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
β', ὑπατ]ρος τὸ [β' 62, lines 2–3.

ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ

- β, ὑπατος τὸ β' ἀποδεδειγ[μένους τὸ] γ' 63,
lines 2–4.
- ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
γ' 69, line 3.
- [ἀρχιερεὺς] μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
δ', [ὑπατος τ]ὸ γ' 71, lines 3–4.
- ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημ[αρχικῆς ἐξουσία]ς (τὸ
. . .), ὑπατος (τὸ γ' 76, lines 1–4. (cf. 89A,
lines 3–4, 89B, lines 3–4.)
- [ἀρχιερεὺς μέγισ]τος, δημαρχικῆς [ἐξ]ου[σίας
τὸ . . . , ὑπατος τὸ γ', πατήρ πατρίδος]ς 60,
lines 20–21 [A.D. 132 or later], 76, lines 3–4,
93, lines 3–4, 97, lines 3–5, 98, lines 15–16,
99, lines 20–21, 100, lines 30–32, 101, lines
43–44, 102, lines 49–50, 164, lines 29–30,
106, lines 2–4, 110, lines 6–7.
- ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐ[ξουσί]ας τὸ
θ', ὑπατος τὸ ·Γ· 75, lines 2–4, 74 bis, lines
3–5, 108, lines 2–4 [A.D. 125], 109, lines 16–
17.
- δημαρχικῆς ἐξο]υσίας τὸ ι', ὑπατος τὸ γ' 78,
line 58.
- ἀρχ[ιερεὺς μέγ]ιστος, [δημαρχικῆ]ς ἐξουσί]ας
τὸ ι', ὑπατος τὸ γ', [πατήρ πατρίδος 66,
lines 1–9 [A.D. 128 or later].
- ἀρχ[ιε]ρεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξο[υσί]ας
τ(ὸ) ια' ὑπατος τ(ὸ) γ' 79, lines 3–5, 80, lines
25–26, 81, lines 41–42.
- [ἀρ]χιερεὺ[ς] μέγισ[το]ς, δημαρχ[ικῆ]ς
ἐξουσί]ας τὸ ιγ', ὑπατος τὸ γ', πατή[ρ
πατ]ρίδος 82A, lines 3–5 cf. 68, lines 1–7,
82B, lines 3–4, 83, lines 2–4.
- ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
ις', ὑπατος τὸ γ', πατήρ πατρίδος 85, lines
5–7.
- ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχ[ικῆς ἐξουσίας
τ]ὸ ις', ὑπατος τὸ γ' 59, lines 16–17.
- δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιη', ὑπατος τὸ γ',
πατήρ πατρίδος 86, SIDE, lines 3–5.
- ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
ιθ' ὑπατος τὸ γ' ὡ πατήρ πατρίδος 112, lines
12–13, 120, lines 2–4.
- ἀρχ[ιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημ]αρχικῆς ἐξο[υσίας

τὸ ιθ', αὐτοκράτωρ] τὸ β', ὑπα[τος τὸ γ',
πατήρ πατρίδος 87, lines 6–9.
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, [δη]μαρχ[ι]κῆ[s] ἐξουσίας
τὸ κ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ γ',
[πατ]ήρ πατ[ρίδ]ος 88A, lines 2–4. Cf. 88B,
lines 2–3, 88C, lines 2–4.
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆ[s] ἐξουσία[s]
τὸ κα', [ὑπατος τὸ γ', πατήρ πατρίδος] 103,
lines 53–54.

Τραιανοῦ Ἀδρια[νοῦ] – – 60, lines 29–30.
(Ἔτους) γ' Τραι[α]νοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] 70,
line 3.
Ἐ[τους] s Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου 72,
line 2.
Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός 72, line 3.
τὸν θεϊότατον Α[ὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα
Τραιανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστόν] 78A, line 2–
3, 78B, lines 1–2.
Ἀδριανὸν [προφη]τεύσαντα 87, line 1.
Κε(φά)λαια νο(μο)θ(εσίας) Ἀδριανοῦ 92, line
1.
post mortem
θεὸς Ἀδριανό.

Plotina

Plotina Augusta 73, line 3.
πλωτεῖνα sebasth 73, line 17 [A.D. 121].
post mortem
[θεᾷ Πλωτεῖναι τῇ σεμνοτ]άτῃ μητ[ρί] μου
74, line 2.

Antoninus Pius

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός,
θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ νίωνός, θεοῦ
Νέρουα ἔκγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός
Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστός.
Αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀντωνεῖνος 154, line 12.
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου
Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ πατρὸς
πατρίδος 157, lines 1–3.
Τ. Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ
Εὐσεβοῦς 86, FRONT, lines 2–6.
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου

Ἄδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ πατρὸς
πατρίδος, 157, lines 1–3.
τοῦ] κυρίου Ἀντωνεῖνου 123, line 1.
[Αὐ]τοκράτορι [Καί]σαρι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ
Ἄδριανῷ Ἀντωνεῖνῳ Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ
128, FRONT lines 1–5.
[τῷ μεγί]σ[τῳ] Αὐτοκράτορι Καί[σαρι Τί]τῳ
Αἰλίῳ Ἄδριανῷ Ἀντωνεῖνῳ Σεβαστῷ
Εὐσεβεῖ, πατρὶ πατρίδος 136B–C, lines 3–5.
ὁμέ[γ]ιστο[ς καὶ ἐ]νφα[νέστ]ατο[ς] θεῶν
Αὐτο[κ]ράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος
Ἄδρ[ιανὸς Ἀν]τωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς Εὐσεβής,
πατὴρ πατρίδος 136B–C, lines 11–14, 30–
35.

ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
τ[ὸ] β', ὑπ[ατος τὸ β', πατὴρ πατρίδος – –
–] 119, lines 4–6, 142, lines 2–3.
ἀρχιε[ρ]εὺς μέγιστος, δη[μ]αρχικῆς ἐξ[ου]σίας
τὸ – – –, ὑπα[τος τὸ γ' πατ]ήρ πατρίδος 126,
lines 5–7.
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
γ', ὑπατος (τὸ) γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος 115, lines
5–6, 143, lines 2–3.
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
. . . , αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β'], ὑπατος τὸ γ', πατὴρ
πατρίδος 135A, lines 4–6.
[ἀρχιερεὺς] μέγιστος, δημ[αρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
τὸ -, ὑπατος] τὸ γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος 134,
lines 4–5.
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
ς, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ γ', πατὴρ
πατρίδος 128, SIDE, lines 5–6, 144, lines 7–
12.
[ἀρχ]ιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
τὸ η', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ [δ'],
πατ[ήρ] πατρίδος 136D, lines 5–8, 138, lines
4–6.
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
ια', [αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β'], ὑπατος τὸ δ', πατὴρ
πατρίδος 118, lines 15–16.
[ἀρχιε]ρεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικ[ῆς ἐξουσίας]
τὸ ιβ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ δ',
πατὴρ πατρίδος 137, lines 6–8.

ἀρχιερεὺς μέγ[ιστο]ς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσία[ς] τὸ ιγ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', [ὑπα]τος τὸ δ, πατήρ πατρίδος	147.3–4, 139.5–8 (cf. 140.4–6)
ἀρχιε[ρ]εὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιδ', αὐτοκράτωρ [τὸ] β', ὑπατος τὸ δ, πατήρ πατρίδος	148.3–4, 141.9–12, 149.3–4, 150.3–4, 151.3–4, 152.3–4
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημ[α]ρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιε', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', [ὑπατος τὸ δ', πατήρ πατρίδος	165.35–37
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξ[ου]σίας τὸ ιζ', αὐτοκράτωρ [ρ τὸ β', ὑπα]τος τὸ δ', πατήρ πατρίδος	124.79–80
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιη', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ δ', πατήρ πατρίδος	113.2–3, 116.11–12
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ κ', αὐ[τοκρ]άτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ δ', πατήρ πατρίδος	155.4–7
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ κα', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ δ', πατήρ πατρίδος	158.23–25, 159.6–8
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ - ' αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατος τὸ [-', πατήρ πατρίδος	162.4–5

post mortem

θεὸς Ἀντωνῖνος	192.1
θεὸς Εὐσεβῆς	192.7
θεὸς Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς	

Marcus Aurelius*Marcus before accession*

Μ. Αὐρηλίω Καίσαρι Τ. Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς νίωι	86.Front.2–6
Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Καίσαρ, Αὐτοκράτορας Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ πατρός πατρίδος υἱός	157.1–4
Μάρκω Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐήρῳ Καίσαρι	163.11

Lucius before accession

Λουκ[ί]ω Αὐρηλί[ῳ] Κομόδῳ

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus as joint emperors, A.D. 161–169

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ [Μάρ]κος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντων[ί]νος Σεβ[α]στ[ῆ]ς, titles κα[ὶ]	117.1–6, 166.42–45 (cf. 167.1–3,
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- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος 168.1–5, 179.1–2)
 Οὐῆρος Σεβαστός, titles θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου
 υἱοί, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ [υἱ]ωνοί, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ
 Παρθικοῦ ἔκγονοι, θεοῦ Νέρουνα ἀπόγονοι
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος 170.1–3
 Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ
 Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος Σεβαστός
 Ἀρμενιакός
 [Αὐτοκράτ]ωρ Καῖσ[αρ Μ. Αὐρήλιος 171.1–8 (cf. 172.1–
 Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός Ἀρμε]νιακός, titles,
 καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λ. Αὐρήλιος
 Οὐῆρος Σεβαστός Ἀρ]μενιакός, titles, [θεοῦ
 Ἀν]τωνίνου υἱοί, θεοῦ Ἀ[δριανοῦ υἱωνοί,
 θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρ]θικοῦ ἔκγονοι, θεοῦ
 [Νέρουνα ἀπόγονοι
 Αὐτοκρ[άτωρ Καῖσ[αρ Μάρκος [Αὐρήλιος 173.1–10
 Ἀντ]ωνίος Σ[εβαστός Ἀρ]μενιакό[ς, titles,
 καὶ Αὐτοκρ[άτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκι]ος Αὐρήλι[ος
 Οὐῆρ]ος Σεβ[αστός Ἀρ]μενιакός] Παρθικός
 [Μέγιστος, titles, θεοῦ Ἀντ]ωνίνου υἱοί, θεοῦ
 Ἀδριανοῦ υἱωνοί], θε[ο]ῦ [Τρ]αιαν[οῦ
 Παρθικοῦ ἔκγονοι, θεοῦ Νέρουνα] ἀπόγονοι
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος 174.1–4
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀντ]ωνίνος Σεβαστός Ἀρμενιакός
 Παρθικός Μ. ἐγιστος, titles, [καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ
 Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος
 Σεβ[αστός Ἀρ]μενιакός Μηδικός Παρθικός]
 Μέγιστος, titles, [θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου υἱοί, θεοῦ
 Ἀδριανοῦ υἱωνοί], θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ
 ἔκγονοι, θεοῦ Νέρουνα ἀπόγονοι
-
- Marcus ἀρ[χιερεὺς μέγιστος], δημαρχικῆς
 ἐξουσίας, ὕπατος τὸ γ' κα[ί] 166.42–43
 Lucius δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσί[ας τὸ] β'
 Marcus ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐγιστος, δημαρχικῆς
 ἐξουσίας τὸ ιε', ὕπα[τ]ρος τὸ γ' κα[ί] 117.4–6
 Lucius δη[μαρ]χικῆς ἐξουσίας [τὸ β'], ὕπατος
 τὸ β'
 Marcus [ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς
 ἐξουσίας τὸ ιθ', αὐτοκράτ]ωρ τὸ β', ὕ[πατος
 τὸ γ' καὶ
 Lucius [δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δ', 177.2–5
 αὐτοκράτ]ωρ τὸ β', ἄνθ]ύπατος
 Marcus ἀρχιερ[εὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς

- ἐξουσί]ας τὸ ἐννεακαιδέκ[ατον, αὐτοκράτωρ
τὸ γ', ὑπατος τὸ γ'] κα[ί]
- Lucius ἀρχιερεὺς [μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς 171.1–6
ἐξουσίας] τὸ ε', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ [γ', ὑπατος
τὸ β', ἀνθύπατος
- Marcus ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημ[αρχικῆς]
ἐξουσίας [τὸ ιθ', αὐτοκράτωρ] τὸ γ', ὑπατ[ος
τὸ γ'] κα[ί]
- Lucius δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας] τὸ ε', 173.2–7
αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ γ', ὑπατος τὸ β', ἀνθύπατος
- Marcus ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς]
ἐξουσίας τὸ κα', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ε', ὑπατος
τὸ γ', πατή[ρ πατρίδος καί]
- Lucius δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ζ', 174.2–3
[αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ε', ὑπατος τὸ γ', πατήρ
πατρίδος

Marcus Aurelius as Sole Emperor

- Αὐτοκ[ράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος 182.1
Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανι]κός
- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος 204.1
Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς Γερμ]ανικός
[Σαρματικὸς]
- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσα]ρ θε[οῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱός, 183.1–4
θεοῦ Οὐήρου Παρθ]ικοῦ Μεγί[στου
ἀδελφός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱ]ωνός, θεο[ῦ
Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἔκγονος, θε]οῦ [Νέρουα
ἀπόγονος

Marcus Aurelius and Commodus

Marcus Aurelius

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου υἱός, 191.10–12, 192.1–4,
[θεοῦ Οὐήρου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου ἀδελφός, 194.9–10, 195.33–
θεοῦ Ἀδρι]ανου υἱωνός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ 34, 196.49–50,
Παρθικοῦ ἔγγ]ονος, θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος, 197.65–66
Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς] Γερμανικὸς
Σαρματικὸς

Commodus

- Αὐτοκ[ράτωρ Καῖ]σαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος 189.5–8
Κόμμοδος, Σεβαστ]ός, Αὐτοκράτορος
Μάρκου υἱός, θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖ]νου Εὐσεβο[ῦς
υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔγγονο]ς, θεοῦ
Τραια[νοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρουα

ἀπόγονος, Γερμανικός Σαρματικός Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς] νιωνός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔγγονος, θε[οῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρωνα ἀπόγονος, Λ. Αὐρ. Κόμμοδος Σεβαστός Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λουκίος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Σεβαστός, Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς νιωνός θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρωνα ἀπόγονος, Γερμανικός Σαρματικός	191.13–15, 190.2–4 192.6–9, 194.11–13, 195.35–37, 196.51–53, 197.67–69
Marcus [ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ λα', αὐτοκράτ]ωρ τὸ η', ὕ[πατος τὸ γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ] Commodus [δημαρχικῆς ἐξου]σίας τὸ β', ὕ[πατος Marcus ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ λα', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ –, ὕπατος τὸ γ', π]ατὴρ πατρ[ίδος, καὶ] Commodus [δημαρχικῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ θ', ὕπατ[ος] Marcus ἀρχιερεὺς μέγισ[τος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ λα', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ, θ', ὕπατος] τὸ γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ Commodus δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β', ὕπ[ατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος Marcus ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ λα', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ θ', ὕπατος τὸ γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ Commodus δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὕπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος Marcus ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τ]ὸ λβ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ [θ' ὕπατος τὸ γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ Commodus [δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ' αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὕπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος Marcus ἀρχιερεὺς] μέγιστος, δημαρχι[κῆς ἐξ]ο[υσίας τὸ λ.', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ –, ὕπατος τὸ γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ] Commodus [δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ –, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ –, ὕπατος (οἱ ὕπατος τὸ β'), πατὴρ πατρίδος], ἀνθύπατος Marcus ἀ]ρχιερε[ὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ λγ'], αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ αἰ',	189. 190.1–4 191.12–15 192.4–10 194.10–13 195.34–39 196.50–53

- ὑ[πα]τος τὸ γ', πατήρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος,
[καὶ] Commodus δημα[ρχικῆς ἐξουσίας] τὸ
[δ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑ]πατος τὸ β', πατήρ
πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος
- Marcus ἀρχι[ερεὺς μέγιστος], δημαρχικῆς
ἐξουσίας τὸ λ.', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δέ[κατον],
ὑπατος τὸ γ', πατήρ πατρίδος, [ἀνθύπατος,
καὶ] Commodus [δημ]αρχικ[ῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
–, αὐτο]κράτωρ τὸ γ', ὑπατος τὸ β', πατήρ
πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος
- 197.66–70

Commodus as Sole Emperor

- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ ᾿Μάρκου υἱός],
θεοῦ Εὐσ[εβοῦς νιῶνός, θεοῦ ᾿Αδριανοῦ
ἐγγονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ
Νέρου ἀπόγονος, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος
Κόμ]μοδος ᾿Αντω[νῖνος Σεβαστὸς
Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικὸς
- 198.92–93
- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ] ᾿Μάρκου
᾿Αντω[ν]ῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ
Σ[αρματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ] Εὐσεβοῦς νιῶνός,
θεοῦ ᾿Αδριανοῦ ἐκγονος, θ]εοῦ Τρ[αι]α[ν]οῦ
[Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρου ἀπόγονος, Μάρ.
Αὐρ. Κόμμοδος ᾿Αντωνῖνος Σεβαστὸς
Σαρματικὸς; Γερ[μαν]ικὸς, Μ[έ]γιστος
Αὐτοκ[ρά]τωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Μάρκου
᾿Αντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ
Σ[αρματικοῦ υἱός] μ ο(ε)οῦ Εὐσε[β]οῦς
νιῶνός, θεοῦ ᾿Αδριανοῦ ἐγγονος, θεοῦ
Τραιανοῦ Παρεικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρου
ἀπό[γονος], Μάρκ[ος] Αὐρήλιος Κόμ[μ]μοδος
᾿Αντω[ν]εῖνος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς
Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέ[γισ]τος
[Βρε]ταννικ[ός]
- 202.124–126,
200.105–107,
201.113–115,
203.135–137
- 211.3–5 (cf. 208.1–
2, 209.1–5, 210.1–
2)
- [Α]ὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μ. Αὐρήλιος
[[Κόμμοδος] ᾿Αντ[ων]ῖνος]] Σεβαστὸς
Εὐσ[εβ]ῆς [– – –
- 206.1–3
-
- ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
–, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ –, ὑπατος] τὸ γ', πατήρ
πατρίδος
- 198.94–95
- ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
- 200.107–108

–, αὐτοκρ]άτωρ τὸ ε', [ὑπατος τὸ –, πατήρ πατρίδος	
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικ]ῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἡ', αὐτοκράτωρ [τὸ –, ὑπατος τὸ –, πατήρ πα[τρίδ]ος	201.115–116
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικ]ῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ θ', αὐτοκρ]άτωρ τὸ ζ', [ὑπατος τὸ δ', πατήρ πατρίδος	203.137–138
ἀρχιερ]εὺς μέγιστος, [δημαρχικ]ῆς ἐξ[ο]υσίας τὸ ιβ', αὐτοκράτωρ [τὸ ἡ', ὑπατος τὸ ε', πατήρ] πα[τρίδος]	209.5–7
ἀρχιερ]εὺς μέγιστο[ς], δημαρχικ[ῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ ιδ', αὐτοκράτωρ] τὸ ἡ', ὑπατος τὸ ε', πατήρ πατ[ρίδο]ς	211.5–6 (cf. 210.3– 4)
<i>post mortem</i> θεὸς Κόμμοδος	

Septimius Severus as Sole Emperor

Αὐ τοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἰαντωνε]νου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ Σ[αρματικοῦ υἱός], θεοῦ Κομμόδου ἀδελφός, θ[εοῦ Ἰαντωνεῖνου] Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνός, θεοῦ Ἰαδριαν[ος ἔγγονος, θε]οῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Ν[έρουα ἀπό]γονος, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ]ῆς Περτίναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Μάρκο]ν	213.1–9, 215.1–8
Ἰαν[τωνίνου Εὐσεβ]οῦς Γερμανικο[ῦ Σαρματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Ἰαντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς υἱωνός, θ[εοῦ Ἰαδριανοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Ν]έρουα ἀπό]γονος, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ]ῆς Περτίναξ Σεβαστ]ὸς [Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος	205.1–3 (cf. 214.11– 15)
ἀρχιερεὺς] μέγιστος, δη[μαρχικ]ῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ζ', ὑπα]τος τὸ β', ἀνθ[ύπατος	214.15–17
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικ]ῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ν', ὑπατος τὸ β', πατήρ πατρίδος	213.8–10
[ἀρ]χιερεὺς μ[έγιστο]ς, δη[μ]αρχ[ικ]ῆς	215.9–11

ἐξουσίας] τὸ ε', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ [η', ὑπάτος
τὸ θ', πατήρ] πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος

Caracalla as Caesar

Μάρκος] Αὐρήλιος Ἀ[ν]τω[ν]ίνος Καῖσαρ] 215.11–18
Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουή[ρου Εὐσεβοῦς]
Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβ[ικοῦ
Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ] νιός, θεοῦ Μάρκου
Ἀντω[ν]ίνου Εὐσεβοῦς] Γερμανικοῦ
Σαρματικοῦ υἱώνος, θεοῦ Ἀν[τ]ωνίνου
Εὐσεβ[οῦς] ἔκγονος, ἀποδεδειγμένος κ[αί]
ἀνθ[ύ]πατος

Septimius Severus and Caracalla as Joint Emperors

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Μάρκου 218.1–7 (cf. 217.11–
Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γε[ρ]μανικοῦ 18) [A.D. 198]
Σαρματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Κομ[μ]όδο[ν]
ἀδελφ[ός, θεοῦ] Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς
υἱώνος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγον[ος, θεοῦ
Τραιανοῦ] Παρθι[κοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρ]ουα
ἀπ[ό]γονος, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σευήρος
Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβασ[τ]ός Ἀραβικός
Ἀδιαβηνικός Παρθικός μέγιστος, titles,
[καί] Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, Λουκίου
Σεπτιμίου Σευήρου Εὐσεβοῦς [Περ]τίνα[κος
Σεβασ]τοῦ Ἀ[ραβικ]οῦ Ἀδιαβ[ην]ικ[οῦ
Παρθ]ικοῦ μεγίστου υἱός, θεοῦ Μάρκου
Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμαι[ικ]οῦ
Σαρμ[α]τικοῦ υἱώνος, θεοῦ Ἀντω[ν]εῖνου
Εὐσεβ[οῦς] ἔκγονος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ θεοῦ
Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρο[να]
ἀπ[ό]γονος, Μάρκος Α[ν]ρ[η]λί[ος] Ἀντωνεῖνος]
Σεβαστός

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λο[ύ]κιος Σεπτίμιος 216.2–5 [A.D. 198]
Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς] Περτί[α]κος Σεβαστός
[Παρθικός Ἀραβικός Ἀδιαβηνικός καί]
Παρθικ[ός] Μέγιστος κ[αί] Αὐτοκράτωρ
Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀ[ν]τω[ν]ί[ος]
Σεβασ[τ]ός

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος [Σεπ]τίμιος 226.2–4 [A.D. 199/
Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Ἀραβικός 200]
Ἀδιαβηνικός Παρθικός μέγιστος Σεβαστός
καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος
Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός

- - - - Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρ]ος 223A.2-5 [A.D. 199/
 Περ[τ]ίναξ [Σε]βαστός [᾽Αραβικός 200]
 ᾽Αδιαβη]νικός [Παρθικός μέγιστος] καὶ
 Αὐτοκρά[τωρ] Καῖσαρ [Μάρκος Αὐρή]λιος
 ᾽Αντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λ[ούκι]ος Σε[πτίμιος 224.1-3 [A.D. 199/
 Σεουήρ]ος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ] ᾽Αραβικός 200]
 ᾽Αδιαβηνικός Παρθ[ι]κός μέγιστος καὶ
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ] Μάρκος Αὐρήλ(ιος)
 ᾽Αντωνεῖνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβ[αστοί
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος [Σεπ]τίμιος 226.2-4 [A.D. 199/
 Σεουήρ]ος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ ᾽Αραβικός 200]
 ᾽Αδιαβηνικός Παρθικός μέγιστος Σεβαστός
 καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος
 ᾽Αντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός
 [Αὐτοκράτωρ] Καῖσαρ Λούκι[ος Σ]επτίμιος 227B.1-4, 254.39-
 [Σεουήρ]ος Εὐσεβῆς [Περτίναξ Σεβ]αστός 43 [A.D. 200] (cf.
 ᾽Αραβ[ι]κός ᾽Αδιαβηνικός Παρθ[ι]κός 246.1-6, 247.54-
 Μέγισ[τ]ος [καὶ Αὐτοκράτ]ωρ Καῖσαρ 57, 248.1-2,
 Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος ᾽Αντ[ω]ν[ι]νος [Εὐσεβῆς 252.17-18, 221.3-
 Σεβ]αστός 4, 241.1-3)
 - - - - καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, Λ. 245.1-9 [A.D. 201]
 Σεπτιμί[ου] Σεουήρου Εὐσε[βο]ὺς Περτίνακος
 Σεβαστοῦ ᾽Αραβικοῦ ᾽Αδιαβηνικοῦ
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου υἱός, θεοῦ Μάρκου
 ᾽Αντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ]
 Γερμανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ υἱώνος, θεοῦ]
 ᾽Αντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς ἔκγο[νος, θεοῦ]
 ᾽Αδριανοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ [Παρθικοῦ] καὶ
 θεοῦ Νέρονα ἀπόγονος Μάρκος [Αὐρήλιος]
 ᾽Αντωνίνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστός
 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Κ]αῖσαρ θεοῦ Μάρκου 259.2-20 [A.D. 208-
 ᾽Αντωνεῖνον [Εὐσεβοῦς Γερ]μανικοῦ 210], 257.1-12
 Σερματικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Κ[ο]μμόδου ἀδ]ελφός, [A.D. 205?]
 θεοῦ ᾽Αντωνεῖνον Εὐσεβοῦς [υἱώνος, θεοῦ
 ᾽Α]δριανοῦ ἔκγονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ
 [Παρθικοῦ κ]αὶ θεοῦ Νέρονα ἀπόγονος,
 [Λούκιος Σεπτίμ]ιος Σεουήρ]ος Εὐσεβῆς
 Περτίναξ [Σεβαστός ᾽Αραβικ]ός
 ᾽Αδιαβηνικός Παρθικός [Μέγιστος], titles,
 καὶ [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖ]σαρ, Λουκίου
 Σεπτιμί[ου] Σεουήρου Εὐσεβ[ο]ὺς Περτίνακος
 Σεβαστοῦ [᾽Αραβικοῦ ᾽Αδιαβη]νικοῦ
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου [υἱός, θεοῦ Μάρκου]

Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς [Γερμανικοῦ Σαρμ]ατικοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ [Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσ]εβοῦς ἔκγονος, θεοῦ [Ἀδριανοῦ καί] θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καί [θεοῦ Νέρουνα ἀπ]όγονος [Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντω]νῖνος Εὐσεβῆς [Σεβαστός	
Αὐτοκράτορες Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνεῖνο[ς Σεβαστοί	219 [A.D. 198]
οἱ θειότατοι αὐτοκράτορες Σεονπρος καὶ Ἀντωνεῖνος	255 [A.D. 202]
τῶν κυρίων Σεονήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου	239.7 [A.D. 199/200]
Severus, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας [τ]ὸ σ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ια', ὑπάτος τὸ β', πατήρ πατρίδος, ἀνούπατος, καὶ Caracalla, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνθύπατος	217.8–14 [A.D. 198], also 218.3–8
Severus, — — — —, καὶ Caracalla, δημαρχ[ικῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ δ', ὑπάτος ἀποδεδιγμένο[ς], ἀνθύπατος	245.9–11 [A.D. 201]
Severus, ἀρχ(ιερεὺς) μέγ(ιστος), δημαρχικῆς ἐ]ξουσίας τὸ ι[γ'], αὐ]τοκράτωρ τὸ ιβ', ὑπάτος τὸ [γ'], πατήρ πατρίδ[ο]ς, [καὶ] Caracalla, [δη]μαρ[χικῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ η'], αὐ]τοκράτωρ τὸ [β'], ὑπάτος [τὸ β']	257.5–13 [A.D. 205?]
Severus, [ἀρχιερε]ὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς [ἐ]ξουσίας τὸ ι.', αὐ]τοκράτωρ [τὸ] ιβ', ὑπάτος [τὸ γ', πατήρ πατρίδος, ἀν]ούπατος, καὶ Caracalla, [δημαρχικ]ῆς ἐξουσί[σ]τὸ ι.', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὑπατ]ος [τὸ] γ', ἀνθύπατος	259.9–22 [A.D. 208– 210]
<i>post mortem</i> θεοὶ Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος θεοῦ Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου] Περτίνακος [Εὐσεβοῦς	272.2–3
Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σ[εουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός μου	270.2
θεοῦ Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς	276A, 278
θεῶ (Σε)ουήρῳ πάππῳ μου	277B.8
θεοῦ] Σεο[υ]ήρου	212B
Caracalla as Sole Emperor	
[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλι[ος Σεβαστός] Ἀντωνεῖνο[ς] Ε[ὐσεβῆς]	260.1 [A.D. 212]
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος	263.1–8 [A.D. 213],

Ἰαντωνεῖνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστός Παρθικός Μέγιστος Βρεταννικός Μέγιστος Γερμανικός Μέγιστος	(cf. 268.2–6 [A.D. 215])
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Σεουήρου [Ἰαντωνεῖον Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μ[άρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἰαντωνίνο[ς Παρθικός Μέγιστος] Βρεταν(ν)ικό[ς Μέγιστος Γερμανικός] Μέγιστος Ε[ὐσ]εβ[ῆς Σεβαστός [Αὐτ]οκράτωρ Κ[αῖ]σαρ, θεῖον Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς] Ἀραβικό Ἰαδιαβην]ικοῦ Πα[ρθικοῦ] Μεγίστου Βριτταν]ικοῦ Μ[εγίστου] υἱός, θεῖον Μάρκου Ἰαντω[νείνου Εὐσεβ]οῦς Γερμανικοῦ Σ[αρμ]ατικοῦ υἱώνος, θεῖον Ἰαντωνίνου [Εὐσεβοῦς ἔκ]γονος, [θεῖον Ἰαδρια]νοῦ καὶ θεῖον Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρο]να ἀπόγονος Μ. Αὐρ. Ἰαντωνεῖνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστός) Παρθικός κτλ.	267.1–2 [A.D. 215] 269.1–4 [A.D. 215/ 216], 249.5–6 [A.D. 216] 271.2–12
[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἰαντωνί]νος Εὐσεβῆς Ἀραβικός Ἰαδιαβηννικός Παρθικός Μέγιστος Βρεταννικός Μέγιστος Γερμανικός Μέγιστος Σεβαστός	270.1–2
ὁ κύριος Ἰαντων[ε]ῖνος	266.15
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιθ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ γ', ὑπατος τὸ δ', πατὴρ πατρ]ίδος ἀνθύπατο[ς	268.5–8 [A.D. 215]
<i>post mortem</i> θεοῦ Ἰαντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Μεγίστου θεῷ Ἰαντωνεῖνῳ πατρὶ ἐμῷ	276.2, 278.2 277.B

Julia Domna

Ἰουλία Σεβαστή	265.9
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Macrinus

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Ὀπέλλιος Σεουήρος Μακρίν[ος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχήης Σεβαστός]	273.1–3
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας,	273.4–6

ὑπατ]ος ἀ[π]οδ[εδειγμένος, πατήρ πατρίδ]ος,
[ἀ]νθ[ύ]πατος

Elagabalus

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μᾶρκος [Αὐρήλιος 274.1–2
Ἄντωνεῖνος] Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,] δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας [τὸ 274.2–4
δ', ὑπατος τὸ γ', πατήρ πατρίδος],
ἀνθύπατος

Severus Alexander as Caesar

Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεβῆρος Ἀλέξανδρος] 274.4–5
ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσαρ

Severus Alexander as Sole Emperor

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ [θ]εοῦ Σεουήρου 276A.1–3 (cf.
Εὐ[σεβοῦς νίωνός], θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου 275.1–3)

Εὐσ[εβο]ῦς Μεγίστου νιό[ς] Μᾶρκος
Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀλέξανδρος

Αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀλέξανδρος App. 12
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς 278.1–3

ἐκγονος, [θε]οῦ Ἀντωνείνου Εὐσεβοῦς
Μεγίστου νιός], Μᾶρκος Αὐρή[λιος
Σεου]ήρος [Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς
Σεβαστός

[ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, 275.3–4
ὑ]πατος, [πα]τήρ πατρίδος

ἀρχιερ[εὺς], δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὑπατος, 276A.3–4
πατήρ πατρίδος

ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ 278.3
γ', ὑπα[τος, πατήρ πα]τρίδ[ος]

post mortem

θεοῦ [Ἀλε]ξάνδρου 277B.8

Gordian III

αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος 279.1, 281.1, 282.1–
Γορδιανὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός 2

ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ 279.2
β', ὑπατος, πατήρ πατρίδος

ἀ[ρχι]ερεὺς μέγιστος, δη[μαρχι]κῆς ἐξουσίας 281.1–2

τὸ ς', ὑπατος τὸ Β', πατήρ πατρίδος,
 ἀνθύπατος
post mortem
 θεὸς Γορδιανὸς Σεβαστός 280.1

Decius

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ [[Γάιος Μέσσιος Κνίντος
 Τραιανὸς Δέκιος]] Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς
 Σεβαστός 284.1–2

δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ', ὑπατος τὸ β', 284.2–4
 ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τρίτο[ν], πατήρ πατρίδος,
 ἀνθύπατος

Herennius Etruscus as Caesar

[[Ἑρέννιος Τραιανὸς Δέκιος Καῖσαρ]] 284.4–5
 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
 πρῶτον, ὑπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος 284.5–6

Valerian and Gallienus

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλιος Λικίννιος 287.7–11
 Οὐαλιερριανὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός
 καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλιος Λικίννιος
 Γαλλ[ηνός] Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός

Valerian, ἀρχι[ερεὺς μέ]γιστος, Γ[ερμανικὸς 286.3–7
 μέγιστος], δ(η)μαρχ[ικῆ]ς ἐξουσίας τὸ [ς',
 ὑπατος τὸ δ', πα]τήρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπ(ατος),
 καὶ Gallienus, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγ(ιστος),
 Γερμανικὸς [μέγ(ιστος), δημαρχ(ικῆς)
 ἐξου]σίας τὸ ς', ὑπατος τὸ γ', π(ατήρ)
 π(ατρίδος), ἀν[θύπ(ατος)]

Valerian Caesar

[Πούβ(λιος) λικ(ίννιος) Οὐα(λ)ερριανὸς 286.7–8
 ἐπιφανέστα[τος Καῖσαρ]

Saloninus Caesar

Λικίννιος Κ[ορνήλιος] ἐπιφανέστατος 287.11–12
 [Σαλωνεῖος] Καῖσαρ

Gallienus as Sole Emperor

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλιος [Λ]ικ[ίν]νιος 289.1, App. 13 (cf.
 Γαλλιηνὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχ[ῆ]ς Σεβαστός 288)

ἀρχιερεὺς] μέγισ[τ]ος, [Γερμανικ]ός	288.1–3
Μ[έγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐ]ξουσίας τὸ δι',	
ὑπα[τος τὸ σ', ἀποπδεδειγμένος] τὸ ζ',	
πατή[ρ πατρίδος]	

Consulates

Λέντ(λ)ων ὑπατεούντων	294.3
[ὑ]πατεούντων Τιβερίου Νέρωνος καὶ	294.5–6
Κνιν(τίλιον Οὐάρου	
ἐπὶ Γαίου Καλουσιίου καὶ Λευκίου Πασσιήνου	12.74–75
ὑπάτων	
Τ[ιβ]ερίῳ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστ[ῶ] καὶ	24A, 24B
Οὐιτελλίῳ τὸ Β' [ὑπ]άτοις	
Σουελλίῳ Ῥούφῳ[ι καὶ Ὀστορίῳ Σκαπύ]λλα	25.1–2
ὑπάτοις	
ἐπὶ ὑπάτων <Ἀντωνίου> Ῥούφου καὶ	App. 6 [A.D. 45]
Πομπηίου Σιλουανού	
Τραι[α]νοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ[ν] [οὐ καὶ	70.3–4 [A.D. 119]
Που]πλίου Δ[α]σσυμίου Ῥου]στικῶ[ν] ὑπάτοις	
[M. Annio Vero II. Cn. A]rrio Augure co[s.]	73.2 [A.D. 121]
Ο[ὐ]λερίῳ Ἀσιατικῶ[ν] το β' καὶ Ἀκυλείῳ	74.6–7 [A.D. 125]
ὑπάτοις	
Τορκουάτῳ καὶ Ἡρώδῃ ὑπάτ(οις)	128.14 [A.D. 143]
Φάλκωνι καὶ [Κ]λάρῳ ὑπατείας	243. fr. C.6
Ἀλβίνῳ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Ἀν[υ]λλίνῳ ὑπάτοις	249.8–9
[Φα]βίῳ Κεῖλωνι τὸ β' καὶ [Ἀ]ννίῳ Λίβωνι	256A.12–13
ὑπάτοις	
δυσὶ Ἀσπροις ὑπάτοις	261A.12
Γορδιανῶ καὶ Ἀουιόλα ὑπάτοις	280.7
τοῖς κυρίοις ημῶν Οὐαλεριανῶ τὸ γ' καὶ	285.25–26
Γαλλιηνῶ τὸ β' Σεβαστοῖς ὑπάτοις	
Νουμμίῳ Τούσκῳ καὶ Μουμμίῳ [Βάσσω	290.7–8
ὑπάτοις	